UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
3 1761 01363107 2

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/livestranslatedf02plutuoft

~~B6TT~~
~~27374~~
~~Ed. 2~~

PLUTARCH'S LIVES,

TRANSLATED FROM

THE ORIGINAL GREEK;

WITH

NOTES CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL,

AND A

LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

BY JOHN LANGHORNE, D.D.

AND

WILLIAM LANGHORNE, A.M.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

THE SECOND EDITION,

BY

THE REV. FRANCIS WRANGHAM, M.A. F.R.S.

WITH CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

Printed for J. Mawman; F. C. and J. Rivington; G. Wilkie and J. Robinson; J. Walker; W. Clarke and Sons; Cadell and Davies; F. Wingrave; C. Law; J. and A. Arch; Scatcherd and Letterman; B. and R. Crosby; White, Cochrane, and Co.; Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown; J. Booker; J. Richardson; J. M. Richardson; Black, Parry, and Co.; J. Hatchard; J. Murray; R. Scholey; R. Baldwin; Cradock and Joy; T. Hamilton; J. Faulder; Gale, Curtis, and Fenner; and G. and S. Robinson; and Wilson and Sons, York.

1813.

745/1
18/11/90 le

Printed by C. Baldwin, New Bridge-street, London.

CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

PAGE

IX. *Pericles* 1

X. *Fabius Maximus* 61

Pericles and Fabius Maximus compared 106

XI. *Alcibiades* 111

XII. *Caius Marcius Coriolanus* 173

Alcibiades and Caius Marcius Coriolanus compared 225

XIII. *Timoleon* 231

XIV. *Paulus Æmilius* 279

Timoleon and Paulus Æmilius compared 335

XV. *Pelopidas* 339

XVI. *Marcellus* 388

Pelopidas and Marcellus compared 438

XVII. *Aristides* 443

XVIII. *Cato the Censor* 491

Aristides and Cato the Censor compared 532

THE

LIFE

OF

PERICLES.

SUMMARY.

Mankind ought to have only honourable tastes and talents. Virtue preferable to all the arts. The virtues of Pericles and of Fabius. The high descent of Pericles. He abandons music, and studies philosophy: is chiefly formed by Anaxagoras. His moderation. Anaxagoras' solution of a lusus naturæ. *Pericles engages in politics, and attaches himself to the popular party. His reserved conduct. From his eloquence he is denominated* Olympius. *The dignity of his words and actions. He corrupts the public manners, and reduces the power of the Areopagus: causes Cimon to be banished; and soon afterward recalled. Thucydides is opposed to him, on the part of the aristocracy. Pericles gives games and entertainments to the people: embellishes the city with buildings. His answer to the reproaches, which he incurred upon this occasion. General emulation in all the arts excited; and their perfection. Phidias appointed to superintend all the public works. The Odéum, and porticoes. Complaints, on the part of Thucydides' faction, with regard to the expenses incurred. Thucydides banished. Pericles has the sole administration of the state. His disinterestedness in this station; domestic economy. Poverty of Anaxagoras. Pericles' projects to increase the power of Athens: prudence in engagements: success in the Chersonesus and Peloponnesus: expedition to the Euxine. He represses the popular wish of conquest. Eubœan war. He bribes the king of Sparta. Confidence reposed in him by the people. Samian war, undertaken at the instigation of Aspasia. Some account of that celebrated woman. Pericles' at-*

tachment to her. Issue of the Samian war. The Athenians defeated in his absence. Invention of military engines for sieges. He takes Samos. His exultation at this event. Commencement of the Peloponnesian war: siege of Potidæa. The decree against Megara accelerates the war. Different motives ascribed to Pericles for engaging in it. General jealousy of Phidias. Aspasia arraigned of atheism; and through Pericles' influence acquitted. The Lacedæmonians enter Attica. Pericles' prudence; and steadiness amidst the clamours of the people: he despatches a fleet against Peloponnesus. Athens ravaged by a pestilence. Pericles condemned to pay a heavy fine. His relations and friends fall victims to the plague. His firmness in misfortunes: he resumes the administration of affairs. Law with regard to illegitimate children. He is seized by the plague. His panegyric. He is deeply regretted by his country.

WHEN Cæsar happened to see some strangers at Rome carrying young dogs and monkeys in their arms, and fondly caressing them, he asked, "Whe-"ther the women in their country never bore "children[1]?" thus reproving with proper severity those, who lavish upon brutes the natural tenderness due only to mankind. In the same manner we must condemn those, who employ the curiosity and love of knowledge implanted by nature in the human soul upon low and worthless objects, while they neglect such as are excellent and useful. Our senses indeed, by an effect almost mechanical, are passive to the impression of outward objects, whether agreeable or offensive: but the mind, possessed of a self-directing power, may turn it's attention to whatever it thinks proper. It should therefore be employed in the most useful pursuits, not barely in contemplation, but in such contemplation as may nourish it's faculties[2]. For as that colour is best suited to the eye, which by it's beauty and agreeableness at the same time both refreshes and strengthens the sight; so the application of the mind should be directed to those subjects, which through the channel of pleasure may lead to our proper happiness. Such are the works of virtue. The very description of these inspires us with emulation, and a strong desire to imitate them: whereas in other things admiration does not always lead us to imitate what we admire, but on the contrary, while we are charmed with the work, we often despise the workmen. Thus we are pleased with perfumes and purple, while dyers and perfumers appear to us as nothing more than mean mechanics.

---

[1] Cæsar by this bon-mot, which Plutarch seems to take more seriously than it was intended, meant to blame not the principle of humanity to animals, but it's excess. Our author indeed himself elsewhere remarks, that tenderness in children to the brute creation is a proper introduction to the higher duty of 'good-will toward men;' and has recorded several instances of the grateful attachment and invincible fidelity of the inferior animals: e. g. that of Xanthippus' dog, at the embarkation of the Athenians for Salamis (See the Life of Themistocles, Vol. I.), &c. &c.*

Antisthenes[3] therefore, when he was told that Ismenias played excellently upon the flute, answered very properly, "Then he is good for nothing else; "otherwise, he would not have played so well." Such also was Philip's saying to his son, when at a certain entertainment he sang in a very pleasant and skilful manner, "Are you not ashamed to sing so well[4]?" It is enough for a prince to bestow a vacant hour upon hearing others sing; and he does the muses sufficient honour, if he attends the performances of those, who excel in their arts.

---

[2] This, as M. Ricard well observes, is one of the most important directions which philosophy can supply; and should extend, beyond it's more serious application, even to our pleasures and our diversions. Both the understanding and the heart require daily nourishment—to support, in the first the desire of information, in the latter the love of virtue.*

[3] Antisthenes was a disciple of Socrates, and founder of the sect of the Cynics. He flourished about A. C. 391.

[4] Philip, however, himself fell into a fault similar to that, for which he reproached his son: for, as he disputed one day with a musician on the principles of music, 'Heaven forbid (exclaimed his opponent) that you should know this subject better than I do!'*

If a man applies himself to servile or mechanical employments, his industry in those things is a proof of inattention to nobler studies. No young man of high birth or liberal sentiments, from viewing the Jupiter at Pisa, would desire to be Phidias, or from the sight of the Juno at Argos to be Polycletus; or Anacreon, or Philemon, or Archilochus, though delighted with their poems[5]. For though a work may be agreeable, yet esteem of the author is not the necessary consequence. We may therefore conclude that things of this kind, which do not excite a spirit of emulation, or produce any strong impulse or desire to imitate them, are of little use to the beholders. But virtue has this peculiar property that, while we admire her conduct, we long to copy the example. The goods of fortune we wish to enjoy, virtue we desire to practise; the former we are glad to receive from others, the latter we are ambitious that others should receive from us. The beauty of goodness has an attractive power: it kindles in us at once an active principle; it forms our manners and influences our desires, not only when represented in living examples, but even in historical descriptions.

---

[5] This seems to be somewhat inconsistent with the respect and esteem, in which the noble arts of poetry and sculpture were held in ancient Greece and Rome, and with that admiration which the proficients in those arts always obtain among the people. (L.) The Jupiter of Phidias, indeed, was represented as fully expressing the majesty of the Father of the Gods; and a single statue of Polycletus was sold for 100 talents. (Plin. H. N. xxxiv. 8.) What is subjoined, on the subject of the poets, seems still more at variance with the universal respect paid to poetry in all ages. Plutarch must therefore here speak relatively of these pursuits, as compared with that of wisdom and virtue. Socrates had an eminent talent for sculpture; and the Three Graces from his chissel, preserved in the citadel of Athens, were the objects of general admiration. But he abandoned the art, as incompatible with his higher moral pursuits.*

There subsisted a jealousy between the poets and the philosophers; and our philosophical biographer clearly shows, by the Platonic parade of this introduction, that he wishes to magnify the latter at the expense of the former.

For this reason we chose to proceed in writing the Lives of great men, and have composed this tenth book[6], which contains the Lives of Pericles, and of Fabius Maximus who carried on the war against Annibal; men resembling each other in many virtues, particularly in justice and moderation, and who effectually served their respective commonwealths, by patiently enduring injurious and capricious treatment from their collegues and their countrymen. Whether we are right in our judgement or not, it will be easy to infer from the work itself.

Pericles was of the tribe of Acamantis, and of the ward of Cholargia. His family, both by the father's and mother's side, was one of the most considerable in Athens. His father Xanthippus, who defeated the king of Persia's generals at Mycale, married Agariste[7], the descendent of Clisthenes, who expelled the family of Pisistratus[8], abolished the tyranny, enacted laws, and established a form of government tempered in such a manner as tended to unanimity among the people, and the safety of the state. His mother dreamed that she was delivered of a lion, and a few days afterward brought forth Pericles. His person in other respects was well-turned, but his head was disproportionably long. For this reason, almost all his statues have the head covered with a helmet; the statuaries choosing, I suppose, to hide that defect. But the Athenian poets called him *Schinocephalus* or 'Onion-head,' for the word *schinos* is sometimes used instead of *scilla* (a 'sea-onion.') Cratinus[9], the comic writer, in his play called Chirones has this passage:

---

[6] Would it not hence appear, that the order of these Lives has been changed: since only four 'pair of portraits,' each (as may be inferred from this passage) constituting a book, now precede the Life of Pericles? The Life of Cimon indeed, which at present forms a part of the third volume, is referred to in a few pages, as already composed.*

[7] Herodotus (vi. 131.) gives the entire genealogy of Pericles. Clisthenes, king of Sicyon, had but one daughter Agariste, whom he gave in marriage to Megacles, son of Alcmæon. The issue of this union was two sons, Clisthenes and Hippocrates: the younger of whom had a son named Megacles, and a daughter Agariste, the mother of Pericles.

The battle of Mycale in Ionia was fought on the same day, and with the same glorious event, as that of Platææ, A. C. 479. 40,000 Persians fell in the action, a still greater number perished in the pursuit, and the remainder saved themselves only by a precipitate and disgraceful retreat within the walls of Sardes. The Greeks likewise lost more men in it, than in any other engagement during the course of the war.*

[8] On the subject of Pisistratus' usurpation, the expulsion of his son Hippias by Clisthenes, and the establishment of a pure democracy in Athens, &c. &c. see Herod. v. 66., and the Life of Solon.*

> Faction received old Time to her embrace:
> Hence the foul spawn, on earth call'd Pericles,
> In heaven 'the Head-compeller.'

And again, in his Nemesis, he thus addresses him,

> Come, blessed Jove[10], the high and mighty Head,
> The friend of hospitality!

And Teleclides says,

> Now in a maze of thought he ruminates
> On strange expedients, while his Head depress'd
> Sinks with it's weight; now from his spacious brain
> Bursts tumult.

And Eupolis in his Demi, asking news of all the eminent orators whom he represented as ascending from the shades below, when Pericles comes up last, cries out,

---

[9] Cratinus (as well as Teleclides and Plato mentioned below) a writer of the old comedy, was a thorough *bon-vivant*, and yet composed his last piece at the age of 97! Eupolis was of a still remoter date, and in crossing the Hellespont fell a victim (as it is supposed) to the vengeance of some of the objects of his sarcastic muse.*

[10] Pericles (as Plutarch subsequently observes) was called Olympius, or Jupiter. The poet here addresses him under that character by the epithet of μακαρις, which signifies 'blessed,' but may also signify 'great-headed.' In our language we have no word with such a double meaning; [For 'greeted,' qu. 'great-head,' would be too far-fetched for the occasion.*] Just above, he is called *Cephalegeretes*, or 'head-compeller' (as if his head, from it's size, were an assemblage of many heads) instead of *Nephelegeretes*, or 'cloud-compeller,' a common epithet of Jupiter.

> Head of the tribes that haunt those spacious realms,
> Does he ascend?

Most writers agree, that the master who taught him music was called Damon, the first syllable of whose name (we are told) is to be pronounced short: but Aristotle informs us, that he learned that art of Pythoclides. As for Damon, he seems to have been a politician, who under the pretence of teaching music concealed his great abilities from the vulgar: and he attended Pericles as his tutor and assistant in politics, in the same manner as a master of the gymnastic art attends a young man to fit him for the ring. Damon's giving lessons upon the harp, however, was discovered to be a mere pretext; and, as a busy politician and a friend to tyranny, he was banished by the Ostracism. Neither was he spared by the comic poets. One of them, named Plato, introduces a person addressing him thus;

> Inform me, Damon, first, does fame say true?
> And wast thou really Pericles' Chiron[11]?

Pericles also attended the lectures of Zeno of Elea[12], who in natural philosophy was a follower of Parmenides, and who by much practice in the art of disputing had learned to confound and silence all his opponents, as Timon the Phliasian declares in these verses;

---

[11] The word Chiron again is ambiguous, and may either signify, 'Wast thou preceptor to Pericles?' or, 'Wast thou more wicked than Pericles?' (L.) The *jeu de mot* would have been still more complete in the original, if it could have been Περικλεȣς χειρων.*

[12] This Zeno was of Elea, a town of Italy, and a Phocian colony; and must be carefully distinguished from Zeno, the founder of the sect of the Stoics. The Zeno, here spoken of, was respectable for having attempted to rid his country of a tyrant. The tyrant took him, and caused him to be pounded to death in a mortar. But his death accomplished, what he could not effect in his lifetime; for his fellow citizens were so much incensed at the dreadful manner of it, that they fell upon the tyrant, and stoned him. As to his arguments and those of his master Parmenides, pretended to be so invincible, one of them was to prove there can be no such thing as motion; since a thing can neither move IN the place where it is, nor IN the place where it is not. But this sophism is easily refuted: for motion is the passing of a thing or person INTO a new part of space.

> Have you not heard of Zeno's mighty powers,
> Who could "confute, change sides, and still confute[13]?"

But the philosopher with whom he was most intimately acquainted, who gave him that force and sublimity of sentiment superior to all the demagogues, who in short formed him to his admirable dignity of manners, was Anaxagoras[14] the Clazomenian. This was he, whom the people of those times called *Nous*, or 'Intelligence;' either in admiration of his great understanding and knowledge of the works of nature, or because he was the first who clearly proved that the universe owed it's formation neither to chance nor necessity, but to a pure and unmixed mind, who separated the homogeneous parts from those with which they had previously been confounded.

Charmed with the company of this philosopher, and instructed by him in the sublimest sciences, Pericles acquired not only an elevation of sentiment, and a loftiness and purity of stile far removed from the low expression of the vulgar; but likewise a gravity of countenance which relaxed not into laughter, a firm and even tone of voice, an easy deportment, and a decency of dress which no vehemence of speaking ever threw into disorder. These things, and others of the like nature, excited admiration in all that saw him.

---

[13] It was Belial's fiend-like character, with his 'manna-dropping tongue,'

> ——— to make the worse appear
> The better reason.

Who has not smiled at the portrait of Goldsmith's Village-Orbilius; whose 'small head,' unlike that of Pericles, was so ingenious that, 'E'en when vanquish'd he could argue still?'*

[14] Anaxagoras was the first, who exclusively ascribed the formation of the world to an intelligent cause. His predecessors—Thales, Anaximenes, and Anaximander—admitted other secondary principles as joint causes; which has led many moderns, indeed, erroneously to consider them as materialists. The 'homogeneous parts,' mentioned below, were represented by Anaxagoras as the atoms or original elements of bodies, in their primary forms similar to their ultimate aggregates.*

Such was his self-command, that when a vile and abandoned fellow loaded him a whole day with reproaches and abuse, he bore it with patience and silence, and continued in public for the despatch of some urgent affairs. In the evening he walked gravely home, the blackguard following and insulting him with the most scurrilous language the whole way. And, as it was dark when he came to his own door, he ordered one of his servants to take a torch and light the man home. The poet Ion however, says he was proud and supercilious in conversation, and that there was a considerable portion of vanity and contempt of others mixed with his dignity of manner: on the other hand he highly extols the civility, complaisance, and politeness of Cimon. But to take no farther notice of Ion, who perhaps would not have any great excellence appear without a mixture of something satirical (as it was in the ancient tragedy[15]), Zeno desired those, who called the gravity of Pericles 'pride and arrogance,' to be proud the same way; telling them, the very acting of an excellent part might insensibly produce a love and real imitation of it.

These were not the only advantages, which Pericles gained by conversing with Anaxagoras. From him he learned to overcome the terrors excited by the various phænomena of the heavens in those who are ignorant of their causes, and who from that ignorance entertain a tormenting fear of the gods. Neither is there any cure for it but the study of nature, which instead of the frightful extravagances of superstition, implants in us a sober piety supported by a rational hope.

---

[15] Tragedy at first was only a chorus in honour of Bacchus. Persons dressed like satyrs were the performers, and they often broke out into the most licentious raillery. After it took a graver turn, something of this drollery was still retained, as in that which we call tragi-comedy. In time, serious characters and events became the subject of tragedy, without that mixture; but even then, after exhibiting three graver pieces, the poets used to conclude their contention for the prize with a satirical one: Of this sort is the Cyclops of Euripides, and the only one remaining. (L.)

Ion was a tragic writer of Chios. A few fragments of his elegies are the only part of his works now extant.

We are told there was brought to Pericles, from one of his farms, a ram's head with only one horn; and Lampo the soothsayer, observing that the horn grew strong and firm out of the middle of the forehead, declared that the two parties in the state, (namely, those of Thucydides[16] and Pericles) would unite, and invest the whole power in him with whom the prodigy was found: but Anaxagoras having dissected the head showed that the brain did not fill the whole cavity, but had contracted itself into an oval form, and pointed directly to that part of the skull, whence the horn took it's rise. This procured Anaxagoras great honour with the spectators; and Lampo was not less honoured for his prediction, when soon afterward, upon the fall of Thucydides, the administration was placed entirely in Pericles' hands.

In my opinion however the philosopher and the soothsayer may easily be reconciled, and both be right; the one having discovered the cause, and the other the end. It was the business of the former to account for the appearance, and to speculate upon it's origin; and of the latter to show, why it so happened, and what it portended. Those, who say that when the cause is found out the prodigy ceases, do not consider that, if they reject such signs as are preternatural, they must also deny the use of artificial signs: the clattering of brass quoits[17], the lights of beacons, and the shadows of sun-dials, have each their proper natural causes, and yet each likewise another signification. But perhaps this question might be more properly discussed in another place.

---

[16] We must not confound this statesman, who was subsequently opposed to Pericles by the aristocracy, with the historian of the same name: the father of the former was Milesias, of the latter Olorus.*

[17] The clattering of brass quoits, or plates, was sometimes a military signal among the Grecians. Among the Romans it was a

Pericles, in his youth, stood in great dread of the people. For in his countenance he resembled Pisistratus the tyrant; and the old men were much struck with a farther resemblance in the sweetness of his voice, the volubility of his tongue, and the roundness of his periods. As he was moreover of a noble family and opulent fortune, and his friends were the most considerable men in the state, he dreaded the ban of Ostracism; and therefore intermeddled not with state-affairs, but behaved with the utmost courage and intrepidity in the field. When Aristides however was dead, Themistocles banished, and Cimon employed in expeditions at a distance from Greece, Pericles engaged in the administration. He chose rather to solicit the favour of the multitude and the poor[18], than of the few and the rich, contrary to his natural disposition, which was far from inclining him to court popularity.

He was apprehensive, it seems, of falling under the suspicion of aiming at the supreme power; and was sensible, besides, that Cimon was attached to

---

signal to call the wrestlers to the ring. (L.) (Cic. de Orat. iii.) These quoits were also used in courts of justice (Pollux x. 61.), though it is not precisely known for what purpose.*

[18] The popular party in Athens were continually making efforts against those small remains of power, which were yet in the hands of the nobility. As Pericles could not lead the party of the nobles, because Cimon by the dignity of his birth, the lustre of his actions, and the largeness of his estate had placed himself at their head, he had no other resource than to court the populace. And he flattered their favourite passion in the most agreeable manner, by lessening the power and privileges of the court of Areopagus, which was the chief support of the nobility, and indeed of the whole state. But by bringing almost all causes before the tribunal of the people, by multiplying gratuities which were only another word for bribes, and by giving the people a taste for expensive pleasures, he eventually caused the downfall of the commonwealth; though his personal abilities supported it during his time.

the nobility, and extremely beloved by persons of the highest eminence: and therefore in order to secure himself, and to find resources against Cimon's power, he studied to ingratiate himself with the common people. At the same time he entirely changed his manner of living. He never appeared in the streets, except when he was going to the Forum or the senate-house. He declined the invitations of his friends, and all social entertainments and recreations; insomuch that throughout the whole period of his administration, which was of a considerable length, he never went to sup with any of his friends, except once at the marriage of his nephew Euryptolemus, and there he staid only until the ceremony of libation was ended. For the freedom of entertainments takes away all distinction of office, and dignity is little consistent with familiarity[19]. Real and solid virtue indeed, the more it is observed, appears the more glorious; and there is nothing in a good man's conduct, as a magistrate, so great in the public eye, as the general course of his private behaviour to his intimate friends. Pericles, however, took care not to make his person cheap among the people, and was seen among them only at proper intervals: neither did he speak to all points that were debated before them, but reserved himself, like the Salaminian galley[20] (as Critolaüs remarks) for extraordinary occasions; despatching business of less consequence by other orators, with whom he had an intimacy. One of these (we are told) was Ephialtes who, according to Plato, overthrew the power of the council of Areopagus, by giving the citizens a large and intemperate draught of liberty. Upon which account, the comic writers speak of the people of Athens, as a horse wild and unmanaged;

---

[19] *Non benè conveniunt, nec in unâ sede morantur*
Majestas et amor.——*

[20] The Salaminian galley was a consecrated vessel, of which the Athenians never made use except upon 'extraordinary occasions.' They sent it, for instance, for a general whom they wished to call to account (as we shall find in the Life of Alcibiades), or with sacrifices to Apollo, or to some other deity. (L.)

Critolaüs, the Peripatetic, was deputed A. U. C. 598, with Diogenes the Stoic, and Carneades the Academician, to the senate of Rome. We shall see more of him, in the Life of Cato the Censor.*

> ———which listens to the reins no more,
> But in his maddening course bears headlong down
> The very friends that feed him [21].

Pericles, desirous to make his language a proper vehicle for his sublime sentiments, and to speak in a manner that became the dignity of his life, successfully availed himself of what he had learned from Anaxagoras; adorning his eloquence with the rich colours of philosophy. For adding (as the divine Plato expresses it) the loftiness of imagination and all-commanding energy, with which philosophy supplied him, to his native powers of genius, and making use of whatever he found to his purpose in the study of nature, to dignify the art of speaking, he far excelled all other orators [22]. Hence he is said to have gained the surname of 'Olympius:' though some will have it to have been from the edifices, with which he adorned the city; and others, from his high authority both in peace and war. There appears indeed no absurdity in supposing, that all these things might contribute to that glorious distinction. Yet the strokes of satire both serious and ludicrous, in the comedies of those times, indicate that he was thus denominated chiefly on account of his eloquence. For they tell us, that in his harangues he thundered and lightened[23], and that his tongue was armed with thunder. Thucydides, the son of Milesias, is said to have given a pleasant account of the force of his eloquence. Thucydides was a great and respectable man, who had for a long time opposed the measures of Pericles; and when Archidamus, one of the kings of Lacedæmon, asked him, "Which was the best "wrestler, Pericles or he?" he replied, "When I "throw him, he says he was never down, and he persuades the very spectators to believe him."

---

[21] The former English translator takes no notice of δάκνων τὴν Εὔβοιαν καὶ ταῖς νήσοις ἐπιπηδῶν, 'bites Eubœa and insults the islands' though the passage is pregnant with sense. Athens in the wantonness of power insulted and oppressed Eubœa, (*hod.* Negropont), which was her granary, and the Ægean islands, which contributed greatly to her commerce and her wealth. (L.) Even Langhorne's version in the text is, perhaps, still too paraphrastical.*

[22] Plato observes, upon the same occasion, that an orator, as well as a physician, ought to have a general knowledge of nature; and quotes the studies of Pericles, and the opinion of Hippocrates, in support of his assertion.

Yet such was the solicitude of Pericles, when he had to speak in public, that he always first addressed a prayer to the gods[24], "That not a word might escape him unawares unsuitable to the occasion." He left nothing in writing, except some public decrees; and only a few of his sayings are recorded: for instance, that "The isle of Ægina should not be "suffered to remain an eye-sore to the Piræus;" and that "He observed a war approaching from Pelo"ponnesus." And when Sophocles, who was joined in command with him upon a naval expedition, happened to praise the beauty of a certain boy, he said, "A general, my friend, should not only have "pure hands, but pure eyes[25]." Stesimbrotus produces this passage from the oration, which Pericles pronounced in memory of those Athenians who fell in the Samian war; "They are become immortal, "like the gods. For the gods themselves are not "visible to us; but from the honours which they "receive, and the happiness which they enjoy, we "conclude them to be immortal; and such should "those brave men be, who die for their country."

---

[23] This passage obviously refers to the strong line of the old comic writer, as quoted by Plin. (Ep. i. 20)

Ηστραπτ', ἐβροντα, ξυνεκυκα την Ἑλλαδα,

which has since with singular justness of accommodation been subscribed, by the learned editor of Bellendenus, to the head of Mr. Fox.*

[24] Quintilian says, he prayed that 'not a word might escape him disagreeable to the people.' And this is the more probable account of the matter, because (according to Suidas) Pericles wrote down his orations, before he pronounced them in public, and was indeed the first who did so.

[25] Cic. de Off. i. 40. Upon which passage (as strongly indicative of the corruption of ancient poets, and of human nature) an excellent writer of our own time makes a judicious comment in a *Latin* note. After quoting Virgil's *Formosum pastor Corydon*, &c. to the same purpose, he cites the paragraph in question; *Turpe est enim, valdèque vitiosum*, &c.—and subjoins: *Quomodo sese res habuisse necesse est, cum vir antiquorum præstantissimis adscribendus, philosophiam immò mores et officia tractans, talia doceret. Qualem sibi*

Thucydides[26] represents the administration of Pericles as favouring aristocracy; and tells us that, though the government was called democratical, it was really in the hands of one who had engrossed the whole authority. Many other writers likewise inform us, that by him the people were first indulged with a division of lands, were treated at the public expense with theatrical diversions, and were paid for the most common services to the state. As this new indulgence from the government was an impolitic custom, which rendered the people extravagant and luxurious, and destroyed that frugality and love of labour by which they had been previously supported[27], it is proper that we should trace the effect to it's cause, by a retrospect into the circumstances of the republic.

At first (as we have observed) to raise himself to some sort of equality with Cimon, who was then at the height of glory, Pericles made his court to the people. And as Cimon was his superior in point of fortune, which he employed in relieving the poor Athenians, in providing victuals every day for the necessitous, and in clothing the aged; and, beside this, had levelled his fences with the ground, that all might be at liberty to gather his fruit: Pericles had

---

ipse virtutis normam proposuerat, satis liquet. Vide, inter alia, "justâ reprehensione," &c. &c. *et "tanta vis est,"* &c. &c. (Wilberforce's Practical View, II. i. not.)*

[26] ii. 65.

[27] The wealth from the mines of Laurium, which Pericles thus idly lavished upon public amusements, had been much more advantageously employed by Themistocles in the building of galleys.*

recourse to the expedient of dividing the public treasure, a scheme which, as Aristotle informs us, was proposed to him by Demonides of Iös[28]. Accordingly by supplying the people with money for the public diversions, and for their attendance in courts of judicature[29], and by other pensions and gratuities, he so inveigled them as to avail himself of their interest against the council of the Areopagus; of which he had no right to be a member, having never had the fortune to be chosen Archon, Thesmothetes, Basileus, or Polemarch[30]. For persons were of old appointed to these offices by lot; and such as had discharged them well, and such only, were admitted members of the Areopagus. Pericles therefore by his popularity raised a party against that council, and by means of Ephialtes took from them the cognisance of many causes, which had been under their jurisdiction. He likewise caused Cimon to be banished by the Ostracism, as an enemy to the people[31] and a friend to the Lacedæmonians: a man who in birth and fortune had no superior, who had gained several glorious victories over the barbarians, and as we have related in his Life, filled the city with money and other spoils. Such was the authority of Pericles with the common people.

---

[28] Iös was one of the isles called Sporades, in the Ægean sea, and celebrated for the tomb of Homer. But some learned men are of opinion that instead of Ἰῆθεν we should read Οἴηθεν, and that Demonides was not of the island of Iös, but of Oia, one of the Attic boroughs.

[29] There were several courts of judicature in Athens, composed of a certain number of citizens, who received an obolus each for every cause they tried; and sometimes men, who aimed at popularity, procured this fee to be increased.

[30] Of this Cabinet of nine Ministers, annually chosen as the executive governors of Athens, see an account in the Life of Solon, Vol. I. not. (39.)*

[31] His treason against the state was pretended to consist in receiving presents or other gratifications from the Macedonians, which (it was alleged) induced him to forego the opportunity of enlarging the Athenian conquests, after he had taken the gold-mines of Thrace. Cimon answered, that he had prosecuted the war to the utmost of his power against the Thracians, and their other enemies; but he had made no inroads into Macedon, because he did not conceive that he was to act as a public enemy to mankind.

The term of Cimon's banishment, as it was by Ostracism, was limited by law to ten years. In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians with an immense army entered the territory of Tanagra[32]; and the Athenians immediately marching out against them, Cimon returned and placed himself in the ranks with those of his tribe, intending by his deeds to wipe off the aspersion of favouring the Lacedæmonians, and to venture his life with his countrymen; but by a combination of the friends of Pericles he was repulsed, as an exile. This seems to have been the cause, why Pericles exerted himself in a particular manner in that battle, and exposed his person to the greatest dangers. All Cimon's friends[33], whom Pericles had accused as accomplices in his pretended crime, fell honourably that day together: and the Athenians, who were defeated upon their own borders and expected a still sharper conflict in the summer, grievously repented their treatment of Cimon, and longed for his return from exile. Pericles, sensible of the people's inclinations, did not hesitate to gratify them, but himself proposed a decree for recalling Cimon; and, through his mediation, a peace was concluded upon his return. For the Lacedæmonians had a particular regard for him, as well as a dislike of Pericles and the other demagogues. Some authorities however affirm, that Pericles did not procure an order for Cimon's return, till they had entered into a private compact, by means of his sister Elpinice, that Cimon should have the command abroad, and with two hundred galleys lay waste the king of Persia's dominions, and Pericles retain the direction of affairs at home. It appeared too, that Elpinice before this had softened Pericles' resentment against Cimon, and procured her brother a milder sentence than that of death. Pericles was one of those appointed by the people to manage the impeachment; and when Elpinice addressed him as a suppliant, he smiled and said, "You are old, Elpinice; much too old to "solicit in so weighty an affair." He rose up however but once to speak, barely to acquit himself of his trust, and bore much less hardly upon Cimon than the rest of his accusers[34]. Who then can give credit to Idomeneus[35], when he says that Pericles caused the orator Ephialtes, his friend and assistant in the administration, to be assassinated, through jealousy and envy of his illustrious character? I know not where he met with this calumny, which he thus bitterly vents against a man, not indeed in all respects irreproachable, but who certainly had such a greatness of mind and such a high sense of honour, as were totally incompatible with an action so savage and inhuman. The truth of the matter (according to Aristotle) is, that Ephialtes being grown formidable to the nobles, on account of his inflexible severity in prosecuting all who invaded the rights of the people, his enemies caused him to be taken off in a private and treacherous manner, by Aristodicus of Tanagra.

---

[32] In Bœotia, between the Ismenus and the Asopus.

[33] To the number of a hundred, as we shall see in the Life of Cimon. They had been conjured by their chief, when he was driven from the army, to exert themselves for his vindication as well as their own: and they did it nobly.*

About the same time died Cimon[36], in the expedition to Cyprus. And the nobility, perceiving that Pericles had now reached a height of authority which set him far above the other citizens, were desirous of having some person to oppose him, who might give a check to his power, and prevent his making himself absolute. For this purpose they set up Thucydides, of the ward of Alopece, a man of great prudence, and brother-in-law to Cimon. He had not, indeed, Cimon's talents for war, but he was superior to him in forensic and political abilities; and by residing constantly in Athens, and opposing Pericles in the general assembly, he soon brought the government to an equilibrium. For he did not suffer persons of rank to be dispersed and confounded with the rest of the people, because in that case their dignity was obscured; but collected them into a separate body, by which means their authority was enhanced, and sufficient weight thrown into their scale. There was indeed from the beginning a kind of doubtful separation, which like the flaws in a piece of iron, indicated that the aristocratical party and that of the commonalty were not perfectly one, though they were not actually divided: but the ambition of Pericles and Thucydides, and the contest between them, had so extraordinary an effect upon the city, that it was quite split in two, one of the parts being called 'the people' and the other 'the nobility.' For this reason, Pericles more than ever gave the people the reins, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with them; contriving to have always some show, or play, or feast, or procession in the city, and to amuse it with the politest pleasures.

---

[34] Yet Cimon was fined fifty talents (9687*l.* 10*s.*) and narrowly escaped a capital sentence, having only a majority of three votes to prevent it.

[35] Idomeneus of Lampsacus, the author of this improbable story, was a pupil of Epicurus, and wrote a History of Socrates' scholars, &c. See Diog. Laërt. ii. 20., and Voss. de Hist. Gr. i. 11.*

[36] At the siege of Citium, B. C. 449. Æt. 51.

As another mean of employing their attention, he sent out sixty galleys every year, manned for eight months[37] with a considerable number of the citizens, who were both paid for their service, and improved themselves as mariners. He likewise sent a colony of a thousand men to the Chersonese, five hundred to Naxos, two hundred and fifty to Andros, a thousand into the country of the Bisaltæ in Thrace, and others into Italy, who settled in Sybaris[38] and changed it's name to Thurii. These things he did, to clear the city of a useless multitude, who were very troublesome when they had nothing to do; to make provision for the most necessitous, and to keep the allies of Athens in awe, by placing colonies like so many garrisons in their neighbourhood.

---

[37] Some, instead of μηνας, read μνας; and, according to this reading, the passage must be translated, 'manned with——the citizens, whose pay was eight minæ, and who at the same time improved,' &c.

But that, which was the chief delight and ornament of Athens and the wonder of strangers, and which alone serves to prove that the boasted power and opulence of ancient Greece is not an idle tale, was the magnificence of the temples and public edifices. Yet no part of the conduct of Pericles so effectually moved the spleen of his enemies. In their accusations of him to the people, they insisted, "That he had brought the "deepest disgrace upon the Athenians by removing "the public treasures of Greece from Delos[39], and "taking them into his own custody: That he had "not left himself even the specious apology, of "having caused the money to be brought to Athens "for it's greater security, and to keep it from being "seized by the barbarians: That Greece must "needs consider it as the highest insult, and an act "of open tyranny, when she saw the money which "she had been obliged to contribute toward the war "lavished by the Athenians in gilding their city, "and ornamenting it with statues and temples that "cost a thousand talents[40], as a vain woman decks "herself with jewels." Pericles answered this charge by observing, "That they were not obliged to give the allies any account of the sums which they had received; since they had kept the barbarians at a distance, and effectually defended those allies, who had not furnished either horses, ships, or men, but only contributed money, which is no longer the property of the giver but of the receiver, if he performs the conditions upon which it is bestowed. That, as the state was provided with all the necessaries of war, it's superfluous wealth should be expended upon such works as, when executed, would be eternal monuments of it's glory, and which during their execution would diffuse universal plenty; for, as it was requisite to appropriate so many kinds of labour and such a variety of instruments and materials to these undertakings, to exert every art and employ every hand, almost the whole city would be in pay, and be at the same time both adorned and supported by itself.” Such indeed as were of a proper age and strength, were wanted for the wars and well rewarded for their services; and, as for the mechanics and meaner sort of people, they went not without their share of the public money, nor yet received it to maintain them in idleness. By the constructing of great edifices, which required many arts and a long time to finish them, they had equal pretensions to be recompensed out of the treasury (though they stirred not from the city) with the mariners, soldiers, and garrisons. For the different materials, such as stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress, furnished employment to carpenters, masons, brasiers, goldsmiths, painters, turners, and other artificers; the conveyance of them by sea employed merchants and sailors, and by land wheelwrights, waggoners, carriers, rope-makers, leather-cutters, paviors, and iron-founders: and every art had a number of the lower people ranged in proper subordination to execute it, like soldiers under the command of a general. Thus, by the exercise of these different trades, was plenty diffused among persons of every rank and condition. Thus w works raised of an astonishing magnitude and inimitable beauty and perfection, every architect striving to surpass the magnificence of the design by the elegance of the execution; and yet, after all, the most wonderful circumstance was the expedition, with which they were completed. Many edifices, each of which seems to have required the labour of several successive ages, were finished during the administration of a single man.

---

[38] Sybaris, a city of Magna Græcia, had been thrice destroyed (as Plutarch elsewhere states) and was in the last instance rebuilt, at a small distance from it's former site, under this new name.

[39] The annual contributions of the Grecian states toward a Median war were lodged, with other sums, in the temple of Apollo in Delos, under the care of treasurers appointed by the Greeks. These hoards Pericles iniquitously transferred to Athens, and expended in public buildings for the decoration of that city.*

[40] The *Parthenon*, or temple of 'the Virgin Minerva,' is said to have cost this sum.

It is said that, when Agatharchus the painter valued himself upon the celerity and ease with which he despatched his pieces, Zeuxis replied, "If I "boast, it shall be of the slowness with which I "finish mine *." For ease and speed in the execution seldom give a work any lasting importance, or exquisite beauty; whereas the time, which is expended in labour, is recovered and repaid by the duration of the performance. Hence we have the more reason to wonder, that the structures raised

---

* So do not our modern epic writers. How beautifully does Milton, in his 'Reason of Church-Government,' observe; 'Neither do I think it shame to covenant with any knowing reader, that for some few years yet I may go on trust with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work not to be raised from the heat of youth or the vapours of wine; like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amourist, or the trencher fury of a rhyming parasite; nor to be obtained by the invocation of dame Memory and her siren daughters, but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases, &c. &c.!' And how keenly does his admirable biographer, Dr. Symmons, comment on 'the very different sensations with which some of our more modern poets seem to have contemplated the very arduous labour of constructing an epic poem. But all the parties (he adds) may be right, with reference to their own particular object. After intimating the toils by sea and land, by opposition from earth and heaven, which his hero was to sustain, and finally, by the assistance of the fates and of Jupiter, to overcome, the poet closes the aweful recital with this majestic line—

Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

This was spoken of a mighty empire, which was to extend over the world, and to endure for a succession of ages: but an Arab camp may be planted in one day, and it's vestiges may be effaced by the wind of the desert in another.' (Life of Milton.)

by Pericles should be built so quickly, and yet built for ages; for as each of them, when finished, had the venerable air of antiquity; so, even now, they retain the strength and freshness of a modern building. A bloom is diffused over them, which preserves their aspect untarnished by time, as if they were animated with a spirit of perpetual youth and unfading elegance.

Phidias was appointed by Pericles superintendent of all the public edifices, though the Athenians had then other eminent architects and workmen. The Parthenon (or 'temple of Minerva') whose dimensions had been a hundred feet square[41], was re-built by Callicrates and Ictinus. Corœbus began the temple of Initiation at Eleusis, but only lived to finish the lower rank of columns with their architraves. Metagenes, of the ward of Xypete, added the rest of the entablature, and the upper rows of columns; and Xenocles of Cholargus built the dome on the top[42]. The Long Wall, the building of which Socrates says he heard Pericles propose to the people, was undertaken by Callicrates. Cratinus ridicules this work, as proceeding very slowly;

> Stones upon stones the orator has piled
> With swelling words, but words will build no walls.

The Odeum or 'music-theatre,' which was likewise built by the direction of Pericles, had within it many rows of seats, and of pillars; the roof was of a conic figure, after the model (we are told) of the king of Persia's pavilion[43]. Cratinus, therefore, rallies him again in his play called Thrattæ;

---

[41] This temple which was built within the citadel was called *Hecatompedon*, because it was originally a hundred feet square. After it had been burned by the Persians, it was rebuilt by Pericles; and, though it was greatly enlarged, retained the same appellation. (L.) See the maps of the *Voyage du jeune Anacharse*. In it's ruins are still to be admired the elegance of it's proportions, the beauty of it's *basso-relievos*, and the snowy whiteness of it's marble. (See too Le Roy, *Ruines des plus beaux monumens de la Gréce*, I.)*

[42] This edifice is remarkable for it's two stories of columns, like that at Pæstum or Posidonia, which were constructed after Athenian models. The Lantern, or Cupola, likewise deserves particular notice.

The Long Wall was five miles in length, and two chariots could drive abreast upon it's top. It connected the Piræus with the city.*

> As Jove, an onion on his head he wears;
> As Pericles, a whole orchestra bears:
> Afraid of broils and banishment no more,
> He tunes the shell he trembled at before!

Pericles at this time exerted all his interest to have a decree made, appointing a prize for the best performer in music during the Panathenæa[44]; and, as he was himself appointed judge and distributer of the prizes, he gave the contending artists directions in what manner to proceed, whether their performance was vocal, or on the flute or lyre. From that time the contests for the music-prizes always took place in the Odeum.

The Vestibule of the citadel was finished in five years by Mnesicles the architect. A wonderful event, which happened while the work was in hand, showed that the goddess was not hostile to the work, but rather took it under her protection, and encouraged them to complete it. One of the best and most active of the workmen, missing his step, fell from the top to the bottom, and was bruised in such a manner that his life was despaired of by the physicians. Pericles was deeply concerned at the accident; but in the midst of his affliction the goddess appeared to him in a dream, and informed him of a remedy[45], which he applied to the speedy relief of the patient. In memory of this cure, he placed in the citadel, near the altar (which is said to have been there before) a brazen statue of the 'Minerva of Health.' The golden statue of the same goddess[46] was the workmanship of Phidias, and his name is inscribed upon the pedestal; for through the friendship of Pericles (as we have already observed) he had the direction of every thing, and all the artists received his orders. For this the one was envied, and the other slandered; and it was intimated, that Phidias for Pericles' accommodation received into his house ladies, who came thither under pretence of seeing his works. The comic poets, getting hold of this story, represented him as a perfect libertine. They accused him of an intrigue with the wife of Menippus, his friend and lieutenant in the army: and because Pyrilampes, another intimate acquaintance of his, had a collection of curious birds and particularly of peacocks[47], it was supposed that he

---

[43] In this building likewise was held the wheat market, and every thing relative to grain by process or otherwise transacted. It's top, supported by pillars of stone or marble, was built from the sale of the masts and yards of the Persian vessels. (Vitruv. v. 9.) It was burned by Sylla, at the siege of Athens; and soon afterward rebuilt by Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia.*

[44] For an account of this great festival, see the Life of Theseus, Vol. I. p. 29.*

[45] The plant *Parthenium*, or 'common feverfew,' of the genus *Matricaria*. It has received (observe the editors of the Encycl.

Brit.) a most extraordinary character in hysteric and other affections of the nerves, as well as for being a carminative, or warm stimulating bitter. Dr. Lewis, however, thinks it inferior to camomile; with which he says it agrees in all it's sensible qualities, being only somewhat weaker. Pliny (H. N. xxii. 17.) relates this miraculous cure, and derives the name of the plant from it's relation to the Virgin-goddess. He mentions likewise, xxxiv. 8., the statue *(Splanchnoptes)* of this slave, which Pericles caused to be made by Stipas of Cyprus.*

[46] This statue was of gold and ivory. Pausanias (i. 24.) has given us a description of it. The goddess was represented standing, clothed in a tunic that reached down to her feet. On her Ægis, or breast-plate, was Medusa's head in ivory, and Victory. She held a spear in her hand; and at her feet lay a buckler and a dragon, supposed to be Erichthonius. The sphynx was represented on the middle of her helmet, with a griffin on each side. This statue was thirty-nine feet high; the Victory on the breastplate was about four cubits; and forty talents of gold were employed upon it. (L.) (Thucyd. ii. 13.) Pausanias mentions likewise the 'Minerva of Health.' Plutarch specifies the inscribing of Phidias' name, because it was a capital offence by the laws. Myron, it is said, had engraved his in very small letters on the inside of the thigh of his celebrated Heifer, which greatly enhanced it's value.*

[47] Peacocks were at that time, from their rarity, in high estimation;

——— *Quia veneat auro*
Rara avis. Hor. Sat. II. ii. 26.

kept them only as presents for those women, who granted favours to Pericles. But what wonder is it, that men of a satirical turn should daily sacrifice the characters of the great to that malevolent dæmon, the envy of the multitude; when Stesimbrotus of Thasos has dared to lodge against Pericles the horrid and fabulous accusation of having corrupted his son's wife? So difficult it is to come at truth, in the pursuits of history: since, if the writers live after the events which they relate, they can only be imperfectly informed of facts; and if they describe the persons and transactions of their own times, they are tempted by envy and hatred, or by interest and friendship, to vitiate and pervert the truth!

The orators of Thucydides' party raised a clamour against Pericles, asserting that he wasted the public treasure, and reduced the revenue to nothing. Pericles, in his defence, demanded of the people in full assembly; "Whether, or not, they thought that "he had expended too much?" Upon their answering in the affirmative, "Then be it," cried he, "charged to my account[48], not yours: only let "the new edifices be inscribed with my name, not "with that of the people of Athens." Whether it were that they admired the greatness of his spirit, or were ambitious to share the glory of such magnificent works, they exclaimed; "That he might "spend as much as he pleased of the public treasure, "without sparing it in the least."

At last the contest came on between Thucydides and himself, which of them should be exiled by the Ostracism: when Pericles gained the victory, banished his adversary, and entirely defeated his party. The opposition now being at an end, and unanimity taking place among all ranks of people, Pericles became sole master of Athens and it's dependences. The revenues, the army and navy, the islands and the sea, a most extensive territory peopled by barbarians as well as Greeks, fortified with the obedience of subject nations, the friendship of kings, and the alliance of princes, were all at his command.

---

[48] It appears, from a passage in Thucydides, that the public stock of the Athenians amounted to nine thousand seven hundred talents (1,879,375*l.*) of which Pericles had laid out, in those public buildings, three thousand seven hundred talents (716,875*l.*) It is natural therefore to inquire, how he could tell the people that it should be at his own expense, especially since Plutarch informs us in the sequel, that he had not in the least improved the estate left him by his father? To which the true answer probably is, that Pericles well knew the vanity of the Athenians would never let them permit him to inscribe the new buildings with his name, to the exclusion of theirs: or perhaps he might venture to say any thing, being secure of a majority of their votes.

From this time he became a different man, and was no longer so obsequious to the humour of the populace, which is as wild and changeable as the winds. The multitude were not indulged or courted; the government, in fact, was not popular; it's loose and luxuriant harmony was confined to stricter measures, and it assumed an aristocratical or rather monarchical form. He kept the public good in his eye, and pursued the straight path of honour: for the most part gently leading them by argument to a sense of what was right, and sometimes forcing them to comply with what was for their own advantage; in this respect imitating a good physician, who in the various symptoms of a long disease sometimes administers medicines tolerably agreeable, and at other times such as are sharp and strong, when such alone are capable of restoring the patient. He possessed exclusively the art of carefully controlling those many disorderly passions, which necessarily spring up among a people possessed of such an extensive dominion. The two engines, with which he worked, were hope and fear; with these repressing their violence when they were too impetuous, and supporting their spirits when inclined to languor, he made it appear that rhetoric is (as Plato defined it) "the art of ruling the minds of men;" and that it's principal province consists in moving the passions and affections of the soul, which, like so many strings in a musical instrument, require the touch of a masterly and a delicate hand. Neither were the powers of eloquence alone sufficient, but (as Thucydides observes[49]) the orator was a man of probity and unblemished reputation. Money could not bribe him: nay, he was so much above the desire of it, that though he increased greatly the opulence of the state, which he found not inconsiderable, and though his power exceeded that of many kings and tyrants, some of whom have bequeathed their sovereignty to their descendents, he added not a single drachma to his paternal estate.

Thucydides, indeed, gives this candid account of the power and authority of Pericles; but the comic writers abuse him in a most malignant manner, naming his friends 'the new Pisistratidæ[50],' and calling upon him to swear that he would never attempt to render himself absolute, since his authority was already much too enormous and overbearing in a free state. Teleclides says, the Athenians had given up to him

The tribute of the states, the states themselves,
To bind, to loose; to build, and to destroy;
In peace, in war to govern; nay, to rule
Their very fate, like some superior being.

And this not only for a time, or during the prime and flower of a short administration: but for forty years together retaining the pre-eminence, amidst such men as Ephialtes, Leocrates, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmides, and Thucydides; and continuing it no less than fifteen years after the fall and banishment of the latter. In him the power of the magistrates, which to them was but annual, all centred; yet still he kept himself untainted by avarice. Not that he was inattentive to his finances; but on the contrary, without neglecting his paternal estate, or choosing to have much trouble with it (as he had not much time to spare) he brought the management of it into a method, which he considered as at once the easiest and the most exact. For he used to turn a whole year's produce into money by a single sale, and with this he bought from day to day all kinds of necessaries at the market. But this way of living was not agreeable to his sons when grown up, and the allowance which he made to the women did not appear to them sufficiently generous. They complained of a pittance daily measured out with scrupulous œconomy, which admitted none of those superfluities so common in large houses and wealthy families, and could not bear to think of the expences being so nicely adjusted to the income.

---

[49] ii. 65.*

[50] By this implying, that they were intended, like the guards assigned to Pisistratus when he counterfeited fear of his enemies, as a mean of usurping the supreme power.*

The person, who managed these concerns with so much exactness, was a servant named Evangelus, either remarkably fitted for the purpose by nature, or formed to it by Pericles. Anaxagoras, indeed, considered these lower attentions as inconsistent with his wisdom. Following the dictates of enthusiasm, and wrapt up in sublime enquiries, he quitted his house, and left his lands untilled and desolate. But, in my opinion, there is an essential difference between a speculative and a practical philosopher. The former advances his ideas into the regions of science, without the assistance of any thing corporeal or external; the latter endeavours to apply his great qualities to the use of mankind, and riches afford him not only necessary but excellent assistance. Thus it was with Pericles, who by his wealth was enabled to relieve numbers of the poor citizens. Nay, for want of such prudential regards, this very Anaxagoras (we are told) lay neglected and unprovided for, insomuch that the poor old man had covered up his head, and was going to starve himself[51]. But an account of it being brought to Pericles, he was extremely moved at it, ran instantly to his relief, expostulated, entreated; bewailing not so much his friend's fate as his own, if his administration should lose so valuable a counsellor. Anaxagoras, uncovering his face, replied; "Ah Pericles! "those, that have need of a lamp, take care to "supply it with oil."

---

[51] It was customary among the ancients for a person, who wa determined to put an end to his life, to cover up his head; whethe

By this time, the Lacedæmonians began to express some jealousy of the Athenian greatness; and Pericles willing to advance it still higher, and to make the people more sensible of their importance and adequacy to high attempts, procured an order that all the Greeks, (wheresoever they resided, whether in Europe or in Asia, whether their cities were small or large) should send deputies to Athens to consult about rebuilding the Grecian temples which the barbarians had burned, and about providing those sacrifices, which had been vowed during the Persian war for the preservation of Greece; and likewise to enter into such measures as might secure navigation, and maintain the peace.

Accordingly twenty persons, each upward of fifty years of age [52], were despatched with this proposal to the different states of Greece. Five went to the Ionians and Dorians in Asia, and to the islanders as far as Lesbos and Rhodes; five to the cities about the Hellespont and in Thrace, as far as Byzantium; five to the inhabitants of Bœotia, Phocis, and Peloponnesus, and thence by Locri along the adjoining continent, to Acarnania and Ambracia. The rest were sent through Eubœa to

---

he devoted himself to death for the service of his country, or simply to rid himself of a barthensome existence. (L.)

> —*Malè re gesta cùm vellem mittere operto*
> *Me capite in flumen.* Hor. Sat. II. iii. 38.

Diog. Laërt. in his Life of this philosopher says, that he gave up his patrimony to his relations, τα πατρωα παρεχωρησε τοις οικειοις.*

[52] This was a critical age at Athens; those, who had exceeded it, being then first summoned to deliver their opinions in the assemblies of the people: Τις αγορευειν βȣλεται των ὑπερ πεντηκοντα ετη γεγονοτων: (Aristoph. Acharn., Demosth. et Æsch. Περι Στεφ. &c.)*

the Greeks that dwelt upon Mount Oeta and near the Maliac Bay, to the Phthiotæ, the Achæans[53], and the Thessalians, inviting them to join in the council and new confederacy for the preservation of the peace of Greece. It produced no effect, however, neither did the cities send their deputies; the reason of which is said to have been the opposition of the Lacedæmonians[54], for the proposal was first rejected in Peloponnesus. But I have given an account of it, as a specimen of the greatness of the orator's spirit, and of his disposition to form magnificent designs.

His chief merit in war was, the safety of his measures. He never willingly engaged in any very uncertain or dangerous expedition: neither had he any ambition to imitate those generals, who are admired as great men, merely because their rash enterprises have been attended with success; he always told the Athenians, "That, as far as their fate depended "upon him, they should be immortal." Perceiving that Tolmides the son of Tolmæus, in confidence of his former success and military reputation[55], was preparing to invade Bœotia at an unseasonable time; and that, beside the regular troops, he had persuaded the bravest and most adventurous of the Athenian youth, to the number of a thousand, to go volunteers in that expedition; he addressed him in public, and tried to divert him from it, making use among others of those well-known words, "If you

---

[53] By 'Achæans' we are sometimes to understand the Greeks in general, especially in the writings of the poets, Homer, &c. and sometimes the inhabitants of a particular district in Peloponnesus: but we must here understand a people of Thessaly, so called. (See Steph. Byz. voc. Φαρσᾶς.)

[54] It is no wonder that the Lacedæmonians opposed this undertaking, since the giving way to it would have been acknowledging the Athenians as masters of Greece. The Athenians, indeed, should not have attempted it, without an order or decree of the Amphictyons.

[55] He had ravaged Peloponnesus, burnt the Carthaginian vessels, defeated the Sicyonians, &c. He was himself, however, beaten by the Lacedæmonians at Coronea, B. C. 447.*

"regard not the opinion of Pericles, wait at least for "the advice of time, who is the best of counsellors." This saying, for the present, gained no considerable applause: but when, a few days afterward, intelligence arrived that Tolmides was defeated and killed at Coronea, together with many of the most valiant citizens, it obtained Pericles great respect and love from the people; who considered it as a proof not only of his sagacity, but of his affection for his countrymen.

Of his military expeditions, that to the Chersonese procured him the highest honour, because it proved very salutary to the Greeks who dwelt there. For he not only strengthened their population with the addition of a thousand colonists, but raised fortifications across the isthmus from sea to sea; thus guarding against the incursions of the Thracians who were spread about the Chersonese, and putting an end to those long and grievous wars which that district had incurred from the neighbourhood of the barbarians, as well as to the robberies with which it had been infested by the borderers and native inhabitants. But the expedition, most celebrated among strangers, was that by sea around Peloponnesus. He set sail from Pegæ in the territories of Megara with a hundred ships of war, and not only ravaged the maritime cities, as Tolmides had done before him, but landed his forces and penetrated far into the country. The terror of his arms drove the inhabitants into their fortified cities, with the exception of the Sicyonians who made head against him at Nemea, and were defeated in a pitched battle; in memory of which victory, he erected a trophy. From Achaia, a confederate state, he took a number of men into his galleys, and sailed to the opposite side of the continent; then passing by the mouth of the Acheloüs, he made a descent in Acarnania, shut up the Œneadæ within their walls, and having laid waste the country returned home. In the whole course of this affair, he appeared terrible to his enemies, and to his countrymen prudent and energetic; for no miscarriage was committed, nor did even any misfortune happen, during the whole time.

Having sailed to Pontus with a large and well-equipped fleet, he procured for the Grecian cities in that quarter all the advantages which they desired, and treated them with the highest regard. To the barbarous nations that surrounded them, and to their kings and princes, he exhibited the greatness of Athens, by showing with what security her fleets could sail, and that she was in effect mistress of the seas. He left the people of Sinope thirteen ships under the command of Lamachus, and a body of men to act against Timesileos[56] their tyrant. And, when the usurper and his party were driven out, he caused a decree to be made that a colony of six hundred Athenian volunteers should be placed in Sinope, and put in possession of those houses and lands which had belonged to the oppressors.

He did not however give way to the wild desires of the citizens, nor would he indulge them, when elated with their strength and good fortune, they talked of recovering Egypt[57], and of attempting the coast of Persia. Many were likewise at this time possessed with that unfortunate passion for Sicily, which was subsequently[58] still farther inflamed by the orators of Alcibiades' party. Nay some even dreamed of Hetruria[59] and Carthage, and not (as they imagined) without reasonable ground of hope, because of the immense extent of their dominions, and the successful course of their affairs.

---

[56] This tyrant is not elsewhere mentioned. Sinope is a city of Paphlagonia, colonised by Milesians, on the borders of the Euxine or Black sea.*

[57] For the Athenians in Thucydides (ii. 109.) had been masters of Egypt, as we find. They were driven out of it by Megabyzus, Artaxerxes' lieutenant, Ol. lxxx. 1.; and it was only in Ol. lxxxi. 4., that Pericles made his successful expedition against Peloponnesus! It is not therefore strange that the Athenians, now in the height of their prosperity, should talk of recovering their footing in a country, which they had so recently lost.

[58] Fifteen or sixteen years after the death of Pericles.*

[59] Hetruria seems oddly joined with Carthage; but we must consider that Hetruria was on one side of Sicily, and Carthage on

But Pericles restrained this impetuosity of the citizens, and curbed their extravagant lust of conquest; employing the greatest part of their forces in strengthening and securing their present acquisitions, and considering it as a matter of consequence to keep the Lacedæmonians within bounds; whom he therefore opposed, as upon other occasions, so particularly in the Sacred[60] War. For when the Lacedæmonians by dint of arms had restored to the citizens of Delphi their temple, of which the Phocians had taken possession, Pericles immediately after the departure of the Lacedæmonians marched thither, and replaced it in the hands of the Phocians. And as the Lacedæmonians had engraved upon the forehead of the brazen wolf the privilege, which the people of Delphi had granted them, of consulting the oracle first[61], Pericles caused the same privilege for the Athenians to be inscribed upon the wolf's right-side.

The event proved, that he was right in confining the Athenian forces to act within the bounds of Greece. For, in the first place, the Eubœans revolted, and he led an army against them. Soon afterward intelligence was brought that Megara had commenced hostilities, and that the Lacedæmonian forces under the command of king Plistonax were upon the

---

the other. The Athenians therefore, after they had in imagination devoured Sicily, might think of extending their conquests to the countries on the right and left; in the same manner as Pyrrhus, at a subsequent period, indulged his ambitious projects of subduing Sicily, Italy, and Africa. See his Life, Vol. III.

[60] So called, from it's relation to the temple of Delphi. There was another, still more celebrated, of the same name, in the time of Philip of Macedon.*

[61] This wolf is said to have been consecrated and placed by the side of the great altar, on account of a wolf's killing a thief who had robbed the temple, and by repeated howlings leading the inhabitants of Delphi to the place where the treasure lay. But see Pausan. x. 14.

borders of Attica. The enemy offered him battle: he did not choose, however, to risk an engagement with so resolute an army. But as Plistonax was very young, and chiefly directed by Cleandrides, a counsellor whom the Ephori had assigned him on account of his tender age, he tempted the latter with a bribe, and succeeding to his wish persuaded him to draw off the Peloponnesians from Attica. The soldiers dispersing and retiring to their respective homes, the Lacedæmonians were so highly incensed, that they laid a heavy fine upon the king; and, as he was unable to pay it, he withdrew from Lacedæmon[62]. Cleandrides, who had fled from justice, they condemned to death. He was the father of Gylippus, who defeated the Athenians in Sicily, and who seemed to have derived from him the vice of avarice as an hereditary distemper. For he too was led by it into criminal practices, for which (as we have related, in the Life of Lysander) he was banished with ignominy from Sparta.

In the accounts of this campaign, Pericles stated ten talents laid out "for a necessary service;" and the people allowed it, without examining the matter closely, or prying into the secret. According to some writers, and among others Theophrastus the philosopher, Pericles sent ten talents annually to Sparta, with which he gained all the magistracy, and kept them from acts of hostility; not that he purchased peace with the money, but only gained time, that he might have leisure to make preparations for subsequently carrying on the war with advantage.

Immediately upon the retreat of the Lacedæmonians, he turned his arms against the revolters, and passing over into Eubœa with fifty ships and five thousand men, reduced their cities. He expelled the

---

[62] Thucydides (ii. 21.) says, that he was banished by his subjects, on suspicion of having been bribed to retreat."

Hippobotæ, persons distinguished by their opulence and authority among the Chalcidians, and having exterminated all the Hestiæans, bestowed their city upon a colony of Athenians. The cause of this severity was their having seized an Athenian ship, and murthered the crew.

Soon after this, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians having agreed upon a truce for thirty years, Pericles caused a decree to be made for an expedition against Samos. His pretence was, that the Samians, when commanded to put an end to the war with the Milesians, had refused it. But as he seems to have entered upon this war merely to gratify Aspasia, it may not here be unreasonable to inquire by what art or power this woman captivated the most illustrious statesmen, and brought even philosophers[63] to speak of her so much to her advantage.

It is agreed, that she was by birth a Milesian[64], and the daughter of Axiochus. She is reported to have trodden in the steps of Thargelia[65], who was descended from the ancient Ionians, and to have reserved her intimacies for the great. This Thargelia, who to the charms of her person added a peculiar politeness and poignancy of wit, had many lovers among the Greeks, and drew over to the king of Persia's interest all that approached her; by means of whom, as they were persons of eminence and authority, she sowed the seeds of the Median faction among the states of Greece.

Some, indeed, affirm that Pericles made his court to Aspasia, only on account of her wisdom and political abilities. Nay, even Socrates himself occasionally visited her along with his friends; and her acquaintance took their wives with them to hear her discourse, though her vocation was neither honourable nor decent, for she kept a number of courtesans in her house. Æschines informs us that Lysicles, who was a grazier[66] and of a mean ungenerous disposition, by his intercourse with Aspasia after Pericles' death, became the most considerable man in Athens. And though Plato's Menexenus in the beginning is rather humorous than serious, yet so much of history we may gather from it, that many Athenians resorted to her on account of her skill in the art of speaking[67].

---

[63] Socrates and Plato.*

[64] Miletus, a city in Ionia, eminent for producing persons of extraordinary abilities, and proverbially dissipated. The licentious fictions there circulated, of which one Aristides was a celebrated author, are called by Plutarch (in his Life of Crassus) *ακολαϛα βιβλια*.*

[65] Who, by her beauty, obtained the sovereignty of Thessaly. She came, however, to an untimely end; for she was murthered by one of her lovers.

I should not, however, think that the attachment of Pericles was of so delicate a kind. For though his wife, who was his relation and had been first married to Hipponicus (by whom she had Callias the rich) brought him two sons, Xanthippus and Paralus, yet they lived so ill together that they parted by consent. She married another, and he took Aspasia, for whom he had the tenderest regard: insomuch, that he never went out upon business, or returned without saluting her. In the comedies she is denominated 'the New Omphale,' 'Deïanira,' and 'Juno.' Cratinus plainly calls her a prostitute;

---

[66] What the employments were, to which this Lysicles was advanced, is no where recorded. (L.) Of the two so named, who attained distinction at Athens, one died the year after Pericles, and could not probably in so short a time have profited largely by his intercourse with Aspasia: the other, who had been the principal cause of the disaster at Chæronea (Diod. Sic. xvi. 88.) was executed upon that account, Ol. cx. 3., more than 90 years after the former. It would make Aspasia a perfect Ninon de l'Enclos, if we suppose the second to have been the Lysicles in question.*

[67] It is not to be imagined, that Aspasia excelled in light and amorous discourses. Her discourses, on the contrary, were not more brilliant than solid. It was even believed by the most intelligent Athenians, and among them by Socrates himself, that she composed the celebrated funeral oration, pronounced by Pericles in honour of those who fell in the Samian war. It is not impossible, that Pericles undertook that war at her suggestion, to avenge the quarrel of the Milesians: she is even said to have accompanied him in the expedition, and to have built a temple to perpetuate the memory of his victory. But see Thucyd. i. 115.

She bore this Juno, this Aspasia,
Skill'd in the shameless trade and every art
Of wantonness.

He seems to have had a natural son by her; for he is introduced, by Eupolis, inquiring after him thus;

Still lives the offspring of my dalliance?

Pyronides answers,

He lives, and might have borne the name of husband,
Did he not deeply dread the harlot-mischief.

Such was the fame of Aspasia that Cyrus, who disputed with Artaxerxes the crown of Persia, gave her name to his favourite concubine, previously called Milto. This woman was born in Phocis, and was the daughter of Hermotimus. When Cyrus was slain in the battle, she was carried to the king, and had subsequently great influence over him. These particulars occurring to my memory, as I wrote this Life, I thought it would be an uncourteous affectation of austerity to pass them over in silence.

I now return to the Samian war, which Pericles is much blamed for having promoted, at Aspasia's instigation, in favour of the Milesians. The Milesians and Samians had been at war for the city of Priene, and the Samians had the advantage; when the Athenians interposed and ordered them to lay down their arms, and refer to themselves the decision of the dispute. With this demand they refused to comply. Pericles therefore sailed with a fleet to Samos, and abolished the oligarchical form of government. He then took fifty of the principal men, and the same number of children, as hostages, and sent them to Lemnos. Each of these hostages, we are told, offered him a talent for his ransom; and those, who were desirous to prevent the introduction of a democracy likewise, would have given him much more. Pissuthnes the Persian[68], who had the interest of the Samians at heart, sent him ten thousand pieces of gold, to induce him to grant them more favourable terms. Pericles, however, would receive none of their presents, but treated the Samians in the manner which he had resolved upon; and, having established a popular government in the island[69], returned to Athens.

But they soon revolted again, having recovered their hostages by some private measure of Pissuthnes, and made new preparations for war. Pericles, coming with a fleet to reduce them once more, found them not in a posture of negligence or despair, but determined to contend with him for the dominion of the sea. A sharp engagement ensued near the isle of Tragiæ[70], and Pericles gained a signal victory, having with forty-four ships defeated seventy, twenty of which had marines on board.

Pursuing his success, he possessed himself of the harbour of Samos, and laid siege to the city. They still however retained courage enough to sally out, and give him battle before the walls. Soon afterward a greater fleet[71] arrived from Athens, and the Samians were entirely shut up: upon which Pericles took sixty galleys, and steered for the Mediterranean, with a design (as it is generally supposed) to meet the Phœnician fleet which was coming to the relief of Samos, and to engage with it as far as possible from the island.

Stesimbrotus indeed says, he intended to sail for

---

[68] Pissuthnes the son of Hystaspes was governor of Sardis, and espoused the cause of the Samians of course, because the principal persons among them were in the Persian interest.

[69] And a garrison, as we learn from Thucydides (i. 115.)*

[70] One of the Sporades, opposite to Samos.*

[71] Consisting of forty Athenian, and twenty-five Chian and Lesbian vessels. (Thucyd. i. 116.)*

Cyprus, which is very improbable. But, whatever his design was, he seems to have committed an error. For as soon as he was gone, Melissus the son of Ithagenes, a man distinguished as a philosopher and at that time commander of the Samians, despising either the small number of ships that was left behind, or the inexperience of their officers, persuaded his countrymen to attack the Athenians. Accordingly, a battle was fought; and the Samians having obtained the victory, made many prisoners and destroyed the chief part of the enemy's fleet, cleared the seas, and imported whatever warlike stores and provisions they stood in need of. Aristotle writes, that Pericles himself had been beaten by the same Melissus in a former sea-fight.

The Samians returned upon the Athenian prisoners the insult which they had received[72], and marked their foreheads with the figure of an owl; as the Athenians had branded them with a Samæna, which is a kind of ship built low in the fore-part, and wide and hollow at the sides. This form makes it light and expeditious in sailing; and it was called Samæna, from it's having been invented in Samos by Polycrates the tyrant. Aristophanes is supposed to have hinted at these marks, when he says,

The Samians are a letter'd race.

As soon as Pericles was informed of the misfortune which had befallen his army, he immediately returned with succours[73], gave Melissus battle, routed the enemy, and blocked up the town by building a wall about it; choosing to owe the conquest of it rather to time and expense, than to purchase it with the blood of his fellow-citizens. But when he found the Athenians murmured at the duration of the blockade, and that it was difficult to restrain them from the assault, he divided the army into eight parts, and ordered them to draw lots. That division, which drew a white bean[74], was to enjoy itself in ease and pleasure while the others fought. Hence (it is said) those, who spend the day in feasting and merriment, call that 'a white day' from the white bean.

---

[72] We have no account of these reciprocal barbarities in Thucydides. (L.) The owl, it is almost superfluous to observe, was the bird of Minerva, the tutelary deity of Athens; and exists (as we have before noted) upon a great number of the medals of that city.*

[73] On his return, he received a reinforcement of eighty ships, as Thucydides, or of ninety, as Diodorus informs us.

Ephorus adds that Pericles in this siege made use of battering engines, the invention of which he much admired, it being then a new one; and that he had Artemon the engineer along with him, who on account of his lameness was carried about in a litter, when his presence was required to direct the machines, and thence had the surname of Periphoretus. But Heraclides of Pontus confutes this assertion by some verses of Anacreon[75], in which mention is made of Artemon Periphoretus, several ages before the Samian war and these transactions of Pericles. This Artemon, he states, was a person who gave himself up to luxury, and was likewise of a timid and effeminate spirit: that he spent most of his time within doors, and had a shield of brass held over his head by a couple of slaves, lest any thing should fall upon him: and that when he was necessarily obliged to go abroad, he was carried in a litter which hung so low as almost to touch the ground, and was therefore called Periphoretus.

After nine months, the Samians surrendered. Pericles rased their walls, seized their ships, and laid a heavy fine upon them; part of which they immediately paid down, the rest they promised at a set time, and gave hostages for the payment. Duris the Samian makes a melancholy tale of it, accusing Pericles and the Athenians of great cruelty, of which however no mention is made by Thucydides, Ephorus, or Aristotle. What he relates concerning the Samian officers and seamen, seems quite fictitious: he tells us, that Pericles caused them to be brought into the market-place at Miletus, and to be bound to posts there for ten days together; at the expiration of which he commanded them, by that time reduced to the most wretched condition, to be despatched with clubs, and refused their bodies the honour of burial. Duris indeed, in his histories, often goes beyond the limits of truth[76], even when not misled by any interest or passion; and he is therefore more likely to have exaggerated the sufferings of his country, in order to make the Athenians appear in an odious light.

---

[74] The use of the white bean, as a symbol of acquittal in criminal causes, was long anterior to the age of Pericles.*

[75] These verses are still extant in Athenæus (xii. 9.) It is singular, M. Ricard observes, that there should have been two men of this name, with the same character, and the same personal defect. But the engineer, who accompanied Pericles, had nothing perhaps in common with the other except his name; and Plutarch has erroneously applied to him the particulars here mentioned.*

Pericles, on his return to Athens after the reduction of Samos, celebrated in a splendid manner the obsequies of his countrymen who had fallen in that war, and delivered the funeral oration usual upon such occasions[77]. This gained him great applause; and, when he came down from the Rostrum, the women paid their respects to him and presented him with crowns and chaplets, like a champion just returned victorious from the lists. Elpinice alone addressed him in terms quite different; "Are these "actions then, Pericles, worthy of crowns and

---

[76] This historian however, a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus, is represented by Cicero (Ep. ad. Att. vi. 1.) as *homo in historiâ diligens*, 'an accurate writer.' See Voss. de Hist. Græc. i. 15.*

[77] This *éloge*, delivered Ol. lxxxiv. 4., must not be confounded with his celebrated speech, pronounced over those who fell in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, Ol. lxxxvii. 3. (Thucyd. ii. 35—46.) The Areopagites selected the orator upon these occasions, and it was no small honour to Pericles to have been twice chosen, as the comforter of his country in her afflictions.*

"garlands, which have deprived us of many brave "citizens: not in a war with the Phœnicians and "Medes, such as my brother Cimon waged, but in "destroying a city united to us both by blood and "friendship?" Pericles only smiled, and answered softly with this line of Archilochus,

Why lavish ointments on a head that's grey?

Ion informs us, that he was highly elated with this conquest, and scrupled not to say; "That "Agamemnon spent ten years in reducing one of "the cities of the barbarians, whereas he had taken "the richest and most powerful city of Ionia in nine "months." And, indeed, he had reason to be proud of this achievement; for the war was really a dangerous one, and the event uncertain, since (according to Thucydides) such was the power of the Samians, that the Athenians were in imminent danger of losing the dominion of the sea.

Some time after this[78], when the Peloponnesian war was ready to break out, Pericles persuaded the people to send succours to the inhabitants of Corcyra, who were at war with the Corinthians[79]; in order to fix in their interest an island whose naval forces were considerable, and might be of the utmost service in case of a rupture with the Peloponnesians, an event reasonably to be regarded as at no great distance. The succours were accordingly decreed, and Pericles despatched Lacedæmonius the son of Cimon with only ten ships, as if he designed nothing more than to disgrace him [80]. A mutual attachment and friendship subsisted between Cimon's family and the Spartans: and he now furnished his son with but a few ships, and gave him the charge of this affair against his inclination; in order that, if nothing signal or striking were effected, Lacedæmonius might be still the more suspected of favouring the Spartans. Nay, by all imaginable methods he endeavoured to obstruct the advancement of that family, representing the sons of Cimon, as by their very names not genuine Athenians, but strangers and aliens; one of them being called Lacedæmonius, another Thessalus, and a third Eleus. They seem to have been all the sons of an Arcadian woman. Pericles however finding himself severely blamed about these ten galleys, an aid by no means adequate to the necessity of those that requested it, but likely enough to afford his enemies a pretence for accusing him, sent another squadron to Corcyra [81], which did not arrive till the action was over.

---

[78] Five years after the capture of Samos, Ol. lxxxvi. 2. The Peloponnesian war began, Ol. lxxxvii. 2.*

[79] This war commenced about the little territory of Epidamnus, a city in Macedon founded by the Corcyræans, (L.) whose naval force was second only to that of the Athenians. Both they and the Corinthians had applied to Athens for assistance. From the comic poets, the echoes of the popular voice (as quoted in the subsequent part of this life) we might infer that the currently suspected cause of this war was Aspasia's resenting an insult offered her by some young men of Megara. Others suggest that it was devised by Pericles, to screen himself from giving in the account of his administration. But this, in itself unworthy of such an illustrious statesman, is wholly confuted by the well-informed and impartial Thucydides (ii. 65.) It's most probable grounds were, envy of the Athenian renown acquired in the Median war, the haughty conduct of that city, and the jealousy entertained by Sparta of her ascendency. M. Ricard, by an odd mistake, has transferred these conjectures from the Peloponnesian to the Samian war; but he rectifies it in a subsequent note.*

The Corinthians, offended at this treatment, complained of it at Lacedæmon: and the Megarensians at the same time alleged, that the Athenians would not let them come to any mart or port of theirs, but drove them out; infringing thereby the common privileges, and breaking the oath which they had taken before the general assembly of Greece. The people of Ægina, likewise, privately acquainted the Lacedæmonians with many encroachments and injuries sustained from the Athenians, whom they durst not openly accuse. And at this very juncture Potidæa, a Corinthian colony subject to the Athenians, being besieged in consequence of it's revolt, accelerated the war.

---

[80] There seems very little colour for this hard assertion. Thucydides says, that the Athenians did not intend the Corcyræans any real assistance, but sent this small squadron to look on, while the Corinthians and Corcyræans weakened and wasted each other. (L.) Besides, Lacedæmonius was not the only person employed: Diotenes and Proteas were joined with him in the command. (Thucyd. i. 45.)*

[81] But this fleet, which consisted of twenty ships, prevented a second engagement, for which they were preparing. (Thucyd. i. 50.)

As embassadors however were sent to Athens, and Archidamus king of the Lacedæmonians endeavoured to give a healing turn to most of the articles in question and to pacify the allies, probably no other point would have involved the Athenians in hostilities, if they could have been persuaded to rescind the decree against the Megarensians, and to be reconciled to them. Pericles therefore in opposing this measure, in retaining his enmity against the Megarensians, and in working up the people to the same degree of rancour, was the sole author of the war.

It is said that, when the embassadors from Lacedæmon came upon this occasion to Athens[82], Pericles pretended there was a law which forbade the taking down of any tablet, upon which a decree of the people was written: "Then," said Polyarces, one of the embassadors, "don't take it down, but "turn the other side outward; there is no law "against that." Nowithstanding the pleasantry of this answer, however, Pericles did not in the least relent. He seems, indeed, to have had some private pique against the Megarensians; though the pretext, of which he availed himself in public was, that they had applied to profane uses certain parcels of sacred ground[83]: and upon this he procured a decree for a herald to be sent to Megara and Lacedæmon, to lay this charge against the Megarensians. The decree was drawn up in a candid and conciliating manner. But Anthemocritus, the herald sent with that commission, losing his life by the way, through some treachery (as was supposed) of the Megarensians[84], Charinus procured a decree, that an implacable and eternal enmity should subsist between them and the Athenians; that, if any Megarensian should set foot upon Attic ground, he should be put to death; that to the oath which their generals used to take this particular should be added, that they would twice a-year make an inroad in the territories of Megara; and that Anthemocritus should be buried at the Thriasian gate, now called Dipylus.

---

[82] The Lacedæmonian embassadors insisted in the first place that those Athenians should be expelled, who were stiled 'execrable' on account of the old business of Cylon and his associates, including Pericles, who by his mother's side was allied to the family of Megacles; next, that the siege of Potidæa should be raised; thirdly, that the inhabitants of Ægina should be left free; and lastly, that the decree made against the Megarensians (by which they were forbidden the ports and markets of Athens, on pain of death) should be revoked, and the Grecian states under the dominion of Athens set at liberty. Pericles represented to the Athenians that, whatever the Lacedæmonians might pretend, the true ground of their resentment was the prosperity of the Athenian republic: that, nevertheless, they might agree to reverse their decree against Megara, if the Lacedæmonians would allow free egress and regress in their city to the Athenians and their allies; that they would leave all those states free, which were free at the making of the last peace with Sparta, provided the Spartans would also bestow freedom upon such as were under their dominion; and that future disputes should be submitted to arbitration. If these offers should

The Megarensians, however, deny their having

---

not be accepted, he advised them to hazard a war. (See Thucyd. i. 140, &c. (L.)

The law referred to had been proposed and carried by himself. Polyarces was perhaps only in the suite of the embassadors, as he is not mentioned by Thucydides, who has preserved the names of Ramphius, Melesippus, and Hegesander. (ib. 13.)*

[83] The ground, lying between Megara and Attica, was consecrated to the Eleusinian deities, Ceres and Proserpine. Pericles also accused the Megarensians of having given protection to runaway slaves.*

[84] This, it appears below, they denied, and probably imputed to Pericles, as if by murthering his own embassador he had wished to throw upon them the odium of the deed. The reader's recollection will supply him with a probable parallel to this scheme, supposing it true, in a recent event at Rastadt. (1805.)*

been concerned in the murther of Anthemocritus[85], and ascribe the war entirely to Aspasia and Pericles; alleging in proof those well-known verses from the Acharnenses of Aristophanes,

> The god of wine had with his thyrsus smote
> Some youths, who madly stole from Megara
> The prostitute Simætha; in revenge
> Two females, liberal of their smiles, were stolen
> From our Aspasia's train.

It is not, indeed, easy to discover what was the real origin of the war: all however agree, it was the fault of Pericles, that the decree against Megara was not annulled. Some say, his firmness in that case was the effect of his prudence and magnanimity; as he considered the demand only as a trial, and thought the least concession would be interpreted into an acknowledgement of weakness: but others will have it, that his treating the Lacedæmonians with so little ceremony arose from his obstinacy, and an ambition to display his power.

But the worst cause of all assigned for the war, and which notwithstanding is confirmed by most historians, is as follows: Phidias the statuary had undertaken (as we have said) the statue of Minerva. His friendship and influence with Pericles exposed him to envy, and procured him many enemies; who, wishing through him to try what judgment the people might pass upon himself, persuaded Menon (one of his workmen) to place himself as a suppliant in the Forum, and to entreat the protection of the republic, while he lodged an information against Phidias.

The people granting his request, and the affair coming to a public trial, the allegation of theft, which Menon brought against him, was shown to be groundless. For Phidias, by the advice of Pericles, had managed the matter from the first with so much art, that the gold with which the statue was overlaid could easily be taken off and weighed[86], and Pericles ordered this to be done by the accusers. But the excellence of his work, and the envy arising thence, was the thing which ruined Phidias; and it was particularly urged that, in his representation of the battle with the Amazons upon Minerva's shield, he had introduced his own effigy as a bald old man taking up a large stone with both hands[87], and a highly-finished picture of Pericles fighting with an Amazon. The last was contrived with so much art, that the hand which in lifting up the spear partly covered the face, seemed to be intended to conceal the likeness, though that was still on both sides very striking. Phidias therefore was cast into prison, where he died a natural death[88]; though some affirm that poison was given him by his enemies, who were desirous of throwing suspicion upon Pericles. As for the accuser Menon, he had an exemption from taxes granted him, on the motion of Glycon, and the generals were ordered to provide for his security.

---

[85] Thucydides takes no notice of this herald; and yet the Megarensians were so fully looked upon as the authors of the murther, that they were punished for it many ages afterward: for upon that very account the emperor Hadrian denied them many favours and privileges, which he granted to the other cities of Greece. (L.) The tomb of Anthemocritus was on the sacred road, leading to Eleusis. (Pausan. i. 36.)*

About this time Aspasia was prosecuted for impiety by Hermippus a comic poet, who likewise accused her of receiving into her house women above the condition of slaves for the pleasure of Pericles. And Diopithes procured a decree, that those who disputed the existence of the gods, or introduced new opinions about celestial appearances, should be tried before an assembly of the people. This charge was levelled primarily at Anaxagoras, and through him at Pericles. And as the people admitted these insinuations, another decree was proposed by Dracontides, that Pericles should give an account of the public money before the Prytanes[89], and that the judges should take the ballots from the altar[90], and try the cause in the city. But Agnon caused the last article to be dropped, and in it's stead it was voted, that the action should be laid before the fifteen hundred judges, either for peculation and taking bribes, or simply for corrupt practices.

---

[86] They had not then discovered the method, subsequently employed by Archimedes to detect the adulteration of metals in Hiero's crown. See the Life of Marcellus, not. (45.)*

[87] Those modern figures (they alleged) impeached the credit of their ancient history, which did so much honour to Athens and it's founder Theseus.

[88] Others say that he was banished, and that in his exile he made the celebrated statue of Jupiter Olympius; a work, surpassed only by that of Minerva abovementioned, in which he excelled himself.

Aspasia was acquitted by means of Pericles, who (according to Æschines) shed many tears, on his application for mercy in her behalf, during the continuance of the trial. For Anaxagoras[91] he did not expect the same indulgence; and he therefore caused him to quit the city, and conducted him part of the way. And as he himself was become obnoxious to the people upon Phidias' account, and was afraid of being called in question for it, he urged on the war which was yet doubtful, and blew up a flame till then stifled and suppressed. He thus hoped to obviate the accusations that threatened him, and to mitigate the rage of envy; because such was his dignity and power, that in all important affairs, and in every great danger, the republic could place it's confidence in him alone. These are said to have been the causes, which induced him to persuade the people not to grant the demands of the Lacedæmonians: but what was the real cause, is uncertain.

---

[89] The Prytanes, as mentioned in a former note, were those of the Senate of five hundred, whom rotation had placed at that time in supreme office.*

[90] In some extraordinary cases, where the judges were to proceed with the greatest exactness and solemnity, they were to take ballots or billets from the altar (of Neptune, says Herodotus, viii. 128.), and to inscribe their judgement upon them; or rather to take the black and the white bean (ψῆφοι.) What Plutarch means by 'trying the cause in the city,' it is not easy to determine; unless by 'the city' we are to understand 'the full assembly of the people.' By 'the fifteen hundred judges,' mentioned in the next sentence, is probably meant the court of Heliæa, so called because the judges sat in the open air exposed to the sun; for this court, upon extraordinary occasions, consisted of that number,

[91] Anaxagoras held the unity of God; that it was one all-wise Intelligence, which raised the beautiful structure of the world out of Chaos. If such was the opinion of the master, it was natural for the people to conclude, that his scholar Pericles was hostile to the polytheism of the times; and that such hostility was unsafe, was fatally experienced not long afterward by Socrates.

The Lacedæmonians, convinced that if they could remove Pericles out of the way, they should be better able to manage the Athenians, required them to banish all 'execrable' persons from among them: and Pericles (as Thucydides informs us[92]) was by his mother's side related to those who, from the affair of Cylon, were so denominated. The success, however, of this application proved the reverse of what was expected by those that ordered it. Instead of rendering Pericles suspected, or involving him in trouble, it procured him additional confidence and respect from the people, when they perceived that he was above all others both hated and dreaded by their enemies. For the same reason he forewarned the Athenians, that if Archidamus, when he entered Attica at the head of the Peloponnesians and ravaged the rest of the country, should spare his estate, it must be referred either to the rights of hospitality which subsisted between them, or to a design of supplying his enemies with matter of slander; and, therefore, from that hour he presented his lands and houses to the city of Athens. The Lacedæmonians and confederates accordingly invaded Attica with a great army, under the conduct of Archidamus; and laying waste all before them proceeded as far as Acharnæ[93], where they encamped, expecting that the Athenians would not be able to endure them so near, but would meet them in the field for the honour and safety of their country. It appeared, however, to Pericles too hazardous to give battle to an army of sixty thousand men (for such was the number of the Peloponnesians and Bœotians, employed in the first expedition) and by that step to risk no less than the preservation of the city itself[94]. As to those that were eager for an engagement, and uneasy at his slow proceedings, he endeavoured to bring them to reason by observing, "That trees, when lopped, "will soon grow again; but, when men are cut off, "the loss is not easily repaired."

---

[92] i. 127. See not. (82).

[93] The borough of Acharnæ, the most considerable of those attached to Athens and which could of itself furnish three thousand fighting men, was only fifteen hundred paces from the city. (L.)

From this irruption of the Lacedæmonians into Attica, Ol. lxxxvii. 2. is dated the commencement of the Peloponnesian war.*

In the mean time, he took care to hold no assembly of the people, lest he should be forced to act against his own opinion. But as a good pilot, when a storm arises at sea, gives his directions, gets his tackle in order, and then uses his art, regardless of the tears and entreaties of the sick and fearful passengers; so Pericles, when he had secured the gates and placed the guards in every quarter to the best advantage, followed the dictates of his own understanding, unmoved by the clamours and complaints that resounded in his ears. Thus firm he remained, notwithstanding the importunity of his friends and the threats and accusations of his enemies: notwithstanding the many scoffs and songs sung to vilify his character as a general, and to represent him as one who in the most dastardly manner betrayed his country to the enemy. Cleon[95] also attacked him with great acrimony, using the general resentment against Pericles to increase his own popularity, as Hermippus testifies in these anapæstic verses;

---

[94] 'As one single battle fought by the two leading armies often decides the destiny of an empire, the result involving such an object ought not to be hazarded but with a great superiority of numbers, and a superior description of troops in the highest possible discipline. In no case should an event of such magnitude be committed to the chance of one great battle, but when it appears decided and clear, that the advantages that may be hoped from obtaining the battle, will infinitely counterbalance the disadvantages to be dreaded by losing the day from a general defeat.' (Wimpffen's Experienced Officer by M'Donald.)

[95] The same Cleon, whom Aristophanes satirised. By his harangues and political intrigues, he got himself appointed general, and was even successful upon an occasion of no little importance. See a farther account of him in the Life of Nicias.

> Sleeps then, thou monarch of satyrs, thy javelin:
> While on our ears burst thy thunders of eloquence.
> As if in thee very Teles were come again?
> Flash on thine eye but the blaze of a scimitar,
> Though at thy back Cleon rage 'most invectively,'
> Back thou retirest, shrinking, trembling, and colourless.

Pericles, however, was not moved by any thing of this kind, but calmly and silently bore every disgrace and virulence. And though he fitted out a hundred ships, and despatched them against Peloponnesus; yet he did not sail with them, but chose to stay and watch over the city, and keep the reins of government in his own hands, until the Peloponnesians were gone. In order to satisfy the common people, who were very uneasy on account of the war, he made a distribution of money and lands: for, having expelled the inhabitants of Ægina, he divided the island by lot among the Athenians. Besides, the sufferings of the enemy afforded them some consolation. The fleet sent against Peloponnesus ravaged a large tract of country, and sacked the small towns and villages: and Pericles himself made a descent upon the territories of Megara[96], the whole of which he laid waste. Whence it appears that, though the Peloponnesians greatly distressed the Athenians by land, yet as they were themselves equally distressed by sea, they could not have protracted the war to such a length, but must soon have given it up[97] (as

---

[96] He did not undertake this expedition until autumn, when the Lacedæmonians had retired. (Thucyd. ii. 31.) In the winter of this year, the Athenians solemnised, in an extraordinary manner, the funerals of such as first died in the war. Upon that occasion Pericles pronounced the celebrated oration preserved by Thucydides (ii. 35—46.)

[97] They did in fact give it up, and went back to Sparta: but Archidamus returned the next year, though Plutarch takes no notice of this circumstance; and it was during this, his second incursion, that the pestilence broke out.*

Pericles from the beginning foretold) had not some divine power prevented the effect of human counsels. A pestilence at that time broke out[98], which destroyed the flower of the youth and the strength of Athens. And not only their bodies, but their very minds were affected: for, as persons delirious with a fever set themselves against a physician or a father, so they raved against Pericles and attempted his ruin; being persuaded by his enemies, that the sickness was occasioned by the multitude of out-dwellers flocking into the city, and huddled together in the height of summer in small huts and close cabins, where they were forced to live a lazy inactive life, instead of breathing the pure and open air to which they had been accustomed. Of all this he (they affirmed) was the cause, who at the commencement of the war admitted within the walls such crowds of people from the country, and yet found no employment for them; but let them continue penned up like cattle, to infect and destroy each other[99], without affording them the least relief or refreshment.

Desirous to remedy this calamity, and at the same time in some degree to annoy the enemy, he manned a hundred and fifty ships[100], upon which he embarked great numbers of select horse and foot, and was preparing to set sail. The Athenians conceived sanguine hopes of success, and the enemy no less dreaded this mighty armament. The whole fleet was in readiness, and Pericles on board his own galley, when there happened an eclipse of the sun [101]. This sudden darkness was regarded as an unfavourable omen, and threw them into the utmost consternation. Pericles, observing that the pilot was much astonished and perplexed, took his cloke, and having covered his eyes with it asked him, "If he found any thing "terrible in that, or considered it as an alarming "presage?" Upon his answering in the negative, "Where then is the difference," he said, "between "this and the other, except that something bigger "than my cloke causes the eclipse?" But this is a question, which is discussed in the schools of philosophy.

---

[98] See this plague (*pestilentiæ vastitas*, as it is emphatically called by A. Gellius, ii. 1.) described in the most vivid and affecting manner by Thucydides, who had it himself. (ii. 47, &c.) See also Lucret. vi. 1106—1284. It is said to have come from Ethiopia, and to have spread desolation on it's whole way.*

[99] Upon this passage and the one above quoted from Thucydides, whom Lucretius in his account of the plague closely follows, Bentley founds a judicious transposition in that poet, vi. 1235.*

[100] The expedition consisted of a hundred Athenian ships manned with four thousand infantry, besides barks with four hundred horses on board, and fifty vessels from Chios and Lesbos. (Thucyd. ii. 56.)*

In this expedition, Pericles performed nothing worthy of so large an equipment. He laid siege to the sacred city of Epidaurus [102], and at first with some rational hopes of success; but the distemper, which prevailed in his army, broke all his measures. For it not only carried off his own men, but all that had intercourse with them. As this failure set the Athenians against him, he endeavoured to console them under their losses, and to animate them to new attempts [103]. But it was not in his power to mitigate their resentment, neither could they be satisfied until they had shown themselves his masters, by voting that he should be deprived of the command and pay a fine, which by the lowest account was fifteen, while others make it fifty talents; nay Diodorus even says, fourscore. The person, who managed the prosecution against him, was Cleon, as Idomeneus informs us; according to Theophrastus, Simmias; or, if we may believe Heraclides of Pontus, Lacratides.

---

[101] Here again Plutarch has confounded two different expeditions. This eclipse happened on the eve of the preceding expedition. (Thucyd. ii 28.)*

[102] This Epidaurus was in Argia. It was consecrated to Esculapius: and Plutarch calls it 'sacred,' to distinguish it from another town of the same name in Laconia. (L.) Thucydides does not mention this distemper, but says that Pericles failed in his attempts, not only at Epidaurus, but at Trœzene, Hermione, &c. and only took Prusia, a small maritime city in Laconia.*

[103] Thucydides (ii. 60, 61.) has preserved his harangue upon this occasion.*

The public ferment indeed soon subsided, the people quitting their resentment against him with the blow, as a bee leaves it's sting in the wound: but his private affairs were in a miserable condition; for he had lost a number of his relations in the plague, and a misunderstanding had prevailed for some time in his family. Xanthippus, the eldest of his legitimate sons, was naturally profuse, and had likewise married a young and expensive wife, the daughter of Isander and grand-daughter of Epylicus. This young man knew not how to brook his father's frugality, who supplied him but sparingly and with a little at a time; and therefore sent to one of his friends, and took up money in Pericles' name. When the man however came to demand his money, Pericles not only refused to pay him, but even prosecuted him for the demand. At this Xanthippus was so highly enraged, that he began openly to abuse his father. He first exposed and ridiculed the company, which he kept in his house, and the conversations which he held with the philosophers. Epitimius the Pharsalian (he said) having undesignedly killed a horse with a javelin, which he threw at the public games, his father spent a whole day in disputing with Protagoras[104], which might be properly deemed the cause of his death; the javelin, or the man who threw it, or the presidents of the games. Stesimbrotus adds that it was Xanthippus, who spread the vile report concerning his own wife and Pericles, and that the young man retained this implacable hatred against his father to his latest breath. He was carried off by the plague. Pericles lost his sister likewise at that time, and the chief part of his relations and friends, who were most capable of assisting him in the business of the state. Notwithstanding these misfortunes, however, he surrendered not his dignity of sentiment and greatness of soul. He neither wept, nor performed any funeral rites; neither was he seen at the grave of any of his nearest relations, until the death of Paralus, his remaining legitimate son. This at length subdued him. He attempted, indeed, even then to maintain his usual calm behaviour and serenity of mind: but, in putting the garland upon the head of the deceased, his firmness forsook him; unable to bear the sad spectacle, he broke out into loud lamentations, and shed a torrent of tears; a passion, to which he had never before given way.

---

[104] Protagoras of Abdera, a pupil of Democritus, was one of the shrewdest sophists of his time, and during a career of forty years amassed more by his arts than Phidias by his sculpture. He was reputed an atheist for having said that 'there was nothing certain with regard to the existence or nature of the Gods.' (Cic. de Nat. Deor. i. 42.) This question of causation will recall perhaps to the reader's memory the modern doctrines of Hume and Godwin, the latter of whom has introduced a similar question by way of illustration; as the former, partially quoted and applied with an important limitation by Leslie (in a note to his Essay upon Heat) has lately (1805) given birth to an acrimonious dispute between the professors and the presbyters in the metropolis of North-Britain.*

Athens made a trial, in the course of a year, of the rest of her generals and orators; and finding none of sufficient weight and authority for so important a charge, she once more turned her eyes on Pericles, and invited him to resume the direction of both her military and civil affairs. He had for some time shut himself up at home to indulge his sorrow, when Alcibiades and his other friends persuaded him to make his appearance. The people having apologised for their ungenerous treatment of him, he reassumed the reins of government: and being appointed general, his first step was to procure the repeal of the law concerning bastards, of which he had himself been the author: for he was afraid that his name and family would be extinct, for want of a successor. The history of this statute is as follows: Many years before, Pericles in the height of his power, and having several legitimate sons (as we have already declared), caused a law to be enacted, that none should be accounted citizens of Athens, but those whose parents were both Athenians[105]. After this, the king of Egypt made the Athenians a present of forty thousand measures of wheat; and, as this was to be divided among the citizens, suits were instituted by that law against many persons as illegitimate, whose birth had never before been called in question, and many were disgraced upon false accusations. Nearly five thousand were cast, and sold for slaves[106], and fourteen thousand and forty appeared to be entitled to the privileges of citizens[107]. Though it was shocking that a law, which had been carried into execution with so much severity, should be repealed by the man who first proposed it, yet the Athenians moved at the late misfortunes in his family, by which he seemed to have suffered the punishment of his arrogance and pride, and thinking that he ought to be treated with humanity after he had felt the wrath of heaven, permitted him to enrol a natural son in his own tribe, and to give him his own name. This is he, who subsequently defeated the Peloponnesians in a sea-fight at Arginusæ, and was put to death by the people together with his collegues[108].

---

[105] According to Plutarch's account, at the beginning of the Life of Themistocles, this law was enacted before the time of Pericles. Pericles, however, might cause it to be more strictly enforced, from a spirit of opposition to Cimon, whose children were only of the half-blood.

[106] The illegitimacy did not reduce men to a state of servitude; it only placed them in the rank of Strangers.

[107] A small number indeed, at a time when Athens had dared to think of sending out colonies, humbling her neighbours, subduing foreigners, and even erecting an universal monarchy!

[108] In the twenty-sixth year of the war. The Athenians had, upon that occasion, appointed ten commanders. After they had obtained the victory they were tried, and eight of them were capitally condemned, of whom six that were on the spot (including this natural son of Pericles) were executed. The only crime laid to their charge was, that they had not buried the dead. Of this affair Xenophon, in his Hellenics, has given a long account. It happened under the Archonship of Callias, Ol. xciii. 3. nearly twenty-four years after Pericles' death. Socrates the philosopher was at that time one of the Prytanes, and resolutely refused to do his office. And, a little while afterward, the madness of the people turned the other way.

About this time Pericles was seized with the plague, but not with such acute and continued symptoms as it generally exhibited. It was rather a lingering distemper, which with frequent intermissions and by slow degrees consumed his body, and impaired the vigour of his mind. Theophrastus has a disquisition in his Ethics, Whether or not men's characters may be changed with their fortunes, and the soul so affected with the disorders of the body as to lose her virtue: and there he relates, that Pericles showed to a friend, who came to visit him in his sickness, an amulet which the women had hung about his neck; intimating that he must be sick indeed, since he submitted to so ridiculous a piece of superstition.

When he was at the point of death, his surviving friends and the principal citizens sitting about his bed discoursed together concerning his extraordinary virtue, and the great authority which he had enjoyed, and enumerated his various exploits and the number of his victories: for, while he was commander-in-chief, he had erected no fewer than nine trophies to the honour of Athens. These things they conversed about supposing that he paid no attention to what they said, but that his senses were gone. He took notice, however, of every word which they had spoken, and audibly observed: "I am surprised, "while you commemorate and extol these acts of "mine, though fortune had her share in them, and "many other generals have performed the like; that "you take no notice of the greatest and most honourable part of my character, viz. that no Athenian through my means ever put on mourning."

Pericles undoubtedly deserved admiration, not only for the candour and moderation which he ever retained amidst the distractions of business and the rage of his enemies, but for that noble sentiment, which led him to think it his most excellent attainment never during the extent of his power to have given way to envy or anger, nor to have nourished an implacable hatred against his bitterest foe. In my opinion this one thing, I mean his mild and dispassionate behaviour, his unblemished integrity and irreproachable conduct during his whole administration, makes his appellation of Olympius, which would be otherwise vain and absurd, no longer exceptionable; nay, gives it some propriety. Thus we deem the divine powers, as the authors of all good and naturally incapable of producing evil, worthy to rule and preside over the universe: not according to the statements of the poets, who while they endeavour to bewilder us by their irrational opinions, stand convicted of inconsistency by their own writing. For they describe the place, which the gods inhabit, as the region of security and stability, unapproached by storms and unsullied with clouds, where a sweet serenity for ever reigns, and a pure æther displays itself without interruption; and these they think mansions suitable to a blessed and immortal nature: yet at the same time they represent the gods themselves as full of anger, malevolence, hatred, and other passions unworthy even of a reasonable man[109]. But this may perhaps appear a proper subject for another work.

The state of public affairs soon evinced the want of Pericles[110], and the Athenians openly expressed their regret for his loss. Even those who in his lifetime could but ill brook his superior power as thinking themselves eclipsed by it, upon a trial of other orators and demagogues after he was gone readily acknowledged that where severity was required no man was ever more moderate, and where mildness was necessary, that no man better maintained his dignity than Pericles. And his envied authority, to which they had given the name of 'monarchy' and 'tyranny,' then appeared to have been the bulwark of the state. So much corruption and such a rage of wickedness broke out upon the commonwealth after his death, which he by proper restraints had palliated [111], and kept from incurable extremities!

---

[109] Thus has Homer represented his divinities; whence it has been said that his gods have the passions and infirmities of men, and his men the perfection and the powers of gods. See Cic. Tusc. iv. 32. From this opinion, that all good flows from the gods, arose the notion, so general in antiquity (and particularly in the east) of two opposite principles of good and evil: a notion, which often occurs in Plutarch, and especially in his Treatise upon Isis and Oriris.*

[110] Pericles died in the third year of the Peloponnesian war, Ol. lxxxvii. 4. B. C. 429. (L.) Well might Athens grieve upon this occasion, especially if she could have foreseen the consequences of his death; as the ambition and animosity of both parties led them to continue a war, which he might have terminated, till by mutual exhaustion they lay at the mercy of the Macedonian princes, Philip and Alexander, who reduced them to one common slavery.*

---

[111] Pericles did indeed palliate the distempers of the commonwealth while he lived, but (as we have before observed) he sowed the seeds of future ailments, by bribing the people with their own money.

THE

LIFE

OF

FABIUS MAXIMUS.

SUMMARY.

Illustrious origin of the family of Fabius. His character and manners. Remarkable events of his first consulships. He triumphs over the Ligurians. Annibal defeats the consuls Scipio and Flaminius at Trebia and Thrasymene. Death of Flaminius. Alarm at Rome. Fabius named dictator: vows several sacrifices to the gods, and by his prudent conduct revives the public confidence. Annibal in vain attempts to bring him to an engagement. Fruitless sarcasms of Minucius, his general of the horse. Annibal, misled by his guides into some defiles, is beaten by Fabius; but extricates himself, by a stratagem, from his dangerous situation. Fabius, though he discovers the scheme, dares not attack him by night: sells part of his own estate to ransom the Roman captives, in fulfilment of his contract; is obliged to go to Rome, to preside at some sacrifices; orders Minucius not to hazard an action during his absence: but, in contempt of his orders, he engages, and gains a slight advantage over Annibal. The people give him an equal share of authority with Fabius, who shows great magnanimity upon the occasion. His conduct toward Minucius, on his return to the army. Minucius, in opposition to his advice, attacks Annibal, and is defeated; but Fabius generously flies to his rescue, and compels Annibal to retreat. Minucius makes a public acknowledgement of his errors, leads his soldiers to the dictator, and places himself again under his command. Fabius returns to Rome, and lays down the dictatorship. His advice to Paulus Æmilius, the new consul, on his setting off for the army with Varro his collegue.

Varro's arrogance, and impatience to engage Annibal. The battle of Cannæ lost by his inexperience and temerity. Death of Paulus Æmilius: Annibal, after his victory, declines marching to Rome. Many of the Italian cities declare in his favour. The consternation of the Romans. Fabius' firmness, and wise measures for reviving the public spirit of his countrymen. Generosity of the senate to Varro, on his return to Rome. Fabius is again sent with Marcellus against Annibal; escapes the ambuscade laid for him by the Carthaginian general, and secures the fidelity of the allies. Moderation and gentleness of his behaviour. He deceives Annibal, and gets possession of the city of Tarentum, in which he finds immense plunder. Receives the honour of a second triumph. The steady conduct of his son, then consul, toward him. Scipio sets off for Spain. Fabius opposes the transferring of the war into Africa; his motives. Scipio passes over into Africa: the measure justified by it's brilliant success. Death of Fabius. He is deeply regretted by the Roman people.

SUCH were the memorable actions of Pericles, as far as we have been able to collect them: we now proceed to the Life of Fabius Maximus.

The first Fabius was the son of Hercules by one of the Nymphs, according to some authors; or, as others say, by a woman of the country, near the river Tiber. From him descended the family of the Fabii, one of the most numerous and illustrious in Rome [1].

---

[1] One of the most numerous, for that family alone undertook the war against the Veientes, A. U. C. 276, and sent out three hundred and six persons of their own name, who were all slain in that expedition (See Liv. ii. 50., A. Gell. xvi. 21.): and one of the most illustrious, as the Fabii had borne the highest offices in the state, and two of them had been seven times consuls. (L.)

With regard to their pretended extraction from Hercules, this is obviously a compliment to their acknowledged antiquity: for, if we may believe any thing as accurate with regard to the family of that prolific hero, it appears from Dion. Halic. (i. 10.) that he had only two children in Italy, Pallas by a daughter of Evander, and Latinus by a lady whom he had brought with him from the north. (Virgil

Yet some authors write, that the first founders of this family were called Fodii[2], on account of their catching wild beasts by means of 'pits,' for 'a pit' is still in Latin called *fovea*, and the word *fodere* signifies 'to dig:' but in time, two letters being changed, they got the name of Fabii. This family produced many eminent men, the most considerable of whom was Rullus[3], by the Romans surnamed Maximus or 'the great;' and from him the Fabius Maximus, of whom we are writing, was the fourth in descent.

This last had the surname of Verrucosus, from a small 'wart' on his upper lip. He was likewise called Ovicula (which signifies 'a little sheep') from the mildness and gravity of his behaviour, when a boy. Nay, his composed demeanour and his silence, his caution in engaging in the diversions of the other boys, the slowness and difficulty with which he apprehended what was taught him, together with the submissive manner in which he com-

indeed assigns him a third in Aventinus, whom he represents as born, *Collis Aventini silvâ, Æn.* vii. 659.) But Fabius was one of those, to whom the uncomplimenting Juvenal himself would have said,

—*Licet à Pico numeres genus.*

Festus however seems to believe this old story, though the *Herculeus lar* was only in his opinion a humble ditch, as it is one of the derivations which he assigns to the original name Fovii, for so he writes the word. (See in *voc. Fovii.*)*

[2] Pliny's account of the matter (H. N. xviii. 3.) is much more probable, viz. that they were called Fabii, from their being the first or the most skilful sowers of beans *(fabæ)*; as several other families of note among the Romans were denominated from other branches of husbandry: e. g. the Lentuli, Cicerones, &c. Their primitive heroes, indeed, tilled the ground with their own hands.

[3] This Fabius Rullus (or Rutilianus, Plin. H. N. viii. 4.) was five times consul, and gained several important victories over the Samnites, Tuscans, and other nations. It was not, however, from these actions that he obtained the surname of Maximus, but from his behaviour in the censorship; during which he reduced into four tribes the populace of Rome, who before were dispersed among all the tribes in general, and had thus excessive power in the assemblies. (Liv. ix. 46.) These were called *Tribus Urbanæ*, in opposition to the *Tribus Rusticæ*, or better families, who usually lived in the country.

plied with the proposals of his comrades, subjected him, with those that did not thoroughly know him, to the suspicion of foolishness and stupidity. There were a few, however, who perceived that his composedness was owing to the solidity of his parts, and who discerned a magnanimity and lion-like courage in his nature. In a short time, when application to business drew him out, it was obvious even to the many, that his seeming inactivity was a command which he had of his passions, that his cautiousness was prudence, and that what had passed for heaviness and insensibility was in reality an immoveable firmness of soul. He saw what an important concern the administration was, and in what wars the republic was frequently involved: and therefore prepared his body by exercise, considering it's strength as a natural armour; and improved at the same time his powers of persuasion, as engines by which the people are to be moved, adapting them to his manner of life. For in his eloquence there was nothing of affectation, no empty plausible elegance; but it was full of that good sense which was peculiar to him, and was characterised by a sententious force and depth, said to have resembled that of Thucydides[4]. There is an oration of his still extant, which he delivered before the people on occasion of the funeral of his son, who died after he had been consul.

---

[4] The peculiar characters of Thucydides' stile are great energy and great conciseness. *Ita creber* (says Cicero, de Orat. ii. 56.) *rerum frequentiâ, ut verborum propè numerum sententiarum numero consequatur; ita porrò verbis aptus et pressus, ut nescias utrùm res oratione an verba sententiis illustrentur.* With a view to the attainment of this masculine strain of eloquence, Demosthenes (we are told) copied his history of the Peloponnesian war eight times! See Lucian Προς Απαιδευτον, κ. τ. λ. This might, indeed, be pronounced *labor improbus.* What enhanced the merit of Thucydides was, that he lived in an age when 'empty plausible elegance' was affected by those whom Plato, in his Phædrus, calls the λογοδαιδαλοι; and *à talibus deliciis, vel potius ineptiis, abfuit.* The funeral oration, mentioned below, is spoken of by Cicero (de Senect. iv.) in high terms: *quam cùm legimus, quem philosophum non contemnimus?* He was very old, when he delivered it, as his son attained the honour of the consulate only ten years before his father's death.*

Fabius Maximus was five times consul[5], and in his first consulship was honoured with a triumph for a victory over the Ligurians; who being defeated by him in a set battle, with the loss of a great number of men, were driven behind the Alps, and restrained from their usual inroads and ravages in the neighbouring provinces.

Some years afterward, Annibal having invaded Italy[6] and gained the battle of Trebia, advanced through Tuscany, laying waste the country, and striking Rome itself with astonishment and dismay. This desolation was announced by signs and prodigies, some familiar to the Romans, as that of thunder for instance, and others quite strange and unaccountable. For it was said, that certain shields sweated blood, that bloody corn was cut at Antium, that red-hot stones fell from the air, that the Falerians saw the heavens open and many billets fall[7], upon one of which these words were very legible, 'Mars brandisheth his arms.' But Caius Flaminius, then consul, was not discouraged by any of these things. He was indeed naturally a man of much fire and ambition, and besides was elated by former successes, which he had met with contrary to all probability; for, against the sense both of the senate and of his collegue, he had engaged and defeated the Gauls[8]. Fabius likewise paid but little regard to prodigies[9], as too absurd to be believed, notwithstanding the great effect which they produced upon the multitude. But having learned how small the numbers of the enemy were, and how much they were distressed by the want of money, he advised the Romans to have patience, and not give battle to a man who led on an army hardened by many

---

[5] Fabius was first consul A. U. C. 521, or (as it would appear from Suppl. Liv. xx. 17.) 519; and the fifth time, in the tenth year of the second Punic war, A. U. C. 545. (L.) His intermediate consulships were in A. U. C. 526, 539, and 560, or 524, 537, and 538 respectively. The Ligurians inhabited the coast stretching from the river of Genoa to Monaco.*

[6] Here Plutarch leaves a void of fourteen or fifteen years. It was not, indeed, a remarkable period of Fabius' life. Annibal entered Italy A. U. C. 536, according to Livy (xxi. 38.) when Corn. Scipio and Sempr. Longus were consuls; and defeated Scipio in the battle of Ticinus, before he beat Sempronius in that of Trebia. (Id. ib. 46.)

[7] Plutarch misunderstood Livy, and of the two prodigies which he mentions makes but one. Livy says (xxx. 1.) 'At Falerium the sky was seen to open, and in the void space a great light appeared. The lots at Præneste shrunk of their own accord, and one of them dropped down, upon which was written, Mars brandisheth his sword,' (xxii.) These lots were bits of oak handsomely wrought, with some ancient characters inscribed upon them. When any came to consult them, the coffer in which they were kept was opened, and a child having first shaken them together drew out one from the rest, which contained the answer to the querist's demand. As to their being shrunk, which was considered as a bad omen, no doubt the priests had two sets, a smaller and a greater, with which they played upon the people's superstition as they pleased. (L.) Cicero (de Div. ii. 41.) ushers in an account of their origin with the observation, *Tota res est inventa fallaciis aut ad quæstum, aut*

---

ad superstitionem, aut ad errorem; and concludes it with, *Cæteris verò in locis sortes planè refrixerunt.* From a passage, however, in Suetonius (Tib. 63.) it would appear, that they had regained their credit; as even that wretched prince, in the full career of his impiety, was 'appalled by the majesty of the lots of Præneste.' There were similar mummeries established at Antium, Tivoli, &c. With regard to the other prodigies here mentioned, the rains and sweats of blood, we have elsewhere observed that they were natural phænomena, occasioned by insects or vapours of a reddish hue: and as to the 'red-hot stones,' see among other public records some recent Phil. Trans., with various comments in many contemporary publications. See also Vol. III. p. 200., and not. (17.)

[8] Flaminius is represented by Polybius (iii.) as an eloquent and very proud man, but a miserable general. He was so confident indeed of success, that he had more slaves, with chains for the enemy, than soldiers in his army. This victory was gained, A. U. C. 529; and it's improbability *à priori* was founded upon two or three capital mistakes made by Flaminius. In the first place, he was much inferior in numbers; he had neglected the auspices, and refused to read the despatches from the senate till after the engagement; and he had drawn up his forces most injudiciously. But his errors were rectified by the skill of some other officers of his staff. (See Polyb. ii., and Suppl. Liv. xx. 49.)*

[9] If Fabius was not moved by those prodigies, it was not because he despised them (as his collegue did, who according to Livy 'neither feared the gods nor regarded men') but because he hoped, by appeasing the anger of the gods, to render the prodigies ineffectual. It was not Fabius however, but Cn. Servilius Geminus, who was collegue to Flaminius.

conflicts for this very purpose; but to send succours to their allies, and to secure the towns that were still in their possession, until the vigour of the enemy, like a flame wanting fuel, expired of itself.

He could not, however, prevail upon Flaminius. That general declared he would never suffer the war to approach Rome, nor like Camillus of old leave it to be decided within the walls, who should be the master of the city. He therefore ordered the tribunes to draw out the forces, and mounted his horse, but was thrown headlong off[10], the horse without any visible cause being seized with a fright and trembling. Yet he still persisted in his resolution of marching out to meet Annibal, and drew up his army near the lake called Thrasymene[11] in Tuscany.

While the armies were engaged, there happened an earthquake, which overturned whole cities, changed the course of rivers, and tore off the tops of mountains; yet of this convulsion not one of the combatants was in the least sensible. Flaminius himself, having greatly signalised his strength and valour, fell, and with him the bravest of his troops; the rest being routed, a dreadful carnage ensued: full fifteen thousand were slain, and as many taken prisoners[12]. Annibal was very desirous of discovering the body of Flaminius, that he might bury it with due honour, as a tribute to his bravery; but he could not find it, nor could any account be given of it.

---

[10] This fall from his horse, which was considered as an ill omen, was followed (Livy informs us, xxii. 3.) by another as bad. When the ensign attempted to pull his standard out of the ground, in order to march, he had not strength to do it. But where is the wonder, asks Cicero, to have a horse take fright, or to find a standard-bearer feebly endeavouring to draw up the standard, which he had perhaps purposely struck deep into the ground?

[11] *Hod.* Lago di Perugia.

[12] Notwithstanding this complete victory, Annibal, according to Livy xxii. 6., lost only fifteen hundred men (though many subsequently died of their wounds); for he fought at great advantage, having drawn the Romans into an ambuscade between the hills of Cortona and the lake Thrasymene. Livy agrees with Plutarch in the number of the slain; but both he and Valerius Maximus (i. 6.) make the number of prisoners only six thousand; Polybius however asserts, that they were much more numerous. About ten thousand Romans, most of them wounded, made their escape, and took

When the Romans lost the battle of Trebia, the generals neither sent a true account of it[13], nor did the messenger represent it as it really was: according to the statements of both, the victory was doubtful. But as to the last engagement, as soon as the prætor Pomponius was apprised of it, he assembled the people, and without in the least affecting to disguise the matter made this declaration; "Romans, we have lost a great battle, our army is cut to pieces, and Flaminius the consul is slain: consult, therefore, what is to be done for your safety[14]." The same commotion, which a furious wind causes in the ocean, did these words of the prætor produce in this vast multitude. In the first consternation, they could not determine upon any thing: but at length they all agreed that affairs required the direction of an absolute power, which they call the dictatorship; that some one should be selected for it, who would exercise it with steadiness and intrepidity; and that such a one was Fabius Maximus, who had a spirit and dignity of manners equal to so high a command, and besides

---

the route to Rome; but the chief part of them died of their wounds, before they reached the capital. Two mothers were so transported with joy, one at the gate of the city, when she saw her son arrive, and the other at home, where she found her's waiting her return, that they both expired on the spot. (L.)

This precipitation on the part of Flaminius, who engaged the enemy before he was joined by his collegue, arose out of his vain ambition of monopolising the honour of the victory. He fell (we are told by the same historian, ib. 6.) by the hand of a Gaul named Ducarius, who had previously slain his aid-de-camp, as he fruitlessly endeavoured with his own person to protect his general.*

[13] Sempronius wrote to the senate, that the badness of the weather had prevented his gaining the victory. (Polyb. iii.)*

[14] Livy (ib. 7.) states, that the general's despatch consisted only of the first sentence, 'Romans, we have lost a great battle;' and that the rest was patched up from the reports consequent upon the action.*

was of an age in which the vigour of the body is sufficient to execute the purposes of the mind, and courage is tempered with prudence.

Pursuant to these resolutions, Fabius was chosen dictator[15], and he appointed Lucius Minucius his general of the horse[16]. But first he desired permission of the senate to make use of a horse, when in the field. This was forbidden by an ancient law, either because they placed their greatest strength in the infantry, and therefore chose that the commander-in-chief should be always posted among them; or because they would have the dictator, whose power in all other respects was very considerable and indeed arbitrary, in this case at least appear dependent upon the people[17]. In the next place Fabius, willing to display the authority and grandeur of his office, in order to render the people more tractable and submissive, appeared in public with twenty-four lictors carrying the Fasces before him; and when the surviving consul met him, he sent one of his officers to order him to dismiss his lictors and the other ensigns of his employment, and to join him as a private man[18].

---

[15] A dictator could not be regularly named, but by the consuls; Servilius therefore, the surviving consul, being with the army, the people appointed Fabius by their own authority with the title of prodictator. The gratitude of Rome, however, allowed his descendents to put dictator instead of pro-dictator in the list of his titles. (Liv. xxii. 8. and 31.)

[16] According to Polybius, and Livy (ib.) his name was not Lucius, but Marcus Minucius Rufus; neither was he pitched upon by Fabius, but by the people.

[17] Dion. Hal. (v. 14.) calls the office 'an elective tyranny.' Plutarch here seems to contradict himself, in making Fabius demand of the senate a favour, which the people alone (as appears, likewise, from Liv. xxiii. 14.) were authorised to bestow: unless we suppose that the senate made an application, in his name, to the people.*

[18] This display, however, of official magnificence only commenced upon his setting out from Rome, to take the command of the army; and, as well as his subsequent order to Servilius, was excellently adapted (according to Liv. xxii. 11.) to enhance in the eyes both of the citizens and the allies the importance of the dic-

Then beginning with an act of religion, the best of all beginnings, and assuring the people that their defeats were owing not to the cowardice of the soldiers, but to the general's neglect of the sacred rites and auspices, he exhorted them to entertain no dread of the enemy, but by extraordinary honours to propitiate the gods. Not that he wished to infuse into them a spirit of superstition, but to confirm their valour by piety, and to deliver them from every other fear by a sense of the divine protection. Upon that occasion he consulted several of those mysterious books of the Sybils, which contained matters of importance to the state: and it is said, that some of the prophecies there found perfectly agreed with the circumstances of those times; but it was not lawful for him to divulge them[19]. In full assembly, however, he vowed to the gods all the young which the next spring should produce on the mountains, the

---

tatorship, now nearly become obsolete by a suspension of it's more dignified functions for a whole generation, or a period of thirty-three years.*

[19] The Decemvirs, appointed to the custody of those sacred volumes, never disclosed their prophecies, but only announced their directions. The superstitious observances, enjoined at this time, are fully detailed in Liv. xxii. 9.; of which one was the *ver sacrum* referred to in the text. It was not vowed however by Fabius, as he was too much occupied by preparations for the war, but by Corn. Lentulus the high-priest. Livy (ib. 10.) has preserved the form of devotion used upon the occasion. From a subsequent passage of that historian (xxxiv. 44.) it appears that this 'sacred spring' included the two entire months of March and April. The human births of that period were originally included in the ceremony; but in those parts of Italy, where that custom still prevailed, Meziriac (one of the French translators) informs us that they did not sacrifice them, but after bringing them up for a few years sent them abroad to seek their fortunes. Of the 'Great Games' an account is given in a note upon the Life of Camillus. The sum allotted for them, according to Livy (xxii. 10.), was much less considerable. As to the 'perfection of the number three,' we are not to understand it in the mathematical sense of the word, but in it's mysterious import as assigned by Pythagoras and Plato. The Greeks, having a dual in their language appropriated to the number two, might with precision call three 'the first of plurals.' See Meursius (Denar. Pythag.) on the properties of the digits; and also the Life of Numa.*

fields, the rivers, and the meadows of Italy, from the goats, the swine, the sheep, and the cows. He, likewise, vowed to exhibit the Great Games in honour of the gods; and to expend upon those games three hundred and thirty-three thousand sestertii, three hundred and thirty-three denarii, and one third of a denarius; which sum in our Greek money is eighty-three thousand five hundred and eighty-three drachmas and two oboli[20]. What his reason might be for fixing upon that precise number, it is not easy to determine; unless it were on account of the perfection of the number three, as being the first of odd numbers, the first of plurals, and containing in itself the first differences and the first elements of all numbers.

Fabius, having taught the people to repose their minds upon acts of religion, made them more easy as to future events. For his own part, he placed all his hopes of victory in himself, believing that heaven bestows success through the agency of virtue and prudence: and therefore he watched the motions of Annibal, not with a design to give him battle, but by length of time to waste his vigour, and gradually to effect his destruction by his superiority in men and money. To secure himself against the enemy's horse, he took care to encamp above them on high and mountainous places. When they sat still, he did the same: when they were in motion he showed himself upon the heights, at such a distance as not to be obliged to fight against his inclination, and yet near enough to keep them in perpetual alarm; as if, amidst his arts to gain time, he intended every moment to give them battle.

These dilatory proceedings exposed him to contempt among the Romans in general, and even in his own army. The enemy likewise, excepting

---

[20] For the denarius (or it's equivalent, the drachma) being equal to four sestertii, the total number of sestertii would be 334,333$\frac{1}{3}$, which reduced to drachmas would become 83,583$\frac{1}{3}$, agreeably to the text.*

Annibal, thought him a man of no spirit. He alone was sensible of the keenness of Fabius, and of the manner in which he intended to carry on the war; and determined therefore if possible, either by stratagem or by force, to bring him to a battle, concluding that otherwise the Carthaginians must be undone: since they could not decide the matter in the field, where they had the advantage, but must gradually be expended and reduced to nothing, when the dispute was only who should be superior in men and money. Hence it was, that he exhausted the whole art of war; like a skilful wrestler, who watches every opportunity to lay hold of his adversary. Sometimes he advanced, and alarmed him with the apprehensions of an attack; sometimes by marching and counter-marching he led him from place to place, hoping to draw him from his plan of caution. But Fabius, fully persuaded of it's utility, kept immoveably to his resolution. Minucius, his general of the horse, however, by his unseasonable courage and heat, gave him no small trouble; haranguing the army, and filling them with a furious desire to come to action, and a vain confidence of success. Thus the soldiers were brought to despise Fabius, and by way of derision to call him 'Annibal's pedagogue[21];' while they extolled Minucius as a great man, and one that acted up to the dignity of Rome. This led Minucius to give a wider scope to his arrogance and foolhardiness, and to ridicule the dictator[22] for encamping constantly upon the mountains; "as if "he did it on purpose, that his men might more "clearly behold Italy laid waste with fire and "sword." And he inquired of Fabius' friends,

---

[21] For the office of a pedagogue of old was (as the name implies) to attend the children, in their little excursions, and conduct them home again.

[22] One part of his character, that of endeavouring to ruin his superiors, in order to promote his own elevation, is well given by Livy with a manly parenthesis: *premendorumque superiorum arte (quæ pessima ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus crevit) sese extollebat.* (xxii. 12.)*

"Whether he intended to take his army up into "heaven, as he had bid adieu to the world below; "or sought to screen himself from the enemy by "clouds and fogs?" When the dictator's friends brought him an account of these aspersions, and exhorted him to wipe them off by risking a battle; "In that case," said he, "I should be of a more "dastardly spirit than even they represent me to be, "if through fear of insults and reproaches I should "abandon my fixed resolution. But to fear for my "country is no disgraceful fear. That man is unworthy "of a command like mine, who shrinks "under calumnies and slanders, and complies with "the humour of those whom he ought to govern, "and whose inconsiderate rashness it is his duty to "restrain."

After this, Annibal committed an important mistake. For intending to lead his army farther from Fabius, and to move into a part of the country that would afford him forage, he ordered the guides immediately after supper to conduct him to the plains of Casinum[23]. They taking the word wrong, on account of his barbarous pronunciation of it, led his forces to the borders of Campania, near the town of Casilinum, through which runs the river Lothronus, which the Romans call Vulturnus[24]. The adjacent country is surrounded with mountains, except only a valley that stretches out to the sea. Near the shore the ground is extremely marshy, and full of large banks of sand, from the overflowing of the river. The surf is there very rough, and the coast almost impracticable.

---

[23] Annibal had overrun Samnium, plundered the territory of Beneventum a Roman colony, and laid siege to Telesia a city at the foot of the Appenines. But finding that neither the ravaging of the country, nor even the taking of some cities, could make Fabius quit his eminences, he resolved to use a stronger bait; which was to enter Campania, the finest country in Italy, and lay it waste under his eyes, hoping thus to bring him to action. Besides, by taking possession of the plains of Casinum, he would effectually have prevented Fabius from sending any succours to the allies. But by the mistake here mentioned, his guides, instead of conducting him to the plains of Cassinum, led him into the narrow passes of Casilinum, which divide Samnium from Campania. (L.) For this error, Livy informs us (xxii. 13.) the captain of the guides alone was scourged and crucified: and this is the more probable account, as Annibal would scarcely indulge his thirst of vengeance so absurdly, as to deprive himself of the services of the rest.*

As soon as Annibal had entered this valley, Fabius availing himself of his knowlege of the country seized the narrow outlet, and placed in it a guard of four thousand men. The main body of his army he posted to advantage upon the surrounding hills, and with the lightest and most active of his troops fell on the enemy's rear, threw their whole army into disorder, and killed about eight hundred.

Annibal then wished to rescue his forces from so disadvantageous a situation; and, in revenge of the dangerous mistake which the guides had made, crucified them all. But despairing of driving the enemy from the heights of which they were in possession, and sensible besides of the despondency and terror pervading his whole army, who concluded themselves fallen into an inextricable difficulty, he had recourse to stratagem.

The contrivance was this: he caused two thousand oxen, which he had in his camp, to have torches and dry bavins well fastened to their horns. These in the night, upon a signal given, were to be lighted, and the oxen driven to the mountains, near the narrow pass guarded by the enemy. While those that had it in charge were thus employed, he decamped and marched slowly forward. So long as the fire was moderate, and burnt only the torches and bavins, the oxen moved softly onward, as they were driven up the hills; and the shepherds and herdsmen on the adjacent heights gazed at them with wonder, as an army marching in order with lighted torches. But when their horns were burned to the roots and the fire pierced to the quick, terrified and mad with pain, they no longer kept any certain route; but ran along the hills, with their foreheads and tails flaming, and setting on fire all the woods in their way. The Romans, who guarded the pass, were astonished; for they appeared to them like an immense number of men running up and down with torches, which scattered fire on every side. In their fears they concluded, that they should be attacked and surrounded by the enemy; they quitted the pass therefore, and fled to the main body in the camp. Annibal's light-armed troops immediately took possession of the outlet, and the rest of his forces marched safely through, loaded with a rich booty.

---

[24] It may appear trifling, but it is at least a classical trifle to introduce here a charade lately circulated upon this river. (1806.)

Totum pone, fluit: caput aufer, splendet in armis:
*Caudam deme, volat: viscera tolle, dolet.**

Fabius discovered the stratagem that same night, for some of the oxen, as they were scattered about, fell into his hands; but, apprehending an ambush in the dark, he kept his men all night under arms in the camp. At break of day, he pursued the enemy, came up with their rear[25], and attacked them: several skirmishes ensued in the difficult passes of the mountains, and Annibal's army was thrown into some disorder; until he detached from his van a body of Spaniards, light and active men, who were accustomed to climb such heights. These falling upon the heavy-armed Romans cut off a considerable number of them, and obliged Fabius to retire. This brought upon him more contempt and calumny than ever: for having renounced open force, as if he could subdue Annibal by conduct and foresight, he appeared now to be worsted at his own weapons. Annibal still farther to incense the Romans against him, when he came to his lands, ordered them to be spared *, and set a guard upon them to preserve them from injury and pillage; while he was ravaging all the country around them, and laying it waste with fire. An account of these things, being brought to Rome, furnished ground for heavy complaints. The tribunes clamorously adduced many articles of accusation against him before the people, chiefly at the instigation of Metilius, who had no particular enmity to Fabius; but as a relation of Minucius, his general of the horse, sought by depressing Fabius to raise his friend. The senate likewise was offended, particularly about the terms which he had settled with Annibal for the ransom of prisoners. For it was agreed between them that the prisoners should be exchanged, man for man; and that, if either of them had more than the other, he should release them for two hundred and fifty drachmas each man[26]: and upon the whole account there remained two hundred and forty Romans unexchanged. The senate determined not to pay this ransom, and blamed Fabius as having taken a step equally against the honour and the interest of the state, in endeavouring to recover men whom cowardice had betrayed into the hands of the enemy[27].

---

[25] Polybius (iii.) says, it was 'the Carthaginian infantry,' which Annibal had sent to dislodge the enemy from the heights; and Livy, still more specifically, says 'the light infantry.' (xxii. 18.)*

---

* Pericles anticipated a similar 'Grecian gift' from Archidamus, p. 50. and therefore, in order to anticipate it's effects upon the minds of his capricious countrymen, 'he presented his lands and houses to the city of Athens.' *

[26] Livy (xxii. 23.) calls this, *argenti pondo bina et selibras in militem;* whence we learn that the Roman *pondo*, or 'pound weight' of silver, was equivalent to a hundred Grecian drachmas or a mina. (L.) The excess of Roman captives, that historian informs us, was 247: he does not however with Plutarch say, that the senate refused, but only suspended, the payment of their ransom; *sæpe jactatâ in senatu re, quoniam non consuluisset patres.* (ib.)*

[27] On the principles of the Horatian sarcasm,

Auro repensus scilicet acrior
Miles redibit! Flagitio additis
Damnum, &c. (Od. III. v. 25.*)

When Fabius was informed of the resentment of his fellow-citizens, he bore it with invincible patience; but being in want of money, and not choosing to deceive Annibal or to abandon his countrymen in their distress, he sent his son to Rome with orders to sell part of his estate, and to bring him the produce immediately to the camp. This was punctually performed by his son, and Fabius redeemed the prisoners; several of whom subsequently offered to repay him, but his generosity would not permit him to accept it.

After this he was called to Rome by the priests, to assist at some of the solemn sacrifices, and was therefore obliged to leave the army to Minucius; but he both charged him as dictator, and also earnestly entreated and conjured him as a friend, not to come to any kind of action. His prayers, however, were lost upon Minucius; for he immediately sought an occasion to engage the enemy. And, observing one day that Annibal had sent out a considerable part of his army to forage, he attacked those that were left behind, and drove them within their entrenchments, killing great numbers of them, so that they even feared he would storm their camp, and, when the rest of the Carthaginian forces returned, he retreated without loss[28]. This success increased his arrogance, and the ardour of the soldiers. An exaggerated report of this action soon reached Rome. When Fabius heard it, he said, "That he dreaded "nothing more than Minucius' success." But the people, highly elated with the news, ran to the Forum; where the tribune Metilius harangued them from the Rostrum, highly extolling Minucius, and accusing Fabius not only of cowardice and want of spirit, but of treachery. He endeavoured also to involve the principal men in Rome in the same crime, alleging, "that they had originally brought "the war upon Italy, for the destruction of the

---

[28] Livy (xxii. 24.) says, that he lost five thousand of his men, and that the enemy's loss did not exceed his by more than a thousand.

"common people; and had placed the common-"wealth under the absolute direction of one man, "who by the slowness of his proceeding gave An-"nibal an opportunity of establishing himself in "the country, and of drawing fresh forces from "Carthage, in order to effect a total conquest of "Italy."

Against these allegations of the tribune, Fabius disdained to make any defence; and only declared, that "he would finish the sacrifice and other reli-"gious rites as soon as possible, in order to return "to the army, and punish Minucius for having "fought contrary to his orders." This occasioned a great tumult among the people, who were alarmed at Minucius' danger. For it is in the dictator's power to imprison, and inflict capital punishment, without form of trial: and they thought that the wrath of Fabius now provoked, though he was naturally very mild and patient, would prove heavy and implacable. But fear kept them all silent except Metilius, whose person, as tribune of the people, could not be touched; the tribunes being the only officers of state who retain their authority after the appointing of a dictator. Metilius entreated, insisted that the people should not give up Minucius. to suffer perhaps what Manlius Torquatus inflicted upon his own son, whom he beheaded when crowned with laurel for his victory: but that they should take from Fabius his power to play the tyrant, and leave the direction of affairs to one, who was both able and willing to save his country. The people, though much affected with this speech, did not venture to divest Fabius of the dictatorship, notwithstanding the odium which he had incurred; but decreed that Minucius should share the command with him, and have equal authority in conducting the war: a thing never before practised in Rome[29]. Another instance of it however soon afterward occurred, upon the unfortunate action of Cannæ; for Marcus Junius the dictator being then in the field, they created another dictator (Fabius Buteo) to fill up the senate, many of whose members had fallen in that battle. There was this difference indeed, that Buteo had no sooner enrolled the new senators, than he dismissed his lictors and the rest of his retinue, and mixed with the crowd, stopping some time in the Forum about his own affairs as a private man.

---

[29] This decree, we are told by Livy (xxii. 26.) was proposed by C. Terentius Varro, subsequently rendered so notorious by his defeat at Cannæ.*

When the people had thus invested Minucius with a power equal to that of the dictator, they thought they should find Fabius extremely humbled and dejected; but it soon appeared, that they knew not the man. For he did not account their mistake any unhappiness to him; but as Diogenes the philosopher, when one said, "They deride you," well replied, "But I am not derided;" accounting those only to be ridiculed, who feel the ridicule, and are discomposed at it: so Fabius bore without emotion all that happened to himself, thus confirming the position in philosophy, which affirms that 'a wise and good man can suffer no contempt or disgrace[30].' But he was deeply concerned for the public, on account of the unadvised proceedings of the people, who had put it in the power of a rash man to indulge his indiscreet ambition for military glory. And apprehensive that Minucius, infatuated with empty pride, might hastily take some fatal step, he left Rome with the utmost privacy.

---

[30] How beautifully has Horace expressed this sentiment (Od. III. ii. 17, &c.)

Virtus, repulsæ nescia sordidæ,
Intaminatis fulget honoribus;
Nec sumit aut ponit secures
Arbitrio popularis auræ.

And Fabius' reflection upon the occasion, as given by Livy (xxii. 26.) deserves to be quoted: *Satis fidens haudquaquam cum imperii jure artem imperandi æquatam, invicto à civibus hostibusque animo ad exercitum rediit.**

Upon his arrival at the camp, he found the arrogance of Minucius grown to such a height, that it was no longer to be endured. Fabius therefore refused to comply with his demand of having the army under his orders every other day, and instead of that divided the forces with him, choosing rather to have the full command of a part, than the direction of the whole by turns. He accordingly took the first and fourth legions himself, leaving the second and third to Minucius; the allies were likewise equally divided between them[31].

Minucius valued himself highly upon this, that the power of the greatest and most arbitrary office in the state was controlled and reduced for his sake. But Fabius reminded him, "That it was not Fabius "with whom he had to contend, but Annibal: that "if he would notwithstanding consider his collegue "as his rival, he must take care lest he, who had "thus carried his point with the people, should one "day appear to have had their safety and interest "less at heart, than the man who had incurred their "unjust resentment." Minucius considering this as the effect of an old man's pique, and taking the troops that fell to his lot, marked out for them a separate camp[32]. Annibal was well informed of all that had passed, and watched his opportunity to improve it to his own advantage.

There was a hill between him and the enemy, not difficult to take possession of, which yet would afford an army a very safe and commodious post. The ground about it at a distance seemed quite level and plain, though there were in it several ditches and hollows: and therefore, though he might privately have seized it with ease, yet he left it as a bait to draw the enemy to an engagement. But, as soon as he saw Minucius parted from Fabius, he took an opportunity in the night to place a number[33] of men in those ditches and hollows: and early in the morning openly sent out a small party, as if with a design to make themselves masters of the hill, but in reality to tempt Minucius to dispute it with them. The event answered his expectation. For Minucius despatched his light-armed troops first, then the cavalry; and at last, when he saw Annibal send reinforcements to his men upon the hill, he marched out with all his forces in order of battle, and attacked the Carthaginians upon the heights with great vigour. The fortune of the day was doubtful until Annibal, perceiving that the enemy had fallen into the snare, and that their rear was open to the ambuscade, gave the signal. Upon this, his men rushed out on all sides, and advancing with loud shouts, and cutting in pieces the hindmost ranks, threw the Romans into the utmost confusion and dismay. Even the spirit of Minucius began to shrink, and he looked first upon one officer and then upon another; not one of them, however, durst stand his ground: they all betook themselves to flight, but in flight found no safety. For the Numidians, now victorious, galloped round the plain, and killed the scattered fugitives.

---

[31] Livy in this place differs chiefly from Plutarch, by stating that the first and fourth legions fell to Minucius, and the second and third to Fabius: but Polybius, with less of probability in his account, varies more widely from them both.*

[32] About fifteen hundred paces from Fabius.

Fabius was not ignorant of his countrymen's danger. Foreseeing what would happen, he had kept his forces under arms, and taken care to be informed how the action went on: neither did he trust to the reports of others, but himself watched it's progress from an eminence in front of his camp. When he saw the army of his collegue surrounded and broken, and the cry reached him, not like that of men standing the charge but of persons flying in great dismay, he smote upon his thigh[34], and with a deep sigh said to his friends about him; "Ye gods!

---

[33] Five hundred horse, and five thousand foot. (Polyb. iii.) (L.) Five thousand horse and foot jointly. (Liv. xxii. 28.)*

[34] Homer mentions the custom of smiting upon the thigh in time of trouble or surprise:

"how much sooner[35] than I expected, and yet "later than his indiscreet proceedings required, "has Minucius ruined himself!" He then having commanded the standard-bearers to advance, and the whole army to follow, addressed them in these words; "Now, my brave soldiers, if any one has "a regard for Marcus Minucius, let him exert him- "self; for he deserves assistance for his valour, and "the love which he bears his country. If, in his "haste to drive out the enemy, he has committed "any error, this is not a time to find fault with "him."

The first sight of Fabius frightened away the Numidians, who were cutting down stragglers in the field. He then attacked those who were charging the Romans in the rear. Such as made resistance he slew; but the chief part retreated to their own army, before the communication was intercepted, lest they should themselves be surrounded in their turn. Annibal observing this change of fortune, and finding that Fabius pushed on through the hottest of the battle with a vigour above his years, to reach Minucius upon the hill, put an end to the skirmish, and having sounded a retreat retired into his camp. The Romans, on their part, were not sorry when the action was over. Annibal, as he was drawing off, is reported to have said smartly to those that were by; "Did I not often tell you, that "this cloud[36] would one day burst upon us from the "mountains, with all the fury of a tempest?"

——Και ὡ πεπληγετο μηρω·

and we learn from scripture, that it was practised in the east. Compare Hom. xii. 162. and this passage of Plutarch, with Jer. xxxi. 19. and Ezek. xxi. 12. (L.) The forehead was, likewise, smitten upon some occasions. See Cic. ad. Brut. 1. 1., and Fragm. Orat. pro Q. Gallio (preserved in his Brut. 80.) *Frons non percussa, non femur; pedis, quod minimum est, nulla supplosio.*

[35] *Non celerius quàm timui*, says Fabius in Livy (xxii. 29.) *deprehendit fortuna temeritatem.* Compare also the two speeches of Minucius after his defeat, to his soldiers and to Fabius, as reported by that historian (ib. 29, 30.) and by Plutarch.*

[36] This will perhaps recall to the reader's mind the happy combi-

After the battle, Fabius having collected the spoils of such Carthaginians, as were left dead upon the field, returned to his post; nor did he let fall one haughty or angry word against his collegue. As for Minucius, having called his men together, he thus expressed himself; "Friends and fellow-soldiers, not to err at all in the management of great "affairs, is above human wisdom: but it is the part "of a prudent and good man, to learn from his "errors to correct himself for the future. For my "part, I confess that though fortune has frowned "upon me a little, I have much for which to think "her. For what I could not be taught in so long "a time, I have learned in the small compass of a "single day; that I know not how to command, "but have need to be under the direction of another: and from this moment I bid adieu to the "ambition of getting the better of a man, by whom "it is an honour to be foiled. In all other respects, "the dictator shall be your commander; but in the "due expressions of gratitude to him I will be your "leader still, by being the first to show an example "of obedience and submission."

He then ordered the ensigns to advance with the eagles, and the troops to follow, himself marching at their head to Fabius' camp. Being admitted, he went directly to his tent. The whole army waited with impatience for the event. When Fabius came out, Minucius fixed his standard before him, and with a loud voice saluted him by the name of 'Father:' at the same time, his soldiers called those of Fabius their 'Patrons;' an appellation, which freedmen give to those by whom they are enfranchised. These respects being paid, and silence taking place, Minucius thus addressed himself to

---

nation, made by the late eloquent Mr. Burke, of two kindred classical metaphors, where speaking of the apparently incongruous qualifications of a great general, in one of his many Political Tracts, he observes; 'He will know when to be like Fabius the cloud, and like Scipio the thunderbolt, of war.'*

the dictator; "You have this day, Fabius, obtained "two victories, one over the enemy by your valour, "the other over your collegue by your prudence "and humanity. By the former you have saved, "by the latter you have instructed us; and Anni"bal's victory over us is not more disgraceful than "yours is honourable and salutary. I call you "'Father,' not knowing a more honourable name: "and I am more indebted to you, than to my real "father. To him I owe my being, but to you the "preservation of my life and the lives of all these "brave men." After this he threw himself into Fabius' arms, and the soldiers of each army embraced one another with every expression of tenderness, and with tears of joy.

Not long after this, Fabius laid down the dictatorship, and consuls were created[37]. The first of these adhered to the plan, which Fabius had adopted. He took care not to come to a pitched battle with Annibal, but sent succours to the allies of Rome, and prevented any revolt in their cities. But when Terentius Varro[38], a man of obscure birth, and remarkable only for his temerity and servile complaisance to the people, rose to the consulship, it soon appeared that his boldness and inexperience would impel him to risk the very being of the commonwealth. For he loudly insisted in the assemblies of the people, that the war stood still while it was under the conduct of Fabius; but, for his part, he would in the same day get sight of the enemy and beat him. With these promises he so prevailed upon the multitude, that he levied greater forces, than Rome had ever raised before in her most dangerous wars; for he mustered [39] not fewer than eighty-eight thousand men. Upon this, Fabius and other intelligent persons among the Romans were deeply alarmed; because they saw no resource for the state, if such a number of their youth should be cut off. They addressed themselves therefore to the other consul, Paulus Æmilius; a man of considerable experience in war, but disagreeable to the people, and at the same time afraid of them, for they had formerly imposed upon him a considerable fine [40]. Fabius however encouraged him to withstand the temerity of his collegue, telling him, "That the dispute "which he had to support for his country was not so "much with Annibal, as with Varro. The latter "(said he) will hasten to an engagement, because "he knows not his own strength; and the former, "because he knows his own weakness. But believe "me, Æmilius, I deserve more attention than "Varro, with respect to Annibal's affairs; and I "assure you that, if the Romans come to no battle "with him this year, he will either be undone by "his stay in Italy, or else be obliged to quit it. "Even now, when he seems to be victorious and to "carry all before him, not one of his enemies has

---

[37] According to Livy (xxii. 32.) Fabius, after the six months of his dictatorship were expired, resigned the army to the consuls of that year, Gem. Servilius and M. Atilius; the latter having been appointed in the room of Flaminius, who fell at Thrasymene. But Plutarch follows Polybius.

[38] Varro was the son of a butcher, and had followed his father's profession in his youth: but, growing rich, he forsook that mean calling; and through the favour of the people, which he courted by supporting the most turbulent of their tribunes, obtained the consulate. (Liv. xxii. 26.)

---

[39] It was usual with the Romans to muster every year four legions, which consisting in difficult times each of five thousand Roman foot and three hundred horse, and a battalion of Latins of an equal number of infantry and twice the number of cavalry, amounted in the whole to 43,600. (Polyb.) But, upon this occasion, instead of four legions they raised eight. (L.) Livy, however, represents the statements of the number and kind of the new levies as too variable to admit of ascertainment; and therefore only says, generally, that they were very considerable. (xxii. 36.)*

[40] With his brother consul, M. Livius Salinator, he had subdued and triumphed over the Illyrians; but upon a charge of having shown gross partiality in the division of the plunder (Frontin. iv. 1. 15.) or, according to Aurelius Victor, of having embezzled the public money, they were both found guilty and heavily fined: though Æmilius escaped with the lighter punishment. (Liv. xxii. 35.)*

"quitted the Roman interest, and not a third part "of the forces remains which he brought from home "with him." To this Æmilius is said to have answered; "Were I to consider myself only, Fabius, "I should conclude it better for me to fall by the "weapons of my enemy, than a second time by the "sentence of my own countrymen. Since the state "of public affairs however is so critical, I will endeavour to approve myself a good general; and "had rather appear such to you, than to all who "oppose you, and who would draw me over willing "or unwilling to their party." With these sentiments, Æmilius began his operations.

But Varro, having persuaded his collegue to agree[41] that they should command alternately each his day, when his turn came, took post over-against Annibal, on the banks of the Aufidus, near the village of Cannæ[42]. As soon as it was light, he gave the signal for battle, which is a red mantle set up over the general's tent. The Carthaginians were a little disheartened at first, when they saw how daring the consul was, and that his army was more than double in number of their own. But Annibal having ordered them to arm, rode up himself with a few others to an eminence, to take a view of the enemy now drawn up for battle. One Gisco that accompanied him, a man of his own rank, happening to say, "The numbers of the enemy appeared to him "surprising;" Annibal, with a serious countenance, replied, "There is another thing much more sur-"prising, which has escaped your observation." Upon his asking, what it was; "It is," said he, "that among such numbers not one of them is named "Gisco." The whole company were diverted with the keen humour of this observation, and on their coming down the hill told the jest to all those they met, so that the laugh became universal. At the sight of this the Carthaginians took courage, thinking it must proceed from the contempt in which their general held the Romans, that he could thus jest and laugh in the face of danger.

---

[41] Here Plutarch falls into a mistake; for it was a fixed rule with the Romans that the consuls, when they went upon the same service, should have the command of the army by turns. (Polyb. iii.)

[42] Cannæ according to Livy, Appian, and Florus was only a poor village, which subsequently became celebrated on account of the battle fought near it: but Polybius, who lived near the time of the second Punic war, stiles it a city; and adds, that it had been rased a year before the defeat of the Roman army. Silius Italicus agrees with Polybius. It was subsequently rebuilt; for Pliny ranks it among the cities of Apulia. It's ruins are still to be seen in the territory of Bari. (L.)

Plutarch has omitted mentioning a previous skirmish between the Romans under Æmilius, and a party of Carthaginian foragers, who lost about seventeen hundred men in the action, while not above a hundred fell of the Romans and their allies. This however was a fatal victory, as it still more strongly impelled the already too impetuous Varro.*

In this battle, Annibal gave great proofs of generalship; first in taking advantage of the ground to post his men with their backs to the wind[43], which was then very violent and scorching, and drove from the dry plains, over the heads of the Carthaginians, clouds of sand and dust into the eyes and nostrils of the Romans; so that they were obliged to turn away their faces, and break their ranks. In the next place, his troops were drawn up with superior art. He placed the flower of them in the wings, and those upon whom he had less dependence in the centre, which was considerably more advanced than the rest of the army. He then commanded those in the wings that, when the enemy had charged and vigorously pushed that advanced body (which, he knew, would give way and open a passage for them), and were thus enclosed on both sides, they should take them in flank both on the right and left, and endeavour to surround them in the rear[44]. This was the principal cause of the dreadful carnage, that ensued. For the enemy pressing upon Annibal's front, which gave ground, the form of his army was changed into a half-moon; and the officers of the select troops caused the two points of the wings to join behind the Romans. They were thus exposed to the attacks of the Carthaginians on all sides: an incredible slaughter took place; neither did any escape, except the few who retreated before the main body was enclosed.

---

[43] This hot wind, blowing from between the east and the south, and by Livy (xxii. 46.) called Vulturnus, is the modern Sirocco; and, as the Romans fronted to the south, would affect them very peniciously. It's ordinary effects upon the human subject are great weakness and lassitude.*

[44] Livy (xxii. 48.) mentions a third stratagem devised by An-

An unexpected disaster is said, likewise, to have happened to the Roman cavalry. For the horse which Æmilius rode, having received some hurt, threw him; and those about him alighting to defend the dismounted consul, the rest of the cavalry seeing this, and taking it as a signal for them to do the same, all quitted their horses and charged on foot. Upon which Annibal said, "This pleases me better, "than if they had been delivered to me bound "hand and foot." But the particulars may be found at large in the historians[45], who have detailed this battle.

As to the consuls, Varro escaped with a few horse to Venusia; and Æmilius borne off the field by the overwhelming torrent of the fight, and covered with darts which stuck in his wounds, sate down upon a stone in anguish and despair, waiting for the enemy to despatch him. His head and his face were so disfigured and besmeared with blood, that it was not easy to know him; even his friends and servants passed by him without stopping. At last Cornelius Lentulus a young patrician, perceiving who he was, dismounted and entreated him to take his horse and save himself for the commonwealth, which had then

---

nibal: Five hundred Numidians, who had pretended to desert to the Romans, in the heat of the battle turned against them, and attacked them in the rear.

[45] Particularly Polybius, and Livy (xxii. 47—49.) whom Plutarch here chiefly follows. They have not, however, succeded in giving a very distinct idea of Annibal's order of battle.*

more occasion than ever for so good a consul. But nothing could prevail upon him to accept the offer, and notwithstanding the young man's tears, he obliged him to remount. Then rising up, and taking him by the hand; "Tell Fabius Maximus," said he, "and do you yourself, Lentulus, bear witness, that "Paulus Æmilius followed his directions to the last, "and did not deviate in the least from the plan concerted between them, but was first overcome by "Varro and then by Annibal." Having sent off Lentulus with this commission, he rushed among the enemy's swords, and was slain[46]. Fifty thousand Romans are said to have fallen in this battle[47], and four thousand to have been taken prisoners, beside ten thousand that were taken after the battle in both the camps.

After this success, Annibal's friends advised him to pursue his fortune, and to enter Rome along with the fugitives, assuring him that in five days he might sup in the Capitol. It is not easy to conjecture, what his reason was for not adopting this measure. Some deity most probably opposed it, and therefore inspired him with this hesitation and timidity. Hence[48] Barca the Carthaginian is said to have told him with some heat, " Annibal, you know how to gain a vic-" tory, but not how to profit by it."

---

[46] To this gallantry of spirit Horace refers, in his

——*Animæque magnæ*
Prodigum, Pæno superante, Paulum. (Od. I. xii. 38.)

Livy's account of his dying address to Lentulus (xxii. 49.) does not materially differ from that here given by Plutarch.*

[47] According to Livy (ib.) there were killed of the Romans and allies jointly, in equal proportion, only forty thousand foot, and two thousand seven hundred horse. (L.) Among whom were both the quæstors, one and twenty tribunes, several persons who had discharged the offices of consul, prætor, and ædile (particularly Cn. Servilius Geminus, and Minucius, who had been Fabius' general of the horse) and fourscore senators actual or elect, then serving as volunteers. Three thousand infantry, and three hundred cavalry, were taken prisoners. This victory, he adds, cost the Carthaginians about eight thousand of their bravest men (ib. 52.) Polybius says, that seventy thousand were killed, and more than ten thousand taken prisoners; while the loss of the Carthaginians did not amount to six thousand. This leads him to infer, that a superiority in cavalry is of the utmost importance; yet the Romans do not seem to have been of that opinion, and they were not usually unsuccessful.* When the Carthaginians were stripping the dead, among other moving objects they found to their great surprise, a Numidian yet alive lying under the dead body of a Roman, who had thrown himself headlong on his enemy and beat him down; but being no longer able to make use of his weapons, because he had lost his hands, had torn off the nose and ears of the Numidian with his teeth, and in that fit of rage expired (Liv. ib. 51.)

The battle of Cannæ however made such an alteration in his affairs, that though before it he had neither town nor magazine nor port in Italy, but without any regular supplies for the war supported his army by rapine, and for that purpose moved them from place to place like a numerous banditti, yet he then became master of the greatest part of the country: its best provinces and towns[49] voluntarily submitted to him, and Capua itself, a city second only to Rome in respectability, threw it's weight into his scale.

In this case it appeared that heavy misfortunes are not only, what Euripides[50] calls them, a trial of the fidelity of a friend, but of the capacity of a general. For the proceedings of Fabius, which before this battle were deemed cold and timid, subsequently appeared to have been directed by counsels more than human; the dictates indeed of a divine wisdom, which penetrated into futurity at such a distance, and foresaw what seemed incredible, to the very persons then suffering agreeably to his predictions. In him therefore Rome placing her last hope, and taking refuge in his judgement as in a sanctuary, through his prudence chiefly was enabled to hold up her head, and to keep her children from being dispersed, as when she was taken by the Gauls. For he alone, who in times of apparent security seemed deficient in confidence and resolution, now when all abandoned themselves to inexhaustible sorrow and helpless despair, walked about the city with a calm and easy pace, a firm countenance, and a mild and gracious address, checking their effeminate lamentations, and preventing them from assembling in public to bewail their common distress. He caused the senate to meet; and encouraged the magistrates, being himself the soul and spirit of their body, for all waited his motion and were ready to obey his orders. He placed a guard at the gates, to hinder such of the people as were inclined to fly from quitting the city[51]. He fixed both the time and place for mourning, allowing thirty days for that purpose in a man's own house, and no more for the city in general. And as the feast of Ceres fell within that period, it was thought better entirely to omit the solemnity, than by the small numbers and melancholy looks of those who should attend it to discover the greatness of their loss[52]: for the worship most acceptable to the gods is that, which comes from cheerful hearts. Whatever the augurs indeed ordered for propitiating the divine powers, and averting inauspicious omens, was carefully performed. For Fabius Pictor, the near relation of Fabius Maximus, was sent to consult the oracle at Delphi; and of the two vestals, who were then found guilty of a breach of their vow of chastity, one was buried alive according to custom, and the other died by her own hand [53].

---

[48] Livy (ib. 51.) says it was Maharbal, the general of the Numidian horse; but perhaps, like Amilcar, he might be surnamed Barca.* Zonaras informs us, that Annibal himself afterward acknowledged his mistake in not having pursued that day's success, and used often to cry out, 'O Cannæ, Cannæ!' (L.) and perhaps, at the consternation of the moment, Rome might have been carried by a *coup de main.* Æmilius, in his last speech to Lentulus, as reported by Livy (ib. 49.) appears to have anticipated this measure; and the historian himself says (ib. 51.) *mora ejus diei satis creditur saluti fuisse vrbi atque imperio.**

But, on the other hand, it may be pleaded in Annibal's defence, that his victory was chiefly owing to his cavalry, who could not act in siege: that the inhabitants of Rome were all bred to arms from their infancy; would use their utmost efforts in defence of their wives, their children, and their domestic gods; and behind their walls and ramparts would probably be invincible, as when much weaker, they had effectually resisted the Gauls in their citadel: that they had as many generals, as senators: that no one nation of Italy had yet declared for him; and (lastly) that, if he failed in his attempt upon the capital, he would not have been able to gain allies in any other quarter.

[49] The Apulians, Samnites, Tarentines, &c.*

---

[50] Hecub. v. 1216. Εν τοις κακοις γαρ αγαθοι σαφεϛατοι φιλοι.—*

[51] Livy gives his speech at great length (ib. 55)*

[52] This was not the real cause of deferring the festival, which was usually kept on the twelfth of April, but that which Plutarch immediately subjoins, viz. that it was unlawful for persons in mourn-

But what most deserves to be admired is the magnanimity and temper of the Romans, when the consul Varro returned after his defeat, in a state of deep humiliation and melancholy, as one who had involved the republic in the greatest calamity and disgrace. The whole senate and people went to welcome him at the gates; and, when silence was commanded, the magistrates and principal senators (with Fabius among them) commended him for not despairing of the commonwealth after so heavy a misfortune, but returning to take upon himself the administration, and to do what he could with the laws and the citizens, as being yet within the reach of preservation [54].

---

ing to celebrate it; and at that time there was not a single matron in Rome, who was out of mourning. (L.) In fact it was only suspended till the end of the mourning, the duration of which was limited to thirty days for the express purpose, that the other public and private rites of religion might be no longer put off. (Liv. ib. 56.)*

[53] Livy adds (ib. 57.) that the paramour of one of them, C. Cantilius, was at the same time scourged to death; and that the decemvirs having consulted the Sibylline books, had ordered four human victims *(minimè Romano sacro)* a male and female Gaul and Greek to be buried alive in the Beast-market. See the Life of Marcellus, not. (9.)*

[54] Whereas, says Livy (ib. 61.) had he been a Carthaginian general, he must have encountered the most agonising death. Valerius Maximus informs us (iii. 4., and iv. 5.) that the senate and people even went so far as to offer him the dictatorship, which however he modestly refused: (L.) and Frontinus (IV. v. 6.) adds, that for the rest of his life he suffered his beard and hair to grow, and would never afterward eat like his countrymen upon a couch; saying, when these dignities were offered him, that the Romans ought to have more fortunate magistrates.*

When they heard that Annibal after the battle, instead of marching to Rome, had turned to another part of Italy, they took courage and sent their armies and generals into the field. The most eminent of these were Fabius Maximus and Claudius Marcellus, men distinguished by characters almost entirely opposite. Marcellus (as we have already mentioned in his Life) was a man of buoyant and animated valour; remarkably well skilled in the use of weapons, and naturally enterprising; such a one, in short, as Homer calls "high-spirited and fond of war." A general so intrepid was very fit to be opposed to an enemy as daring as himself, in order to restore the courage and spirits of the Romans, by some vigorous stroke in the first engagements. As for Fabius, he retained his original sentiments; and hoped by following Annibal close without fighting him, that he and his army would wear themselves out and lose their warlike vigour, as a wrestler does, who allows himself no repose to recruit his strength after excessive fatigues. Hence the Romans (as Posidonius informs us) called Fabius their 'Shield,' and Marcellus their 'Sword;'* and used to say, that the steadiness and caution of the one, mixed with the vivacity and boldness of the other, made a compound extremely salutary to Rome. Annibal therefore often meeting Marcellus, whose motions were like those of a torrent, found his forces broken and diminished: while by Fabius, who moved with a silent but constant stream, they were undermined and insensibly weakened. To such an extremity at length was he reduced, that he was tired of fighting Marcellus, and afraid of Fabius for not fighting him. And with these he was generally concerned during the remainder of the war, either as prætors, consuls, or proconsuls; for each of them was five times consul. Marcellus indeed, in his fifth consulate, was drawn into his snares, and killed by means of an ambuscade: but, with all his arts and stratagems, he never succeeded in effectually duping Fabius. Once only he slightly deceived him, and had nearly led him into a serious mistake. He forged letters to him, as from the principal inhabitants of Metapontum, offering to deliver up to him their city, and assuring him that those who had taken this resolution only waited till he appeared before it. Fabius, giving credit to these letters, ordered a party to be ready, intending to march thither in the night: but finding the auspices unpromising he altered his design, and soon afterward discovered that the letters had been fabricated by Annibal, and that he was lying in ambush for him near the town[55]. But this, perhaps, may be ascribed to the favour and protection of the gods.

---

* See the Life of Marcellus, below.

Fabius was persuaded that it was better to keep the cities from revolting, and to prevent any commotions among the allies, by affability and mildness, than to entertain every suspicion, or to use severity against those whom he did suspect. Having been informed (it is said) that a certain Marsian in his army[56], who was a man not inferior in courage or family to any among the allies, had been tampering with some of his men to induce them to desert, instead of treating him harshly, he acknowledged that he had been too much neglected: declaring at the same time, that he now blamed his officers for having distributed honours more out of favour than from regard to merit; but that for the future he should blame the complainant, if he did not apply to himself, whenever he had any request to make. This was followed by a present of a war-horse, and other marks of honour; and thenceforward the man behaved with great fidelity and zeal for the service. Fabius thought it hard that, while those who breed dogs and horses soften their stubborn tempers and bring down their fierce spirits by care and kindness rather than with whips and chains, he who has the command of men should not endeavour to correct their errors by lenity and goodness, but treat them even in a harsher and more violent manner than gardeners do wild fig-trees, wild pears, and wild olives, whose nature they subdue by cultivation, and thus cause to produce agreeable fruit.

---

[55] This event Livy (xxvii. 16.) places after the recapture of Tarentum by Fabius, and adds that he twice consulted the sacred birds, and once the entrails of a victim slain for the occasion; both of which concurred in dissuading him from the enterprise, while the Araspex expressly warned him to beware of some *ruse de guerre* on the part of the enemy.

[56] Livy (xxiii. 15.) tells this story of Marcellus, which Plutarch here applies to Fabius (L.); and informs us that the name of the other (mentioned below) was L. Bantius (called Bandius, in the Life of Marcellus), a native of Nola, who had been found half dead amidst a heap of slain after the battle of Cannæ. One of his privileges was, that he should have access to the general, whenever he chose.

Another time, some of his officers informed him that one of the soldiers, a native of Lucania, often quitted his post and rambled out of the camp. He inquired, what kind of a man he was in other respects; and they all declared, that it was not easy to find so good a soldier, in proof of which they mentioned several extraordinary instances of his valour. On examining into the cause of this irregularity, he found that the man was passionately in love; and that for the sake of seeing a young woman he ventured out of the camp, and took a long and dangerous journey every night. Upon this Fabius gave orders to some of his men to find out the woman, and convey her into his own tent, but took care that the Lucanian should not know it. He then sent for him, and taking him aside, spoke to him as follows; "I very well know that you have lain many nights "out of the camp, in breach of the Roman disci- "pline and laws; at the same time, I am not igno- "rant of your past services. In consideration of "them, I forgive your present crime; but for the fu- "ture I will give you in charge to a person who shall "be answerable for you." While the soldier stood much amazed, Fabius produced the woman, and putting her in his hands, thus expressed himself: "This is the person, who engages for you that you "will remain in camp; and we shall now see, whe-"ther there were not some traitorous design which "drew you out, and for which the love of this wo-"man served merely as a pretext." Such is the account, which we have of this affair.

By means of another love-affair, Fabius recovered the city of Tarentum, which had been treacherously delivered up to Annibal. A young man a native of that place, serving under Fabius, had a sister there, who loved him with the utmost tenderness. This youth being informed that a certain Bruttian, one of the officers of the garrison which Annibal had placed in Tarentum, entertained a violent passion for his sister, hoped to avail himself of this circumstance to the advantage of the Romans. With the permission of Fabius, therefore, he returned to his sister at Tarentum, under colour of having deserted. Some days passed, during which the Bruttian forbore his visits, as she supposed that her brother knew nothing of the amour. This obliged the young man to come to an explanation: "It has been "currently reported," said he, "that you receive the "addresses of a man of some distinction. Who is "he? If he be a man of honour and character, as I "am told he is, Mars, who confounds all things, "takes but little thought of what country he may "be. What necessity imposes, is no disgrace; but "we may rather think ourselves fortunate, at a time "when justice yields to force, if that to which force "might compel us, happen not to be disagreeable "to our own inclinations." Thus encouraged, the young woman sent for the Bruttian, and introduced him to her brother. And as she behaved to him in a kinder and more complying manner through her brother's means, who was very indulgent to his passion, it was not difficult to prevail with the Bruttian, a man deeply in love and a mercenary into the bargain[57], to deliver up the town, on a promise of great rewards from Fabius.

This is the account, which most historians give us: yet some say that the woman, by whom the Bruttian was gained, was not a Tarentine but a Bruttian; that she had been Fabius' concubine; and that when she found the governor of Tarentum was her countryman and acquaintance, she told Fabius of it, and having approached the walls to make him a proposal, drew him over to the Roman interest.

During these transactions Fabius, in order to make a diversion, gave directions to the garrison of Rhegium to lay waste the Bruttian territories, and, if possible, to get possession of Caulonia. These were a body of eight thousand men, composed partly of deserters, and partly of the most worthless of that infamous band, which had been brought by Marcellus out of Sicily[58]; and therefore the loss of them would not be much felt, nor much lamented by the Romans. These men he threw out as a bait for Annibal, and by sacrificing them hoped to draw him to a distance from Tarentum. The design succeeded: for Annibal marched with his forces to Caulonia, and Fabius in the mean time laid siege to Tarentum. On the sixth day of the siege, the young man having settled the matter with the Bruttian officer by means of his sister, and having well observed the place where he kept guard and promised to admit the Romans, went to Fabius by night, and gave him an account of it. The consul moved to the appointed quarter, though not entirely depending upon the promise that the town would be betrayed. There he himself sat still, but at the same time ordered an assault on every other part both by sea and land. This was put in execution with much noise and tumult, which drew most of the Tarentines that way, to assist the garrison and repel the besiegers. The Bruttian then giving Fabius the signal, he scaled the walls, and took possession of the town.

---

[57] Ανθρωπȣ μισθοφορȣ. This has been mis-translated, 'a man of a mercenary disposition.' The words only import, that he was not of Annibal's own troops, but of the mercenaries. Hence all governments should learn to beware, how they entrust their towns to garrisons of hired troops and strangers.

[58] These men were brought out of Sicily, not by Marcellus, but by his collegue Lævinus (L.): the former, indeed, had quitted Sicily before the taking of Syracuse. Livy (xxvi. 40.) represents them, to the amount of 4000, as a most profligate crew *(misti ex omni colluvione, exules, obærati, capitalia ausi plerique)* who had long supported themselves at Agathyrna, a city of Sicily, by all kinds of robbery.*

Upon this occasion, Fabius seems to have indulged a criminal ambition[59]. For lest it should appear that the place had been betrayed to him, he ordered the Bruttians to be put first to the sword. But he failed in his design; and incurred, in addition, the reproach of perfidy and inhumanity. Many of the Tarentines also were killed: thirty thousand of them were sold for slaves: the army had the plunder of the town, and three thousand talents were brought into the public treasury[60]. While every thing was exposed to destruction and pillage, the officer (it is said) who took the inventory, asked, "What he "would have them to do with the gods?" meaning the statues and pictures: Fabius answered, "Let us "leave the Tarentines their angry deities[61]." He carried away however a colossal Hercules, which he afterward set up in the Capitol, and near it an equestrian statue of himself in brass[62]. Thus he showed himself inferior to Marcellus in his taste for the fine arts, and still more so in mercy and humanity; or rather set off those excellences of Marcellus, as we have already observed in his Life, to great advantage.

---

[59] 'Seems' has here a somewhat stronger signification than usual: for Livy does not say that Fabius gave such orders. He only says, 'There were many Bruttians slain, either through ignorance, or through the ancient hatred which the Romans bore them, or because the latter were desirous that Tarentum should seem to have been taken sword in hand, rather than to have been betrayed.' (xxvii. 16.)

[60] Livy states it's amount to have been much greater (ib.) Of the silver he says indeed only in general, *argenti vis ingens facti signatique*; but of gold he specifically mentions 87,000 Roman lbs.!*

[61] The gods were in the attitude of combatants (a custom derived from their mother-country, Sparta, whose Venus even was in armour); and they appeared, as he insinuated, to have fought against the Tarentines. (L.) More however, according to Polybius (ix.), was here 'meant, than met the ear.' Fabius probably intended to warn his countrymen against introducing into Rome the ornaments of their vanquished enemies, both to preserve them from the cor-

Annibal had hastened to the relief of Tarentum, and being within five miles of it when it was taken, scrupled not to say publicly, "The Romans too "have their Annibal; for we have lost Tarentum "in the same manner, in which we gained it." And he then first privately owned to his friends, "That he had always thought it difficult, but now "saw it was impossible, with the forces he had, to "conquer Italy."

For this achievement Fabius was honoured with a triumph, more splendid than his former one[63]; as having gloriously maintained the field against Annibal, and baffled all his schemes with ease, eluding him like a spent wrestler, whose grasp no longer retains the same vigour. For Annibal's army was now partly enervated with opulence and luxury; and partly impaired and worn out with continual action.

Marcus Livius, who commanded in Tarentum when it was betrayed to Annibal, retired into the citadel, and held it till the town was retaken by the Romans. This officer beheld with pain the honours conferred upon Fabius, and one day his envy and vanity drew from him this expression in the senate; "I, not Fabius, was the cause of recovering Ta-

---

ruption of pageantry, and to prevent the dangerous recollections of their former owners. Livy by his contrast of Fabius and Marcellus, in which he totally differs from Plutarch, seems to have been of Polybius' opinion (ib.) Plutarch however admits, in his Life of Marcellus, that the wisest Romans preferred the conduct of Fabius. See also Cic. in Verr. ii. 24.*

[62] The work of Lysippus (Strabo vi.)

[63] Over the Ligurians. See p. 65.*

"rentum[64]." "True," said Fabius laughing, "for "if you had never lost the town, I had never reco"vered it."

Among other honours, which the Romans paid to Fabius, they elected his son consul[65]. When he had entered upon this office, and was settling some point relative to the war, the father, either on account of his age and infirmities, or else to try his son, mounted his horse to ride up to him. The young consul, seeing him at a distance, would not suffer it; but sent one of the lictors to his father with orders for him to dismount, and come on foot to the consul, if he had any occasion to apply to him. The whole assembly were moved at this, and cast their eyes upon Fabius, expressing both by their silence and their looks their resentment of the indignity offered to a person of his character. But he instantly alighted, and running up to his son, embraced him with the utmost tenderness: "My son," said he, "I applaud your sentiments and your behaviour. "You know what a people you command, and have "a just sense of the dignity of your office. This was "the way that we and our forefathers took, to ad"vance Rome to her present height of glory, always "considering the honour and interest of our country "before that of our own fathers and children[66]."

---

[64] Livy's account of this affair (xxvii. 25.) seems the more probable, as the levity here imputed to M. Livius, then on the point of impeachment or of criminal prosecution, would have been very unseemly. See also Cicero de Senect. 4., and de Orat. ii. 67.*

[65] Plutarch is not always strictly chronological, for from the accurate Livy it appears that the son, who was also called Q. or as Cicero (ib.) says, M. Fabius Maximus, was elected consul four years before the father took Tarentum. Valerius Maximus records, upon this occasion, a striking proof of the modesty and patriotism of the old man; who protested against the perpetuation of the consular dignity in the Fabian family, as dangerous to the liberties of his country. (iv. 1.)*

[66] Livy (xxiv. 44.) says, that he had passed on horseback eleven of the lictors, when his son ordered the twelfth and last to 'do his duty;' upon which Fabius, instantly dismounting, exclaimed; 'I wished to try, my son, whether or not you knew that you were consul.'*

It is reported indeed that the great grandfather[67] of our Fabius, though he was one of the most illustrious men in Rome, whether we consider his reputation or his authority; though he had been five times consul, and had been honoured with several glorious triumphs on account of his success in wars of the highest importance, yet condescended to serve as lieutenant to his son then consul[68], in an expedition against the Samnites: and while the consul, in the triumph which was decreed him, entered Rome in a chariot and four, he with others followed him on horseback. Thus, while he had authority over his son considered as a private man, and while he was both in reality and in estimation the most considerable member of the commonwealth, he yet gloried in showing his subjection to the laws and to the magistrate. Nor was this the only part of his character, that deserves to be admired. When he had the misfortune to lose his son, he bore that loss with great moderation, as became a wise man and a good father: and the funeral oration, which at the interment of illustrious men is usually pronounced by some near kinsman, he delivered himself; and, having committed it to writing, made it public.

When Publius Cornelius Scipio, who was sent proconsul into Spain, had defeated the Carthaginians in many engagements, and driven them out of that province; and had likewise gloriously reduced several towns and nations under the dominion of Rome, he was received with unprecedented acclamations and universal joy. Being appointed consul, and finding that the people demanded and expected something extraordinary at his hands, he considered it as a superannuated method and worthy only of the inactivity of an old man, to watch the motions of Annibal in Italy. He determined therefore to transfer the seat of war into Africa, to fill the enemy's country with his legions, to extend his ravages far and wide, and to attempt Carthage itself. With this view, he exerted all his talents to bring the people into his design. But Fabius filled the city with alarms, as if the commonwealth were about to be brought into the most extreme danger by a rash and indiscreet young man; in short, he scrupled not to do and say every thing, which he thought likely to dissuade his countrymen from embracing the proposal. With the senate he carried his point[69]. But the people believed that his opposition to Scipio proceeded either from envy of his success, or from a secret fear that if he should achieve some signal exploit, and either put an end to the war or even remove it out of Italy, his own slow proceedings through the course of so many years might be imputed to indolence or timidity.

---

[67] Fabius Rullus, mentioned in the beginning of this Life. For his accumulated honours see Liv. viii. 38., ix. 33. 41., and x. 13. 22.*

[68] Q. Fabius Gurges, who had been defeated by the Samnites, and would have been degraded from the consulship, had not his father promised to attend him in the second expedition as his lieutenant. See Liv. xi. 5., and Val. Max. v. 7.

To me, Fabius seems at first to have opposed the measures of Scipio from an excess of caution and prudence, and to have really thought the danger attending his project great; but in the progress of the opposition I think he went too far, misled by ambition and a jealousy of Scipio's rising glory. For he applied to Crassus, the collegue of Scipio, and endeavoured to persuade him not to yield up to him that province[70]; but, if he thought it proper to conduct the war in that manner, to go himself against Carthage. Nay, he even prevented the raising of money for that expedition; so that Scipio was obliged to find the supplies as he could: and this he effected through his influence with the cities of Hetruria, which were wholly devoted to his interest[71]. As for Crassus, he stayed at home, partly induced to it by his natural mildness and peaceableness of disposition, and partly by the care of religion, which was entrusted to him as high-priest.

---

[69] See the debates in the senate upon that occasion in Livy (xxviii. 40—44.) The speeches both of Fabius and Scipio, as there reported, are excellent, and well deserve perusal.*

[70] This Crassus could not do; for, being Pontifex Maximus, it was necessary that he should remain in Italy. (See Tac. Ann. iii. 71.) It does not therefore seem probable, that Fabius could have gone to this length, upon the occasion; though he certainly appears to have been the cause of withholding from him the necessary supplies. Liv. (ib. 45.) specifies the particular contributions of the friendly cities, Cære, Populonia, Tarquinii, Volaterra, Aretium, &c. &c.*

Fabius, therefore, adopted another method to traverse the design. He prevented the young men, who offered to go volunteers, from giving in their names; and loudly declared both in the senate and in the Forum, "That Scipio not only himself "avoided Annibal, but intended to carry away with "him the remaining strength of Italy; persuading "the young men to abandon their parents, their "wives, and their native city, while an unsubdued "and potent enemy was still at their doors." With these assertions he so terrified the people, that they allowed Scipio to take with him only the legions that were in Sicily, and three hundred of those men who had served under him with so much fidelity in Spain. In this particular, Fabius seems to have followed the dictates of his own cautious temper.

After Scipio was gone over into Africa, an account was soon brought to Rome of his glorious and wonderful achievements. This account was followed by rich spoils, which confirmed it. A Numidian king[72] was taken prisoner; two camps were burned and destroyed, and in them a vast number of men, arms, and horses; and the Carthaginians sent orders to Annibal to quit his fruitless hopes in Italy, and return home to defend his own country. While every tongue was applauding these exploits of Scipio, Fabius proposed that his successor should be appointed, without any shadow of reason for it, except that implied in the well-known maxim; "That it is dangerous to trust affairs of such importance to the fortune of one man, because it is not likely that he will be constantly successful."

---

[71] Scipio was empowered to demand from the allies all things necessary for building and equipping a new fleet. And many of the provinces and cities voluntarily taxed themselves to furnish him with corn, iron, timber, cloth for sails, &c. so that, in forty days after the cutting of the timber, he was in a condition to set sail with a fleet of thirty new galleys, beside the thirty which he had before. There went with him about seven thousand volunteers. (Liv. ib. 45, 46.) (L.) Plutarch, therefore, in what he says below about Fabius' discouraging the volunteers, is mistaken; having probably, as M. Ricard suggests, misinterpreted and misapplied the Livian word *tenuit*, (in the sentence, *ut voluntarios ducere sibi milites liceret, tenuit*) as meaning not *obtenir* but *retenir*, and spoken not of Scipio but of Fabius.*

By this he offended the people, who now considered him as a captious and an envious man; or as one whose courage and hopes were sunk in the dregs of years, and who therefore looked upon Annibal as much more formidable than he really was. Nay, even when Annibal had embarked his army and quitted Italy, Fabius ceased not to disturb the general joy and to damp the spirits of Rome. For he affirmed, "That the commonwealth "was now come to her last and worst trial; and "had still greater reason to dread the efforts of "Annibal when he should arrive in Africa, and "attack Scipio under the walls of Carthage, with "an army yet warm with the blood of so many Ro-"man generals, dictators, and consuls." These declamations alarmed the city; and, though the war was removed into Africa, the danger seemed to approach nearer Rome than ever.

---

[72] Called Syphax, who, according to Livy (xxx. 5. and 11.), was taken after the burning of his own camp and that of Asdrubal. Forty thousand of the enemies fell by fire or sword, and above five thousand were taken prisoners; among whom were many Carthaginian nobles, and eleven senators. A hundred and seventy-four military standards, upward of two thousand seven hundred Numidian horses, and six elephants (beside eight, that perished) with an immense quantity of arms, fell into the hands of the victors. (Id. ib. 6.)*

Soon afterward, however, Scipio defeated Annibal in a pitched battle, and threw him down and trampled under foot the pride of Carthage[73]. This afforded the Romans a pleasure beyond all their hopes, and restored firmness to their empire, which had been shaken by so many tempests. But Fabius Maximus did not live to the end of the war, to hear of the overthrow of Annibal, or to see the prosperity of his country re-established: for, about the time that Annibal left Italy[74], he fell sick and died. Epaminondas died so poor, that the Thebans buried him at the public charge; for at his death nothing was found in his house, except an iron spit[75]. The expense of Fabius' funeral was not, indeed, defrayed out of the Roman treasury, but every citizen contributed a small piece of money toward it[76]: not that he died without effects, but that they might bury him as the father of the people, and that the honours paid to him at his death might be congruous to the dignity of his life.

---

[73] Plutarch here undoubtedly refers to the thirty venerable embassadors, despatched to Scipio with proposals for a treaty, who upon their arrival at the Roman general's tent, after their country's manner (as Livy suggests, ib. 16.) prostrated themselves at his feet. A similar instance of what the Romans accounted humiliation, occurred in the ten chiefs of the city, sent after the fatal battle of Zama to sue for peace (ib. 36.) See also Polyb. xv.*

[74] A little afterward. Annibal left Italy A. U. C. 549. Fabius must have died very old; *exactæ ætatis*, to use the words of Livy (ib. 26.), who states, on the authority of some writers, that he had held the office of augur sixty-two years.*

[75] Xylander is of opinion, that the word Ὀβελισκος in this place does not signify 'a spit,' but 'a piece of money;' and he shows, from a passage in the Life of Lysander, that money was anciently made in a pyramidical form. But he did not consider, that iron money was not in use at Thebes, and according to Plutarch this obeliscus was of iron.

[76] The amount must have been very considerable, as Rome in the course of the preceding year was found to contain 214,000 citizens.*

PERICLES AND FABIUS MAXIMUS

COMPARED.

SUCH were the lives of these two persons, so illustrious and worthy of imitation, both in their civil and their military capacity. We will first compare their talents for war. And here it strikes us at once, that Pericles came into power at a time when the Athenians were at the height of their glory, great in themselves and respectable to their neighbours: hence, in the very strength of the republic, with only common success he was secure from any disgraceful step. Whereas Fabius took the helm, when Rome was in her deepest disgrace and distress; so that he had not the well-established prosperity of a flourishing state to preserve, but to draw his country from an abyss of misery and to raise it to happiness. Besides, the successes of Cimon, the victories of Myronides and Leocrates, and the numerous achievements of Tolmides furnished occasion to Pericles, during his administration, rather to entertain the city with feasts and games, than to make new acquisitions or to defend the old ones by arms. On the other hand, Fabius had the frightful objects before his eyes of defeats and disasters of Roman consuls and generals slain, of lakes and fields and forests full of the dead carcasses of whole armies, and of rivers flowing with blood down to the very sea. In this tottering and decayed condition of the commonwealth, he was to support it by his counsels and his vigour, and to keep it from falling into absolute ruin, to which it had been so nearly reduced by the errors of former commanders.

It may seem indeed a less arduous performance to manage the tempers of a people humbled by calamities and compelled by necessity to listen to reason, than to restrain the wildness and insolence of a city elated with success and wanton with power[77], such as Athens was when Pericles held the reigns of government. But then, undauntedly to persevere in his first resolutions, and not to be discomposed by the vast weight of misfortunes with which Rome was at that time oppressed, discovers in Fabius an admirable firmness and dignity of mind.

Against the taking of Samos by Pericles we may set the retaking of Tarentum by Fabius[78], and with Eubœa we may put in balance the towns of Campania. As for Capua, it was afterward recovered by the consuls Furius and Appius. Fabius indeed gained but one set battle, for which he led up his first triumph; whereas Pericles erected nine trophies for as many victories won by land and sea. But none of Pericles' victories can be compared with that memorable rescue of Minucius, by which Fabius redeemed him and his whole army from utter destruction: an action truly great, and exhibiting a bright assemblage of valour, of prudence, and of humanity. Neither can Pericles, on the other hand, be said ever to have committed such an error as that of Fabius, when he suffered himself to be duped by Annibal's stratagem of the oxen; let his enemy slip in the night through those straits, in which he had accidentally entangled himself; and, as soon as it was day, saw himself attacked and repulsed by the very man, who so lately had been at his mercy.

If it be the part of a good general, not only to make a proper use of the present, but also to form the best judgement of things to come, it must be allowed that Pericles both foresaw and foretold what success the Athenians would have in the war; namely, that they would ruin themselves by grasping at too much. But it was entirely against the opinion of Fabius, that the Romans sent Scipio into Africa; and yet they were victorious there, not by the favour of fortune, but by the courage and conduct of their general. So that the sagacity of Pericles was attested by the misfortunes of his country, while from the glorious success of the Romans it appeared that Fabius was utterly mistaken. And it is indeed an equal fault in a commander-in-chief to fall into danger through want of foresight, and to lose an advantage through want of confidence. For it is the same defect of judgement and skill[79], which sometimes produces too much confidence, and sometimes leaves too little. So much concerning their abilities in war.

---

[77] Plutarch, in his Life of Lucullus, maintains the same opinion (in which, it appears, he followed the high authority of Plato) with regard to the inhabitants of Cyrene.*

[78] Plutarch, it has been frequently said, and of late by the very respectable author of 'Hints toward forming the Character of a young Princess,' inclines in his Parallels almost invariably to the Greek side: here, however, he might have claimed for Pericles still greater credit than he has done; as Tarentum was retaken by treachery, and it's recovery implied much more luck than courage.*

If we consider them in their political capacity, we shall find that the chief fault laid to the charge of Pericles was his having caused the Peloponnesian war, through opposition to the Lacedæmonians, which made him unwilling to give up to them the least point. Neither do I suppose, that Fabius Maximus would have given up any point to the Carthaginians, but that he would generously have run the last risk to maintain the dignity of Rome.

---

[79] This ἀπειρια signifies, as well as 'inexperience.' Fabius had as much experience as Pericles, and yet was not equally happy in his conjectures with regard to future events. (L.) M. Ricard however justly observes, that Scipio's success in Africa by no means of itself justifies the expedition, which he did not very ably defend by argument. Phocion (as we shall see in his Life) opposed with equal zeal and fruitlessness a hazardous war of the Athenians, which happened at first to turn out better than he expected: yet this did not induce him to retract his original opinion. Plutarch himself likewise informs us, that Pericles did not approve or affect to copy those dashing generals, who now and then made a lucky hit. And Ovid puts into the mouth of one of his Heroines the heavy imprecation,

——— *Careat successibus opto,*
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat. (ii. 86.) *

The mild and moderate behaviour of Fabius to Minucius sets in a very disadvantageous light the conduct of Pericles, in his implacable persecution of Cimon and Thucydides, valuable men and friends to the aristocracy, and yet banished by his practices and intrigues.

Besides, the power of Pericles was much greater than that of Fabius; and therefore he did not suffer any misfortune to be brought upon Athens by the wrong measures of other generals. Tolmides alone carried it against him for attacking the Bœotians; and, in doing so, he was defeated and slain. All the rest adhered to his party, and submitted to his opinion, on account of his superior authority: whereas Fabius, whose measures were salutary and safe as far as they depended upon himself, appears only to have fallen short by his inability to prevent the miscarriages of others. For the Romans would not have had so many misfortunes to deplore, if the power of Fabius had been as great in Rome, as that of Pericles was in Athens[80].

Their liberality and public spirit were displayed, by Pericles in refusing the sums that were offered to him, and by Fabius in ransoming his soldiers with his own money. This indeed was no considerable expense, being only about six talents[81]. But it is not easy to say what treasure Pericles might not have amassed from the allies, and from kings who paid court to him on account of his authority; yet no man ever kept himself more pure from corruption.

---

[80] M. Dacier here very sensibly remarks, that men are not so much to be judged abstractedly by their actions, as by the opportunities and means which they have had of acting. In public affairs especially, where so much is achieved by opinion, the very name of a minister, a general, or an admiral is often more effective than any addition of mere physical strength. It is Virgil's *virum quem*, or rather his Neptune, who by a single look calms the ocean. At the moment in which I write this, a French fleet of twenty-two sail of the line, with twelve thousand troops on board, is flying before half the number of ships of the British navy, under the command of a Nelson! (July, 1805) flying, I add Dec. 1805, with prophetic but fruitless dismay from the fate, which awaited them off the immortal CAPE TRAFALGAR.*

[81] Probably this is an error of the transcribers. For Fabius was to pay two hundred and fifty drachmas for each prisoner, and he ransomed (according to Livy xxii. 23.) two hundred and forty-

As for the temples, public edifices, and other works, with which Pericles adorned Athens, all the structures of that kind in Rome put together, until the times of the Cæsars [82], deserved not to be compared with them, either in magnificence of design or in excellence of execution.

---

seven; which would amount to 61,750 drachmas, or upward of ten talents: a very considerable expense to Fabius, which he was only enabled to defray by selling part of his estate.

[82] What an idea does this give us of the magnificence of Rome under the Cæsars! well might Augustus boast *marmoream se relinquere, quam lateritiam accepisset.* (Suet. Aug. 28, 29.) This remark however, made to his friends on his deathbed, Dion Cassius (lvi. 30.) refers not to the public buildings, but to the greatness and stability of the empire.*

THE

LIFE

OF

ALCIBIADES.

SUMMARY.

Illustrious birth, and personal beauty of Alcibiades. His character, and manners. His motive for refusing to learn to play on the flute. The imputations cast upon his youth: his friendship with Socrates. His treatment of a stranger, by whom he was admired. His volatility. Socrates and hè save each other's life. He gives a box on the ear to Hipponicus, whose daughter he afterward marries: he engages in political life. His eloquence. His prodigality in horses and racing. His competition with Nicias and Phæax. He procures the banishment of Hyperbolus; and causes Nicias to be suspected. He deceives the Lacedæmonians: and forms a league against them. Battle of Mantinea. His voluptuous mode of life: and favour with the people. The expedition to Sicily. He is named jointly with Nicias and Lamachus to the command. Discouraging omens. He is charged with having mutilated the statues of Mercury; but obliged to set off for Sicily before his trial. Androcides saves himself, by impeaching several innocent persons. Alcibiades recalled, and condemned: withdraws first to Argos, and afterward to Sparta. His accommodating adoption of manners the most different. He stirs up hostilities against Athens. Takes refuge with the Persian satrap Tisaphernes. Disturbances in Athens. Alcibiades detects the treason of Phrynichus. The aristocracy possess themselves of the supreme authority at Athens. Alcibiades placed by the army at their head. Renders several important services to his country: defeats the Lacedæmonian fleet: is seized by Tisaphernes, but escapes and gains a second victory

over Mindarus and Pharnabazus; the latter of whom is again defeated by Alcibiades and Thrasyllus. Alcibiades besieges Chalcedon, routs Pharnabazus, and takes Selybria. Capture of Chalcedon and Byzantium. Alcibiades restored. Honours heaped upon him at Athens. He celebrates with much pomp the Greater Eleusinian Mysteries. Sets off on an expedition against the Lacedæmonians; and incurs a fresh accusation. Is superseded by other generals, and retires into Thrace. Lysander defeats the Athenian fleet, and takes Athens. Alcibiades passes into Bithynia, with the intention of presenting himself to Artaxerxes. Lysander, in conjunction with Pharnabazus, concerts his death. He is assassinated in Phrygia.

EURYSACES[1], the son of Ajax, is supposed to have been the founder of Alcibiades' family: by his mother's side he was descended from Alcmæon; for he was the son of Dinomache, the daughter of Megacles. His father Clinias gained great honour in the sea-fight of Artemisium[2], where he fought in a galley fitted out at his own expense, and afterward fell in the battle of Coronæa, when the Bœotians won the day. Pericles and Ariphron, the sons of Xanthippus and near relations to Alcibiades, were his guardians. It is said, and not without reason, that the affection and attachment of Socrates contributed much to his fame. For Nicias, Demosthenes, Lamachus, Phormio, Thrasybulus, and Theramenes his contemporaries were men of eminence, yet we do not so much as know the name of the mother of any of them; whereas we know with respect even to the nurse of Alcibiades, that she was a native of Lacedæmon and called Amycla, as well as that Zopyrus was his school-master[3]; the one being recorded by Antisthenes, and the other by Plato.

---

[1] The splendour of Alcibiades' family is attested by the number of respectable historians, who have recorded many particulars with some unimportant variations relative to it's founders. In this list M. Ricard mentions Pausanias, i. 35., Isocrates, Demosthenes in Mid., Lysias, Androcides, Diodorus Siculus xii. 38., Valerius Maximus iii. 4., A. Gellius xv. 7., and Herodotus vi. 131. His grandfather Megacles, mentioned below, married Agariste, daughter of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon (Herod. vi. 130.) and was descended from Alcmæon, whose ancestors were eminent in the time of Theseus (Suidas, in voc. *Alcmæonides.)* Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, married another Agariste, cousin of the former.*

[2] See Herod. viii. 17. The battle of Coronæa, in which he fell, was fought (according to Diod. Sic. xii. 6.) Ol. lxxxiii. 2., and proved very disastrous to the Athenians; the greatest part of whom were either slain with their general Tolmides, or taken prisoners, and ransomed by the surrender of many cities in Bœotia.*

As to the beauty of Alcibiades, it may suffice to say, that it retained it's sweet and lovely character throughout the several stages of childhood, youth, and manhood. For it is not universally true, as Euripides says, that

> The very autumn of a form once fine
> Retains it's beauties[4].

Yet this was the case with Alcibiades, among a few others, on account of his natural vigour and happy constitution.

---

[3] Plutarch has more than once censured Pericles for his negligence in the latter particular. Zopyrus (as Plato informs us, in his Alcib. i.) was an old obstinate Thracian slave. In the former respect he was more attentive, as from the Life of Lycurgus it appears, that the Lacedæmonian nurses were in great request from their judicious attention to their charges. If however they were as fond of gossiping, as modern nurses are said to be, an industrious punster in allusion to her name might graft some allusion κατ' ἀντίφρασιν to the *tacitis Amyclis* of Virg. Æn. x. 564.*

[4] This passage is likewise again quoted by Plutarch (Ερωτ. 24.) as having been said by Euripides of Agatho, a beautiful boy. All the ancients, who have spoken of Alcibiades (as Plato, Diod. Sic., Justin, Corn. Nepos, &c.) agree in praising his extraordinary beauty. By Socrates it was admired, as the *index animi;* and his innocent attachment long preserved Alcibiades from the dangers, to which by his connections and figure, and still more by his versatility of character, he was exposed. Flattery however, and pleasure, and ambition at last gained the ascendency (how seldom do they fail!) over honesty, reason, and moderation: and Alcibiades under their joint influence, after many years of persecution and hazard, perished at the age of thirty-seven by assassination in the arms of a courtesan. *Indocti discant*——*

He had a lisping in his speech, which became him, and gave a grace and persuasive turn to his discourse. Aristophanes[5] in those verses in which he ridicules Theorus, takes notice that Alcibiades lisped, calling Theorus *Colax* ('Flatterer') instead of *Corax* ('Raven'); whence the poet takes occasion to observe that the term, so mis-pronounced, was extremely applicable. With this agrees the satirical description, which Archippus gives of the son of Alcibiades;

> With sauntering step, to imitate his sire,
> The vain youth moves; his loose robe wildly floats[6];
> He bends the neck; he lisps.

His manners were far from being uniform: neither indeed is it strange, that they varied with the great events and wonderful vicissitudes of his fortune. He was, naturally, a man of strong passions; but his predominant one was an ambition to contend, and overcome. This appears from what is related of his sayings, when a boy. When hard pressed in wrestling, to prevent his being thrown he bit the grasping hands of his antagonist, who let go his hold and said; "You bite, Alcibiades, like a woman." "No," replied he, "but like a lion."

One day he was playing at dice with other boys, in the street; and as it came to his turn to throw, a loaded waggon came up. At first he called to the driver to stop, because he was to throw in the way, over which the waggon was to pass. The rustic disregarding him and driving on, the other boys made way for him; but Alcibiades placed himself upon his face directly before the waggon, and stretching himself out, bade the fellow drive on if he pleased. Upon this he was so startled, that he stopped his horses, while those who saw it ran up to him with cries of terror.

---

[5] Vesp. I. i.

[6] In the *θοιματιον ελκων* of the original we may perhaps discern the ——*humero revocante lacernas* of the Roman satirist. (Juv. i. 27.) These were the *discincti* both of Greece and Rome.

Archippus was a writer of the Old Comedy.*

In the course of his education, he willingly received the lessons of his other masters, but refused to learn to play upon the flute, which he considered as a mean art, and unbecoming a gentleman. "The " use of the *plectrum* and the lyre, he would say, " has nothing in it that disorders the features or " form; but a man is hardly to be known by his " most intimate friends, when he plays upon the " flute. Besides, the lyre does not hinder the per" former from speaking, or accompanying it with a " song; whereas the flute so engages the mouth and " the breath, that it leaves no possibility of speaking. " Let the Theban youth therefore pipe, who know " not how to discourse: but we Athenians, accord" ing to the account of our ancestors, have Minerva " for our patroness and Apollo for our protector; " one of whom threw away the flute[7], and the " other stripped off the skin of the man who played " upon it[8]." Thus partly by raillery, and partly by argument, Alcibiades kept both himself and others from learning to play upon the flute: for it soon became the talk among the young men of condition, that Alcibiades was right in detesting that art, and ridiculing those who practised it. Thus it lost it's place in the number of liberal accomplishments, and was universally exploded.

In the invectives, which Antipho[9] wrote against

---

[7] This is mentioned, among others, by Aristotle (Polit. viii. 6.), who there discusses at some length the advantages and disadvantages of the study of music; and attributes the anger of the goddess to the irrationality of the flute. Mad. Dacier, in the Introduction to her Terence, has printed some verses by her father upon this story of Minerva, which she says are *si beaux, qu'on diroit qu'ils sont du siecle d' Auguste:* but which certainly have none of the tolerance of a refined age for the musical instrument in question.*

[8] Marsyas. Plutarch alludes to this very severe punishment, and assigns farther causes for it, in his Sympos. vii. 8. &c.*

[9] Antipho was a sophist in the time of Socrates, and is introduced by Xenophon (Memorab. i.) conversing with that philosopher.*

Alcibiades, it is recorded that when a boy, he ran away from home to one of his friends named Democrates: and that Ariphron would have had proclamation made for him, had not Pericles diverted him from it by saying, "If he is dead, we shall only "find him one day the sooner for it; if he is safe, "it will be a reproach to him as long as he lives." Another story is, that he killed one of his servants with a stroke of his stick, in Sibyrtius' place of exercise. But, perhaps, we ought not to give entire credit to these things, professedly written by an enemy to defame him.

Many persons of rank made their court to Alcibiades, but it is evident that they were charmed and attracted by the beauty of his person. Socrates was the only one, whose regards were fixed upon his mind, and bore witness to the young man's virtue and ingenuousness; the rays of which he could distinguish through his fine form. And fearing lest the pride of riches and high rank and the crowd of flatterers, both Athenians and strangers, should corrupt him, he used his best endeavours to prevent it; and took care that so hopeful a plant should not lose it's fruit, and perish in the very flower. If ever fortune so enclosed and fortified a man with what are called her goods, as to render him[10] impenetrable to the incision-knife of philosophy, and the probe of sharp and honest advice, it was surely Alcibiades. From the very first, he was surrounded with pleasures; and a multitude of admirers determined to say nothing but what they thought would please, and to keep him from all instruction and reproof: yet by his native penetration he distinguished the value of Socrates, and attached himself to him, rejecting the rich and the great who sued for his regard.

---

[10] Plutarch's expression here is not exactly the same with that of the translation, but it is couched in figures which tend the same way, ωςτ' ατρωτον ὑπο φιλοσοφιας γενεσθαι, και λογοις απροσιτον παρρησιαν και δηγμον εχουσιν, κ. τ. λ.

With Socrates he soon entered into the closest intimacy; and finding that he did not, like the rest of the unmanly crew, solicit improper favours, but that he studied to correct the errors of his heart and to cure him of his empty and foolish arrogance,

> Then his crest fell, and all his pride was gone.
> He droop'd the conquer'd wing[11].

In fact, he considered the dicipline of Socrates as a provision from heaven for the preservation and benefit of youth. Thus despising himself and admiring his friend, adoring his wisdom and revering his virtue, he insensibly formed in his heart the image of love, or rather came under the influence of that power, who (as Plato says) secures his votaries from vicious love. It surprised all the world to see him constantly sup with Socrates, take with him the exercise of wrestling, lodge in the same tent with him; while to his other admirers he was reserved and rough. Nay, to some he behaved with the utmost insolence, to Anytus, for instance, the son of Anthemion. Anytus was very fond of him, and happening to make an entertainment for some strangers, had desired Alcibiades to be of the party. Alcibiades declined the invitation; but, having drank deep with some of his acquaintance at his own house, he went thither to play off a frolic. The frolic was this: He stood at the door of the room where the guests were entertained, and seeing a number of gold and silver cups upon the table, ordered his servants to take half of them and carry them to his own house[12]: after which, not vouchsafing so much as to enter into the room himself, he went away.

---

[11] This passage is likewise quoted by Plutarch (Ερωτ. 18.), but with a very different application.*

[12] Athenæus (xii. 9.) says he did not keep them himself; but, having taken them from this man who was rich, gave them to Thrasyllus, who was poor. (L.) This somewhat mends the story for Alcibiades. Anytus was subsequently one of the principal accusers of Socrates.*

The company resented the affront, and said, "He "had behaved to Anytus with great rudeness and "insolence." "Not at all," said Anytus, "but "rather with kindness and forbearance; since he "has left us half, when he knew it was in his power "to have taken the whole."

In the same manner he behaved to his other admirers, except only one stranger. This man, they tell us, was but in indifferent circumstances; for when he had sold all, he could make up no more than the sum of a hundred staters[13], which he carried to Alcibiades, and entreated him to accept. Alcibiades was pleased at the thing, and with a smile invited him to supper. After a kind reception and entertainment, he returned him the gold, but required him to attend the next day when the public revenues were to be offered to farm, and to be sure to be the highest bidder. The man endeavouring to excuse himself, because the rent would be many talents, Alcibiades, who had a private pique against the old farmers, threatened to have him beaten if he refused. Next morning therefore the stranger appeared in the market-place, and offered a talent more than the former rent. The farmers, uneasy and angry at this, called upon him to name his security, supposing that he could not find any. The poor man upon this, much startled, was going to retire with shame; when Alcibiades, who stood at some distance, cried out to the magistrates, "Set down "my name; he is my friend, and I will be his "security." When the old farmers of the revenue heard this, they were much perplexed; for their way was, with the profits of the current year to pay the rent of the preceding: so that, perceiving no other way to extricate themselves out of the difficulty, they humbly applied to the stranger and offered him money. But Alcibiades would not suffer him to take less than a talent, which was accordingly paid him. Having rendered him this service, he told him he might relinquish his bargain.

---

[13] The stater was a coin which weighed four Attic drachmas, and was either of gold or silver. The silver was worth about two shillings and sixpence sterling. The stater daricus, a gold coin, was worth twelve shillings and threepence halfpenny; but the Attic stater of gold must have been worth much more, if we reckon the proportion of gold to silver only as ten to one: Dacier therefore is greatly mistaken, when he says the coin here mentioned by Plutarch was worth only forty French sous; for Plutarch expressly mentions, that these staters were of gold.

Though Socrates had many rivals, yet he kept possession of Alcibiades' heart by the excellence of his genius, and the pathetic turn of his conversation, which often drew tears from his young companion. And though sometimes he gave him the slip, and was drawn away by his flatterers, who exhausted all the art of pleasure for that purpose; yet the philosopher took care to hunt out his fugitive, who feared and respected none but him, regarding the rest with sovereign contempt. Hence that saying of Cleanthes, "Socrates holds Alcibiades by the ear, and "leaves to his rivals the rest of him, with which he "scorns to meddle." In fact, Alcibiades was very capable of being led by the allurements of pleasure; so at least what Thucydides[13] says, concerning his excesses in his way of living, gives us occasion to believe. Those who endeavoured to corrupt him, attacked him on a still weaker side, his vanity and love of distinction, and led him into extravagant and unseasonable projects; persuading him, that as soon as he should apply himself to the management of public affairs, he would not only eclipse the other generals and orators, but surpass even Pericles himself, in point of reputation as well as interest with the powers of Greece. But as iron, when softened by the fire, is soon hardened again and brought to a proper temper by cold water; so when Alcibiades was enervated by luxury, or swoln with pride, Socrates corrected and brought him to himself by his discourses; for from them he learned the number of his defects, and the imperfection of his virtue.

---

[13] vi. 15.

When he was past his childhood, happening to go into a grammar-school, he asked the master for a volume of Homer; and upon his answering that he had nothing of Homer's, he gave him a box on the ear, and left him[14]. Another schoolmaster telling him, that he had a Homer corrected by himself; "How!" said Alcibiades, "and do you employ "your time in teaching children to read? You, "who are able to correct Homer, might seem to "be fit to instruct men[15]."

One day wishing to speak to Pericles, he went to his house; and being told that, "He was engaged "in considering how to give in his accounts to the "people;" he said, as he went away, "He had "better consider how to avoid giving in any accounts "at all[16]."

While he was yet a youth, he made the campaign at Potidæa, where Socrates lodged in the same tent with him, and was his companion in every engagement. In the principal battle, they both behaved with the utmost gallantry; but Alcibiades at last falling down wounded, Socrates advanced to defend him, which he effectually did in the sight of great numbers, saving both him and his arms. For this the prize of valour was certainly due to Socrates, but the generals inclined to bestow it upon Alcibiades on account of his quality; and Socrates, willing to encourage his thirst after true glory, was the first who gave his suffrage for him, and urged them to adjudge him the crown and the complete suit of armour. On the other hand, at the battle of Delium where the Athenians were routed[17], and Socrates with a few others was retreating on foot, Alcibiades observing it did not pass him, but covered his retreat and brought him safe off; though the enemy were pressing furiously forward, and made a considerable slaughter of the Athenians. But this happened long afterward.

---

[14] M. Dacier, in excuse for the schoolmaster, pleads that Homer's poems were at that time in few hands. And yet they had been collected by Lycurgus, as Plutarch informs us in his Life, when he was travelling in Asia Minor, arranged by him in a regular series, and introduced into Greece. See Vol. I. p. 115. and not. (13.) Diogenes Laërtius indeed claims the honour of this achievement for Solon, and others for Pisistratus, or his son Hipparchus. Perhaps, they had each of them some concern in collecting them, or combining them in their present order: at all events, they could hardly be so scarce in the time of Alcibiades, as M. Dacier supposes; nor would Plutarch, upon that theory, have recorded this story. See also Ælian V. H. xiii. 38.*

[15] M. Ricard takes this passage seriously, and thinks that this second abecedarian might possibly have corrected Homer!—an author, under whom Alexander the Great studied the art of war, and Lycurgus improved himself in moral and political science!*

[16] This story is not told in the Life of Pericles, where one would naturally expect to meet with it; and is indeed rendered improbable by what Plutarch there says, of his superiority to the love of wealth, and his general accuracy as a statesman; which is abundantly confirmed by the impartial Thucydides (ii. 65.) in his φιλοπολις τε και χρηματων κρεισσων.*

To Hipponicus the father of Callias, a man respectable both for his birth and fortune, Alcibiades one day gave a box on the ear; not that he had any quarrel with him or was heated by passion, but simply because, in a wanton frolic, he had agreed with his companions to do so. The whole city being full of the story of this insolence, and every body (as it was natural to expect) expressing some resentment, early next morning Alcibiades went to wait upon Hipponicus, knocked at the door, and was admitted. As soon as he came into his presence, he stripped off his garment, and presenting his naked body desired him to beat and chastise him as he pleased. But Hipponicus pardoned him, and dismissed his resentment; nay, some time afterward he gave him his daughter Hipparete in marriage. Some say it was not Hipponicus, but his son Callias, who gave Hipparete to Alcibiades with ten talents for her portion; and that, when she brought him a child, he demanded ten talents more, as if he had taken her on that condition: upon which Callias, apprehensive of some ill consequence from his artful contrivances, declared to the people in full assembly, that if he should happen to die without children, they should be his heirs[18].

---

[17] Laches, who was with Socrates at the time, informs us that, if others had done their duty as Socrates did his, the Athenians would not have been defeated in the battle of Delium. See Thucyd. ii. 2., iv. 101. Plato however, from whom we have this account of the affair at Potidæa, is supposed by Athenæus (v. 15) to have fabricated the story in honour of his master: but his proofs are too long for insertion in this place.* That battle was fought Ol. lxxxix., eight years after the battle of Potidæa.

Hipparete was a most prudent and affectionate wife; but at last, growing uneasy at her husband's associating with such a number of courtesans, both strangers and Athenians, she quitted his house and went to her brother's. Alcibiades however continued his debaucheries, and gave himself no pain about her; but it was necessary for her, in order to a legal separation, to give in a bill of divorce to the Archon, and to appear personally with it: for the sending of it by another hand was not sufficient. When she came to do this according to law, Alcibiades rushed in, caught her in his arms, and carried her through the market-place to his own house, no one presuming to oppose him or to take her from him. From that time she remained with him until her death, which happened not long afterward, when Alcibiades was upon his voyage to Ephesus. Neither does the violence used in this case seem to be contrary to the laws, either of society in general, or of that republic in particular. For the law of Athens, in requiring her who seeks to be divorced to appear in person, probably intended to give the husband an opportunity of meeting with and recovering her.

---

[18] This version is founded upon a passage in the oration of Andocides against Alcibiades, referred to by M. Ricard, where the fact, as it now stands in the text, is expressly asserted; and is indeed much the more probable of the two, if resentment of ill usage then operated upon the human heart, as it usually does at present.*

Alcibiades had a dog of uncommon size and beauty, which cost him seventy minæ; and yet his tail, which was his principal ornament, he caused to be cut off[19]. Some of his acquaintance severely blamed his acting so strangely, and told him that all Athens rung with the story of his foolish treatment of the dog: at which he laughed and said, "This "is the very thing I wished; for I would have the "Athenians talk of this, lest they should find some- "thing worse to say of me."

The first thing which made him popular, and introduced him into the administration, was his distributing of money, not designedly but by accident. Seeing one day a great crowd of people, as he was walking along, he asked what it meant; and being informed that there was a donative made to the people, he gave money too, as he went in among them. This meeting with loud applause, he was so much delighted, that he forgot a quail which he had under his robe[20]; and the bird, frightened with the noise, flew away. Upon this, the people set up still louder acclamations, and many of them assisted him to recover the quail. The man, who caught it and brought it back to him, was one Antiochus[21] a pilot, for whom he had ever afterward a particular regard.

From his birth, his estate, his personal valour, and the number of his friends and relations, he derived great advantages for introducing himself into the management of public affairs; but what he chose, above all the rest, to recommend himself by to the people, was the charm of his eloquence. That he was a fine speaker, the comic writers bear witness; as does the prince of orators likewise in his oration against Midias[22], where he says that Alcibiades was the most eloquent man of his time. And if we may believe Theophrastus, a curious inquirer and one more versed in history than the other philosophers, Alcibiades had a peculiar happiness of invention, and a singular readiness of ideas. But as his care was employed not only upon the matter but the expression, and he had little facility in the latter, he often hesitated in the midst of a speech, not hitting upon the word he wanted, and stopping until it occurred to him.

---

[19] The valuable antique marble representing this animal in his curtailed state, is now at Duncombe Park, Yorkshire. But Duncombe-Park, much as it may owe in various respects to art, is still more indebted to nature.*

[20] It was the fashion in those days to breed quails, as the English, *proh pudor!* do cocks for fighting; and, after the decision of the English senate upon the question of bull-fighting, might it not be added *proh curia!* too.* Socrates, having brought Alcibiades to acknowledge that the way to rise to distinction among the Athenians was, to study to excel the generals of their enemies, replied with this severe irony, 'No, no, Alcibiades; your only study is, how to surpass Midias in the art of breeding quails.' (Plato, Alcib. 1.)

[21] The name of the man who caught the quail would hardly have been mentioned, had not Alcibiades subsequently entrusted him with the command of the fleet in his absence; when he took the opportunity to fight, and was completely beaten.

He was famed for his breed of horses, and the number of his chariots. For no one beside himself, either subject or sovereign, ever sent seven chariots together to the Olympic games. The first, the second, and the fourth prizes, according to Thucydides[23], or the third (as Euripides states), he bore away at once, which exceeds every thing performed by the most ambitious in that way. Euripides thus celebrates his success;

> Great son of Clinias, I record thy glory,
>   First on the dusty plain
>   The threefold prize to gain;
> What hero boasts thy praise in Grecian story?

---

[22] It appears from the passage of Demosthenes alluded to, that he spoke only from common fame, and consequently that there was little of Alcibiades' then extant. (L.) We find some remains of his oratory in Thucydides, adds Langhorne; but who estimates the eloquence of ancient statesmen from the harangues of their historians, or of modern ones from the 'Debates in the Senate of Lilliput,' as detailed sixty years ago in the Gentleman's Magazine?*

[23] vi. 16.

Twice [24] does the trumpet's voice thy name
Around the plausive cirque proclaim:
Twice on thy brow was seen
The peaceful olive's green,
The glorious palm of easy-purchased fame.

The emulation which several Grecian cities expressed, in their presents to him, gave a still higher lustre to his victories. Ephesus provided a magnificent pavilion for his use; Chios was at the expense of keeping his horses, and beasts for sacrifice; and Lesbos supplied him with wine, and every thing necessary for the most elegant public table [25]. Yet, amidst this success, he did not escape without censure, occasioned either by the malice of his enemies, or by his own misconduct. There was at Athens (it is said) one Diomedes, a man of good character and a friend of Alcibiades, who was very desirous of winning a prize at the Olympic games; and being informed that there was a chariot to be sold, which belonged to the city of Argos, where Alcibiades had a strong interest, he persuaded him to buy it for him. He accordingly did buy it, but he kept it for himself; leaving Diomedes to vent his rage, and to call gods and men to bear witness of the injustice. For this, an action seems to have been brought against him; and an oration still exists concerning a chariot, written by Isocrates in defence of Alcibiades, then a youth: but the plaintiff is there named Tisias, not Diomedes.

---

[24] Alcibiades won the first, second, and third prizes in person; beside which, his chariots won twice in his absence. The latter is what Euripides refers to, in the words απονητι and ϛεφθεντα. (L.) Athenæus also i. 3., and Isocrates, speak of these victories; but the first agrees with Thucydides, and Euripides is supported by the latter.*

[25] Antisthenes, a disciple of Socrates, writes that Chios fed his horses, and Cyzicum provided his victims. The passage is remarkable; for we learn from it that this was done, not only when Alcibiades went to the Olympic games, but in his warlike expeditions, and even in his travels. 'Whenever (says he) Alcibiades travelled, four cities of the allies ministered to him, as his handmaids. Ephesus furnished him with tents, as sumptuous as those of the Persians; Chios found provender for his horses; Cyzicum supplied him with victims and provisions for his table; and Lesbos with wine and all other necessaries for his household.' None but opulent cities were able to answer such an expense: for when Alcibiades won the three prizes in person at the Olympic games, after he had offered a very costly sacrifice to Jupiter, he entertained at a magnificent repast the innumerable company which had assisted at the games.

Alcibiades was very young, when he first applied himself to the business of the republic, and yet he soon showed himself superior to the other orators. The persons capable of standing in some degree of competition with him, were Phæax the son of Erasistratus, and Nicias the son of Niceratus. The latter was advanced in years, and one of the best generals of his time. The former was but a youth like himself, just beginning to make his way, for which he had the advantage of high birth; but in other respects, as well as in the art of speaking, he was inferior to Alcibiades. He seemed fitter for soliciting and persuading in private, than for stemming the torrent of a public debate: in short, he was one of those, of whom Eupolis says;

> "True, he can talk, and yet he is no speaker [26]."

There is extant an oration against Alcibiades and Phæax, in which among other things it is alleged of Alcibiades, that he used at his table many of the gold and silver vessels [27] provided for the sacred processions, as if they had been his own.

There was at Athens one Hyperbolus, of the ward of Perithoïs, whom Thucydides [28] mentions as a very bad man, and who was a constant subject of ridicule for the comic writers. But he was unconcerned at the worst things, which they could say of him; and, being regardless of honour, he was also insensible of shame. This, though really impudence and folly, is by some people called fortitude and a noble daring. But, though no one liked him, the people nevertheless made use of him, when they wished to strike at persons in authority.

---

[26] Aulus Gellius also cites this line (i. 15.) and says that Sallust, speaking of one M. Atilius Palicanus, had endeavoured to imitate it in his *loquax magis quam facundus.* The French preserve the same distinction in their words, *jaser* and *parler.**

[27] Alcibiades, it seems, borrowed this consecrated plate, and after profaning it for secular purposes would not return it till the eve of the festival, upon which it was to be exhibited, that strangers might suppose he had lent it to the city. Phæax is mentioned by Thucydides, v. 4.*

[28] viii. 73. He is also mentioned by Cicero in his Brut. 62.

Upon his instigation, the Athenians were now ready to proceed to the ban of Ostracism, by which they depose and expel such of the citizens as are distinguished by their dignity and power, therein consulting their envy rather than their fears. As it was evident, that this sentence was levelled against one of the three, Phæax, Nicias, or Alcibiades, the latter took care to unite the contending parties, and leaguing with Nicias caused the Ostracism to fall upon Hyperbolus himself. Some say it was not Nicias, but Phæax, with whom Alcibiades joined interest, and by whose assistance he expelled their common and unsuspecting enemy: for no vile or obscure person had ever undergone that punishment. So Plato the comic poet assures us, when he says of Hyperbolus,

> Well had the caitiff earn'd his banishment,
> But not by Ostracism, that sentence sacred
> To dreaded eminence.

We have elsewhere, however, given a more detailed account of what history has recorded upon this subject [29].

---

and by Aristoph. Iren. iii.; the scholiast on whom (in Ran.) says, that he retired to Samos upon his banishment; and for some crime or other was by the Samians enclosed in a sack, and thrown into the sea. M. Ricard *ab loc.* observes, he was '*fabricant de lanternes;*' and the Schol. in Aristoph. διεδεξατο την δημαγωγιαν. The history of the French revolution connects these ideas but too closely.*

[29] In the Lives of Aristides and Nicias.

Alcibiades was not less disturbed at the great esteem, in which Nicias was held by the enemies of Athens, than at the respect with which he was treated by the Athenians themselves. The rights of hospitality had long subsisted between the family of Alcibiades and the Lacedæmonians, and he had taken particular care of such of them as were made prisoners at Pylos[30]; yet when they found that through Nicias' influence chiefly they had obtained a peace and recovered the captives, they attached themselves to him with increased regard. It was a common observation among the Greeks, that Pericles had engaged them in a war, and Nicias had set them free from it; nay, the peace was even called 'the Nician peace.' This made Alcibiades very uneasy, and out of envy to Nicias he determined to break the league.

As soon then as he perceived that the people of Argos, from their hatred and apprehension of the Spartans, sought to get rid of all connection with them, he privately gave them hopes of assistance from Athens; and both by his agents and in person encouraged the principal citizens not to entertain any fear, or to give up any point, but to apply to the Athenians, who were almost ready to repent of the peace which they had made, and would soon find occasion to break it.

But after the Lacedæmonians had entered into alliance with the Bœotians, and had delivered Panactus to the Athenians, not with it's fortifications entire (as they ought to have done), but quite dismantled[31], he took the opportunity, while the Athenians were incensed at this proceeding, to inflame them still farther. At the same time he raised a clamour against Nicias, by some plausible allegations reproaching him with having neglected, when commander-in-chief, to take prisoners the garrison[32] left by the enemy in Sphacteria, and with having released them, when taken by others, in order to ingratiate himself with the Lacedæmonians. He farther asserted, that though Nicias had a strong interest with the Lacedæmonians, he would not make use of it to oppose their entering into the confederacy with the Bœotians and Corinthians; but that, when an alliance was offered to the Athenians by any of the Grecian states, he took care to prevent their accepting it, if it were likely to give umbrage to the Lacedæmonians.

---

[30] This is inaccurately in some readings of this passage, as well as in Plutarch's Life of Nicias, ascribed to that general. Thucyd. viii. 6. informs us, that the name of Alcibiades was Lacedæmonian; that 'the rights of hospitality' mentioned in the text commenced between his father Clinias, and Alcibiades the father of Eudius one of the Ephori, who had lodged in his house at Athens, and whose name (as a pledge of their friendship) he bestowed upon his son. Alcibiades, likewise, called one of his boys Eudius.*

[31] For the particulars of the story relative to Panactus, a frontier fortress between Bœotia and Attica, see Thucyd. v. 3. 42.*

By these charges, however, Nicias was much disconcerted: at that very juncture embassadors accidentally arrived from Lacedæmon with moderate proposals, and declared that they had full powers to treat and decide all differences in an equitable

---

[32] After the Lacedæmonians had lost the fort of Pylos in Messenia, they left in the isle of Sphacteria (opposite to that fort, and commanding the approach to it by sea) a garrison of three hundred and twenty men, beside Helots, under the command of Epitades, the son of Molobrus. The Athenians would have despatched Nicias, while commander-in-chief, with a fleet against that island, but he excused himself. Cleon afterward, in conjunction with Demosthenes, got possession of it, as he had pledged himself to do, slew several of the garrison, and sent the rest prisoners to Athens. (Thucyd. vi. 28. 34.) Among those prisoners were a hundred and twenty Spartans, who by the assistance of Nicias obtained their release. The Lacedæmonians subsequently recovered the fort of Pylos: for Anytus, who was sent with a squadron to support it, finding the wind directly against him, returned to Athens; upon which the people, according to their usual custom, condemned him to die. This sentence, however, he commuted for a vast sum of money, being the first who reversed a judgement in that manner. (L.)

Cleon is represented by Cicero (Brut. 7.) as a man of some eloquence, but factiously disposed. According to Plutarch (Life of Nicias) he was remarkable for emptiness, arrogance, and impetuosity—qualities, which recommended him indeed to the populace, but in the event nearly effected the ruin, of Athens.*

way. The senate was satisfied, and next day the people were to be convened: but Alcibiades, dreading the success of that audience, found an opportunity of speaking with the embassadors in the mean time, and thus addressed them; "Men of Lacedæ-
"mon, what is it you are going to do? Are you not
"apprised, that the behaviour of the senate is always
"candid and humane to those who apply to it,
"whereas the people are haughty and expect great
"concessions? If you say that you are come with
"full powers, you will find them exorbitant and
"unreasonable in their demands. Retract then
"your imprudent declaration, and if you wish
"to keep the Athenians within the bounds of mode-
"ration, and not to have terms extorted from you
"which you cannot approve, treat with them as if
"you had not a discretionary commission. I will
"use my best endeavours in favour of the Lacedæ-
"monians[33]." This promise he confirmed with an oath, and thus drew them over from Nicias to himself. In Alcibiades they now placed an entire confidence, admiring both his understanding and his address in business, and regarding him as a very extraordinary man.

Next day the people assembled, and the embassadors were introduced. Alcibiades asked them in an obliging manner, what their commission was; upon which they answered, that "they did not come "as plenipotentiaries." He then began to rave and storm, as if he had received, not inflicted, an injury; calling them faithless prevaricators, who were come neither to do nor to say any thing honourable. The senate was incensed, the people enraged; and Nicias, who was ignorant of Alcibiades' imposition, filled with astonishment and confusion at this change.

The proposals of the embassadors thus rejected,

---

[33] Thucydides also v. 45. relates this fact, which recurs in the Life of Nicias, with little variation, though he does not actually make a speech for Alcibiades upon the occasion.

Alcibiades was declared general, and soon engaged the Argives[34], the Eleans, and the Mantineans as allies to the Athenians. No body commended the manner of this transaction, but the effect was important[35]: since it divided and embroiled almost the whole of Peloponnesus, in a single day lifted so many arms against the Lacedæmonians at Mantinea, and removed to such a distance from Athens the scene of war; by which the Lacedæmonians, if victorious, could gain no great advantage, whereas a miscarriage would have endangered the very being of their state.

Soon after this battle at Mantinea[36], the principal officers[37] of the Argive army attempted to abolish the popular government in Argos, and to take the administration into their own hands. The Lacedæmonians countenanced the design, and assisted them to carry it into execution. But the people took up arms again, and defeated their new masters: and Alcibiades, coming to their aid, rendered the victory more complete. At the same time he persuaded them to extend their walls down to the sea, that they might always be in a condition to receive succours from the Athenians: and sent them carpenters and masons from Athens, strenuously exerting himself upon this occasion, which tended to increase his personal interest and power, as well as that of his country. He advised the people of Patræ, likewise, to join their city to the sea by long walls[38]. And some one observing to the Patrensians, "That the Athenians would one day swallow them "up;" "Possibly it may be so," said Alcibiades, "but they will begin with the feet, and do it by "little and little, whereas the Lacedæmonians will "begin with the head, and do it all at once." He exhorted the Athenians to assert the empire of the land, as well as of the sea; and was ever inciting the young warriors to show by their deeds, that they remembered the oath, which they had taken in the temple of Agraulos[39]. That oath is, that they will consider wheat, barley, vine, and olives, as the boundaries of Attica; by which it is insinuated, that they should endeavour to possess themselves of all lands, that are cultivated and fruitful.

---

[34] He concluded a league (Ol. lxxxix. 4.) with these states for a hundred years, inserted at full length in Thucydides, from whom we learn that the treaties of the ancient Greeks were not less perfect and explicit than our's. They were of as little consequence too: for how soon was that broken, which the Athenians had made with the Lacedæmonians! Thucydides enters into considerable detail upon this subject. (v. 46., &c.)

[35] Plutarch here shows himself superior to the weakness of estimating a measure by it's accidental success (see p. 108., not. 79.) for the Athenians were beaten at Mantinea. The victory however, as appears from Thucyd. (vi. 16.), did not give the Lacedæmonians any great confidence in their resources.*

[36] Fought Ol. xc. 3., near three years after the conclusion of the treaty with Argos. See Thucyd. vi. 66., &c.

[37] Those officers availed themselves of the consternation, which seized the people of Argos after the loss of the battle; and the Lacedæmonians gladly supported them, from a persuasion that if the popular government were abolished, and an aristocracy (like that of Sparta) set up in Argos, they should soon be masters there.

But these his high abilities in politics, his eloquence, his reach of genius, and his keenness of apprehension, were tarnished by his luxurious living, his drinking and debaucheries, his effeminacy of dress, and his insolent profusion. He wore a purple robe with a long train, whenever he appeared in public. He caused the planks of his galley to be cut away, that he might lie the softer, his bed not being placed upon the boards, but suspended upon girths. And in the wars he bore a shield of gold, which had none of the usual[40] ensigns of his country, but in their stead a Cupid bearing a thunderbolt. The great men of Athens saw his behaviour with abhorrence and indignation, and even dreaded the consequence. They regarded his foreign manners, his prodigality, and his contempt of the laws, as so many means to make himself absolute. And Aristophanes[41] well expresses, how the bulk of the people were disposed toward him;

---

[38] Patræ was a city of Achaia. The execution of the project here suggested by Alcibiades was obstructed by the inhabitants of Corinth, Sicyon, and other neighbouring states.*

[39] Written Aglauros in Herod. viii. 53., Pausan. i. iv., and Ov. Met. ii. 739., but more generally as by Plutarch. Ulpian, in his scholia upon Demosth. *de Fals. Leg.* relates the story of Agraulos, who devoted herself to death for the enemies of her country; but with some mistakes, as observed by Larcher in his notes to Herodotus. Pollux (viii. ix. 105.) has preserved the formula of the very gallant and patriotic oath taken in her temple, which does not include the unjust clause mentioned in the text. The divinities invoked upon the occasion, beside Agraulos herself, were Bellona and Mars, with Thallo, Auxo, and Hegemon, names anciently given (as we are informed by Pausan. ix. 35.) to the three Graces, who do not however seem the most happily adapted to the attestation of a military oath. See also Philostr. Vit. Apollon iv. 21. The oath of Agraulos seems to have recently come again into fashion (1806.)

> They love, they hate, but cannot live without him.

And he still more severely satirises him by the following allusion:

> Nurse not a lion's whelp within your walls;
> But, if he is brought up there, sooth the brute.

---

[40] Both cities and private persons had of old their ensigns, devices, or arms. Those of the Athenians were commonly Minerva, the owl, or the olive. None but people of figure were allowed to bear any devices; nor even they, until they had performed some action to deserve them; in the mean time, their shields were plain white. Virgil applies the *parmâque inglorius albâ* to the *primævus Helenor* (Æn. ix. 548., where however see Heyne). Alcibiades, in his device, referred to the beauty of his person and his martial prowess. Mottos, too, were used. The shield of Capaneus, for instance, exhibited a naked man with a torch in his hand, and was inscribed 'I will burn the city.' See more in Æschyl. Επτα επι Θηβ., and in Eurip. Φοινισσ. (L.)

M. Ricard endeavours to account for some discrepancies in these tragedians, by supposing that the first has assigned them their new devices, assumed for the siege of Thebes, while the latter has left them in possession of their old ones. On some medals of Diocletian we find a lion, with a thunderbolt in his mouth; which may illustrate, though it does not justify, Malherbe's line—

> *Prends ta foudre, Louis, et va comme un lion.**

[41] Ran. v. 4. This passage, which will remind the reader of Martial's famous

> *Nec possum tecum vivere, nec sine te,*

is erroneously put into the mouth of Pericles by Val. Max. vii. 2. sect. 7.*

His prodigious liberality indeed, the games which he exhibited, and the other extraordinary instances of his munificence to the people, the glory of his ancestors, the beauty of his person, and the force of his eloquence, together with his heroic strength, his valour, and experience in war, so gained upon the Athenians, that they connived at his errors, and spoke of them with all imaginable tenderness, calling them sallies of youth and good-humoured frolics. Such were his confining Agatharchus the painter[42], until he had painted his house, and then dismissing him with a handsome present; his giving a box on the ear to Taureas, who exhibited games in opposition to him, and vied with him for the preference; and his taking one of the captive Melian women for his mistress, and bringing up a child which he had by her. These were what they called, his 'good-humoured frolics.' But surely we cannot bestow that appellation upon the slaughtering of all the males in the isle of Melos[43], who had arrived at years of puberty, which was in consequence of a decree that he promoted. Again, when Aristophon[44] had painted the courtesan Nemea with Alcibiades in her arms, many of the people eagerly crowded to see it; but the elder Athenians were highly displeased, and considered these as sights fit only for a tyrant's court, and as insults upon the laws of Athens. Neither was it ill observed by Archestratus, "that Greece could not bear another Alcibiades." When Timon the misanthrope saw Alcibiades, after having gained his point, conducted home with great honour from the place of assembly, he did not shun him, as he did other men; but went up to him, and shaking him by the hand, said, "Go on, "my brave boy, and prosper; for your prosperity "will bring on the ruin of all this crowd." This occasioned various reflexions; some laughed, others railed, and others were extremely moved by the saying. So various were the judgements formed of Alcibiades, on account of the inconsistency of his character.

---

[42] This painter had been familiar with Alcibiades' mistress. (L.) See Demosth. in Mid., when he likewise mentions the insult offered to Taureas, and observes that there was then no law to punish such outrages.*

[43] The isle of Melos, one of the Cyclades and a colony of Lacedæmon, was blockaded by Alcibiades, at the head of 36 ships and 3,000 men (Ol. xc. 4.), and, by the help of a reinforcement under Philocrates, taken the year following. Thucydides, who has given us an account of this slaughter of the Melians, (v. 114—116.) makes no mention of the decree. He might be desirous to have the carnage thought the effect of a sudden transport in the soldiery, and not of a deliberately cruel resolution of the people of Athens.

[44] Athenæus xii. 9. calls this artist Aglaophon, and tells the story somewhat differently. M. Ricard judiciously commends the feelings of the old Athenians, and quotes Plato's Utopian law on the subject, that 'no painter should spend upon a picture more than three days.'*

In the time of Pericles[45], the Athenians had a longing for Sicily; and, after his death, they attempted it: frequently, under pretence of succouring their allies, sending aids of men and money to such of the Sicilians as were attacked by the Syracusans. These were steps to greater armaments. But Alcibiades inflamed this desire to an irresistible degree, and persuaded them not to attempt the island in part and by little and little, but to send a powerful fleet entirely to subdue it. He then inspired the people with hopes of lofty things, and indulged himself in expectations still more extravagant: for he did not, like the rest, consider Sicily as the end of his wishes, but rather as an introduction to the mighty expeditions which he had conceived. So that while Nicias was dissuading the people from the siege of Syracuse, as a business too difficult to achieve, Alcibiades was dreaming of Carthage and of Lybia: and, after these were gained, he projected the seizure of Italy and Peloponnesus, regarding Sicily as little more than a magazine for provisions and warlike stores.

---

[45] Pericles, by his prudence and authority, had restrained this extravagant ambition of the Athenians. He died (Ol. lxxxvii. 4.) in the third year of the Peloponnesian war. Two years afterward, the Athenians sent some ships to Rhegium, which were to proceed thence to the succour of the Leontines, then attacked by the Syracusans. The year following, they despatched a larger number: and two years after that, another fleet of a still superior force: but the Sicilians having put an end to their divisions, and by the advice of Hermocrates (whose speech Thucydides, in his fourth book, gives us at large) having sent back the fleet, the Athenians were so enraged at their generals for not having conquered Sicily, that they banished two of them, Pythodorus and Sophocles, and laid a heavy fine upon Eurymedon. So infatuated were they by their prosperity, that they imagined themselves irresistible!

The young men immediately entered into his schemes, and listened with the utmost attention to those, who under the sanction of age related wonders concerning expeditions to Sicily; so that many of them sat whole days in the places of exercise, drawing in the dust the figure of the island, and plans of Libya and Carthage. We are informed however that Socrates the philosopher, and Meton the astronomer, were far from expecting that these wars would turn to the advantage of Athens. The former, it should seem, was inspired with some prophetic notices by the Genius[46] who attended him; while the latter, influenced either by reasonings which led him to fear what was to come, or else by some divination connected with his art, feigned himself mad, and seizing a flaming torch attempted to set his house on fire. Others say that he counterfeited no such thing, but burned down his house in the night, and in the morning went and entreated the people to excuse his son from that campaign, that he might be a comfort to him under his misfortune. By this artifice he imposed upon them, and gained his point.

Nicias, much against his inclination, was appointed one of the generals; for he would have declined the command, had it been only on account of his having such a collegue. The Athenians, however, thought the war would be better conducted, if they declined giving entire scope to the impetuosity of Alcibiades, and tempered his boldness with the prudence of Nicias. For as to the third general Lamachus, though well advanced in years, he did not seem to fall at all short of Alcibiades in heat and temerity.

---

[46] Upon the subject of this Genius, Plutarch composed a separate treatise. Of the motives imputed to Meton there can be little doubt, from his general train of thinking, that he himself adopted the first.*

When they came to deliberate about the number of the troops, and the necessary preparations for the armament. Nicias again opposed their measures and endeavoured to prevent the war. But Alcibiades replying to his arguments[47] and carrying all before him, the orator Demostratus proposed a decree, that the generals should have the absolute direction of the war and of all the preparations for it. When the people had given their assent, and every thing was ready for setting sail, unlucky omens occurred in the particulars of the festival, which was at that time celebrated. It was the feast of Adonis[48]; the women walked in procession with images, which represented the dead carried out to burial, acting the lamentations, and singing the mournful dirges usual on such occasions.

---

[47] These speeches, preserved or constructed by Thucyd. vi. 9—18., well deserve perusal for the beautiful manner in which they display the wise and cautious measures of the first, and the rash and arrogant impetuosity, the *vis consilî expers*, of the latter.*

[48] On the feast of Adonis (who, from a close comparison of the circumstances connected with their festivals, seems to have been the same with the Osiris or Bacchus of the ancients) all the cities put themselves in mourning; coffins were exposed at every door; the statues of Venus and Adonis were borne in procession, with certain vessels full of earth, in which they had raised corn, herbs, and lettuce, and these vessels were called 'the gardens of Adonis.' After the ceremony was over, they were thrown into the sea or some river. This festival was celebrated throughout all Greece and Ægypt, and among the Jews too, when they degenerated into idolatry, as we learn from Ezek. viii. 14. 'And behold there sat women weeping for Tammuz,' that is, Adonis. (L.) Hence Milton's

> Smooth Adonis from his native rock
> Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood
> Of Tammuz yearly wounded. (P. L. i. 452.)

But see Ricard *in loc.* Herod. ii. 48., &c.*

Add to this the mutilating and disfiguring of almost all the statues of Mercury[49], which happened in one night; a circumstance that alarmed even those, who had long despised things of this nature. It was imputed to the Corinthians, of whom the Syracusans were a colony[50]; and they were reported to have done it, with the hope that such a prodigy might induce the Athenians to suspend at least, and perhaps wholly to decline the war. But the people paid little regard to this insinuation, or to the discourses of those who said that there was no ill presage in what had happened, and that it was merely the wild frolic of a parcel of young fellows, flushed with wine and bent on some extravagance. Indignation and fear made them consider this event not only as a bad omen, but as the consequence of a plot directed to greater matters; and therefore both senate and people assembled several times within a few days, and bestowed upon every suspicious circumstance the strictest examination.

In the mean time, the demagogue Androcles produced some slaves and sojourners, who accused Alcibiades and his friends of having defaced some other statues, and mimicked the sacred Mysteries in one of their drunken revels: upon which occasion (they said) one Theodorus represented the herald, Polytion the torch-bearer, and Alcibiades the high-priest; his other companions attending as persons initiated, and being thence denominated Mystæ. Such was the import of the deposition of Thessalus the son of Cimon, who accused Alcibiades of impiety toward the goddesses Ceres and Proserpine. The people being much provoked at Alcibiades, and Androcles his bitterest enemy exasperating them still more, he was at first somewhat disconcerted. But when he perceived that the seamen and soldiers intended for the Sicilian expedition were on his side, and heard a body of Argives and Mantineans consisting of a thousand men declare, that they were willing to cross the seas and to run the risk of a foreign war for his sake; but that if any injury were done to him, they would immediately march home again, he recovered his spirits, and made his appearance to defend himself. It was now his enemies' turn to be discouraged, and to fear that the people, on account of the need which they had of him, would be favourable in their sentence. To prevent this, they persuaded certain orators not reputed to be his enemies, but as ill-affected to him as the most professed ones, to suggest to the people, "The "absurdity of causing a general who was invested "with a discretionary power and a very important "command, when the troops were collected and "the allies all ready to sail, to be detained while "they were casting lots for judges, and filling the "glasses[51] with water to measure out the time of his "defence. In the name of the gods let him sail, "and at the conclusion of the war stand accountable to the laws, which will still be the same."

---

[49] The Athenians had statues of Mercury at the doors of their houses, made like terminal figures of stones of a cubical form, (L.) and surmounted with heads of that deity. From them Pausanias says (iv. 33.) this form was borrowed by the rest of the Greeks. The mutilation spoken of below was anterior to this, and is mentioned by Thucyd. vi. 28.*

[50] Sent out under Archias, one of the Heraclidæ. Thucyd. vi. 3. Strabo v.*

---

[51] Clepsydras, or water-clocks, were used in the public tribunals at Athens, to limit the diffusion of their advocates. These were stopped, during the depositions of witnesses, by an officer selected for that purpose from the inferior classes of the people. See Pollux viii. 9. sect. 113. Æschines (In Ctesiph.) informs us that, in causes relative to the infraction of the laws, the water was divided into three parts; one for the accuser, the citation of the laws, and the state; another for the accused, and his witnesses; and a third, if he was not acquitted by the first decision, for the judges. Upon which M. de Tourreil remarks that, in criminal prosecutions, the judges pronounced two verdicts; the first on the guilt, and the other on the penalty.*

Alcibiades easily saw their malicious drift in seeking to put off the trial, and observed, "That it "would be an intolerable hardship to leave such "accusations and calumnies behind him, and to be "sent out with so important a commission, while "he was in suspense as to his own fate. That he "ought to suffer death, if he could not clear himself "of the charge; but if he could prove his inno"cence, justice required that he should be set free "from all fear of false accusers, before they de"spatched him against their enemies." But he could not obtain that favour. He was immediately ordered to set sail[52]; which he accordingly did, together with his collegues, having under them nearly one hundred and forty galleys, five thousand one hundred heavy-armed soldiers, and about one thousand three hundred archers, slingers, and other light-armed forces, with suitable provisions and stores.

Arriving on the coast of Italy, he landed at Rhegium. There he gave his opinion, as to the manner of conducting the war, in which he was opposed by Nicias: but Lamachus agreeing with him, he sailed to Sicily, and made himself master of Catana[53]. This was all that he performed, being soon summoned by the Athenians to take his trial. At first, as we have observed, there was nothing against him but slight suspicions, and the depositions of slaves and persons who sojourned in Athens. But his enemies took advantage of his absence to bring new matter of impeachment, adding to the mutilating of the statues his sacrilegious behaviour with respect to the Mysteries, and alleging that both these crimes flowed from the same source[54], a conspiracy to change the government. All that were accused of being in any way concerned in it, they committed to prison unheard; and repented exceedingly, that they had not immediately brought Alcibiades to his trial, and got him condemned upon so heavy a charge. While this fury lasted, every relation and friend and acquaintance of his was very severely treated by the people.

---

[52] Ol. xci. 2; the seventeenth year of the Peloponnesian war.

[53] By surprise. Thucyd. vi. 51. Upon this magnificent and well-equipped fleet, see the same historian, ib. 31. 43. He likewise says, that Nicias gave his opinion first, in which he was opposed by Alcibiades; and that Lamachus had originally a project different from both, but at last joined with Alcibiades. Polyænus (i. 40. sect. 4.) relates the stratagem, by which he got possession of Catana; and Frontinus (iii. 2.) informs us, that he seized Agrigentum in the same manner. As a farther proof also of his subtilty, it appears on the authority of both these writers, that he took by stratagem one of the forts of Syracuse.*

Thucydides[55] has omitted the names of the accusers, but others mention Dioclides and Teucer. So Phrynichus, the comic poet,

> Good Hermes, pray beware a fall; nor break
> Thy marble nose, lest some false Dioclides
> Once more his shafts in fatal poison drench.
>
> MERC. I will: Nor e'er again shall that informer
> Teucer, that faithless stranger, boast from me
> Rewards for perjury.

No clear or strong evidence, indeed, was given by the informers. One of them, being asked how he could distinguish the faces of those who disfigured the statues, answered, that he discerned them by the light of the moon; which was an obvious falsehood, for it was done at the time of the moon's change. Every intelligent person exclaimed against such baseness, but this detection did not in the least pacify the people: they proceeded with the same rage and violence with which they had begun, taking informations and committing to prison all whose names were given in.

---

[54] They gave out, that he had entered into a conspiracy to betray the city to the Lacedæmonians, and that he had persuaded the Argives to undertake something to their prejudice.

[55] Yet he mentions Androcles (viii. 65.) as one of Alcibiades' most vehement foes, and with him Pythonicus is associated by Andocides. The successive informers, as given by M. Ricard, were Andromachus (one of Alcibiades' slaves), Teucer of Megara, who included himself but not Alcibiades in his accusation, Agariste, wife of Alcmæonides, and Lydus, a slave of Phereclus. Teucer received, in return, a thousand drachmas from the people. Dioclides produced one of his slaves, who declared that he had seen by moonlight more than three hundred men employed in mutilating the statues, of whom he named forty, and among them Andocides with his father and many of his family; but, having been convicted of falsehood by Andocides, the accuser was himself sentenced to death.*

Among those who were then imprisoned, in order to be brought to their trial, was the orator Andocides, whom Hellanicus the historian represents as one of the descendents of Ulysses. He was thought to be no friend to a popular government, but a favourer of oligarchy. What contributed not a little to his being suspected of having some concern in defacing the Hermæ was, that the great statue of Mercury placed near his house, being consecrated to that god by the tribe Ægeïs, was almost the only one, among the more remarkable, which was left entire. It is therefore to this day universally called 'the Hermes of Andocides,' though the inscription does not authorise that title.

It happened that among his brother-prisoners Andocides contracted an acquaintance and friendship with one Timæus[56]; a man not equal in rank to himself, but of uncommon parts and a daring spirit. This person advised Andocides to accuse himself, and a few more; because the decree promised impunity to any one who should confess and inform, whereas the event of the trial was uncertain to all, and much to be dreaded by such of them as were persons of distinction. He represented to him, that it was better to save his life by a falsity, than to suffer an infamous death as one really guilty of the crime; and that, with respect to the public, it would be an advantage to give up a few persons of dubious character, in order to rescue many good men from an enraged populace.

---

[56] The name of this man, and the event of the accusation which he suggested, Plutarch appears to have given with less than his usual correctness: as no Timæus is mentioned by Thucyd. (vi. 27., &c.); and Andocides himself declares, that his adviser was his cousin Charmides, and that he only accused four citizens, who eluded their sentence of banishment by voluntary flight.*

By these arguments of Timæus Andocides suffered himself to be persuaded, and informing against himself and some others, enjoyed the impunity promised by the decree; but all those whom he named were capitally punished, except a few that fled. Nay, to procure the greater credit to his deposition, he accused even his own servants.

The fury of the people, however, was not yet satisfied; but turning from the persons who had disfigured the Hermæ, as if it had rested a while only to recover it's strength, it fell totally upon Alcibiades. At last they sent the Salaminian galley to fetch him, artfully ordering their officer not to use violence or to lay hold on his person; but to behave to him with civility, and to acquaint him with the people's orders that he should go and take his trial, and clear himself before them. For they were apprehensive of some tumult and mutiny in the army, now that it was in an enemy's country; which Alcibiades, had he been so disposed, might have raised with the utmost ease. The soldiers indeed expressed much uneasiness at his leaving them, and expected that the war would be protracted to a considerable length by the dilatory counsels of Nicias, when the spur was taken away. For though Lamachus was vigorous and brave, he was deficient, on account of his poverty[57], both in weight and dignity.

Alcibiades immediately embarked[58]: the consequence of which was, that the Athenians could not take Messena. There were persons in the town, whom Alcibiades perfectly knew to be ready to betray it; and as he apprised some that were friends to the Syracusans of their intention, the affair miscarried.

---

[57] How different from these were the Athenians in the days of Aristides; when poverty, far from operating as an objection, gave an advantage to the character, and rendered it more respectable.*

[58] He prudently embarked on a vessel of his own, and not on the Salaminian galley.

As soon as he arrived at Thurii, he went on shore, and concealing himself there, eluded the search which was made after him. But some person knowing him, and saying, "Will you not then trust your "country?" he answered, "As to any thing else, "I will trust her; but with my life I would not "trust even my mother, lest she should mistake a "black bean for a white one." Being afterward told, that the republic had condemned him to die, he said; "But I will show them, that I am alive."

The information against him ran thus: "Thessalus the son of Cimon, of the ward Lacias, accuseth Alcibiades the son of Clinias, of the ward Scambonis, of sacrilegiously offending the goddesses Ceres and Proserpine, by counterfeiting their Mysteries, and divulging them to his companions in his own house. Wearing such a robe as the high-priest does, while he shows the holy things, he called himself high-priest, Polytion torch-bearer, and Theodorus of the ward Phygea herald; and the rest of his companions he called Mystæ[59], and 'Brethren of the secret': in this acting contrary to the rules and ceremonies established by the Eumolpidæ[60], the heralds and priests at Eleusis." As he did not make his appearance, they condemned him, confiscated his goods, and ordered all the priests and priestesses to denounce an execration against him; which was accordingly done by all but Theano the daughter of Menon, priestess of the temple of Agraulos, who excused herself, alleging that "she was a priestess "for prayer, and not for execration."

---

[59] The *Mystæ*, or 'persons initiated,' were to remain a year under probation, during which time they were to go no farther than the vestibule of the temple, and only partook of the inferior Mysteries; they were then called *Epoptæ*, and admitted to all the Mysteries, except such as were reserved for the priests. (L.) The intervening twelvemonth was a period of continued darkness, anxiety, and terror. The third and final ceremony threw open to the selected few the doors of the sanctuary, and showed them the goddess in all her glory.*

[60] Eumolpus, a native of Thrace who settled at Eleusis, was the first who instituted or arranged these Mysteries of Ceres, for which reason his descendents had the care of them after him; and, on the failure of his line, those who succeeded in the function were likewise called Eumolpidæ. (L.) See Pausan. i. 38. Of the execration, mentioned below, the form is preserved by Lysias in his oration against Andocides, who was implicated with Alcibiades in the accusation.*

While these decrees and sentences were passing against Alcibiades, he was at Argos; having quitted Thurii, to take refuge in Peloponnesus. Still however dreading his enemies, and giving up all hopes of being restored to his country, he sent to Sparta; soliciting permission to live there under the protection of the public faith, and promising to serve them with more effect, than he had formerly annoyed them while he was their enemy. The Spartans granting him a safe conduct, and expressing their readiness to receive him, he went thither with pleasure. One thing he presently brought about, which was to procure succours for Syracuse without farther hesitation or delay; having stimulated them to send thither Gylippus[61], to take upon him the direction of the war, and to crush the Athenian power in Sicily. He next persuaded them to declare war against the Athenians at home; and the third, and most important of his counsels was, to fortify Decelea; for this, being in the neighbourhood of Athens, was productive of great mischief to that commonwealth[62].

---

[61] Thucydides (vii. 27.) does not introduce this celebrated general's name in the speech, which he puts into Alcibiades' mouth upon the occasion.*

[62] Agis king of Sparta, at the head of a numerous army of Lacedæmonians, Corinthians, and other nations of Peloponnesus, invaded Attica, and according to the advice which Alcibiades had given, seized and fortified Decelea (Ol. xci. 4.); which stood at an equal distance from Athens and the frontiers of Bœotia, and by means of which the Athenians were at once deprived of the silver-mines, of the rents of their lands, and of the succours of their neighbours. It farther exposed their flocks to the rapacity of

These measures procured Alcibiades the public approbation at Sparta, and he was not less admired for his manner of living in private. By conforming to their diet, and other austerities, he charmed and captivated the people. When they saw him close shaved, bathing in cold water, feeding on their coarse bread or eating their black broth, they could hardly believe that such a man had ever kept a cook in his house, seen a perfumer, or worn a robe of Milesian purple. It seems, that among his other qualifications, he had the very extraordinary art of engaging the affections of those, with whom he conversed, by imitating and adopting their customs and way of living. Nay, he turned himself into all manners of forms with more ease, than the chameleon changes his colour. It is not in that animal's power, we are told, to assume a white[63]; but Alcibiades could adapt himself either to good or bad, and did not find any thing which he attempted impracticable. Thus at Sparta he was all for exercise, frugal in his diet, and severe in his manners. In Asia, he was as much for mirth and pleasure, luxury and ease. In Thrace, riding and drinking were his favourite amusements: and in the palace of Tisaphernes, the Persian grandee, he outvied the Persians themselves in pomp and splendour. Not that he could with so much ease change his real man-

---

foragers, and afforded a secure asylum to their runaway slaves, of whom more than 20,000 (chiefly useful artists) are said to have taken refuge in that place. But the principal misfortune which happened to the Athenians, from the beginning of the war, was that which befel them this year in Sicily; where they not only lost the object of their expedition, together with the reputation which they had so long maintained, but their fleet, their army, and their generals.

[63] This property of the chameleon (an animal, by Buffon called 'the feast of the philosopher') is attested by modern naturalists, though it does not appear that it always adapts it's hue to that of the neighbouring objects. That among other colours however it can occasionally assume a white, or rather 'a lightish colour,' is attested by Ælian ii. 14., as well as by later observations. See Hardouin's notes on Plin. H. N. viii. 33.*

ners, or approve in his heart the form which he assumed; but, because he knew that his native manners would be unacceptable to those with whom he happened to live, he immediately conformed to the ways and fashions of whatever place he visited. When he was at Lacedæmon, if you regarded only his outside, you would say (with the proverb) "This is not the son of Achilles, but Achilles himself!" This man has surely been brought up under the eye of Lycurgus[64]. But then, if you looked more nearly into his disposition and his actions, you would exclaim

The same weak woman still[65]!

For, while king Agis was employed in a distant expedition, he corrupted his wife Timæa so effectually, that she was with child by him, and did not pretend to deny it; and when she was delivered of a son, though in public she called him Leotychidas, yet in her own house she whispered to her female friends and to her servants, that his true name was Alcibiades: to such a degree was the woman transported by her passion. And Alcibiades himself, indulging his vein of mirth, used to say; "His "motive was not to injure the king, or to satisfy "his appetite, but that his offspring might one day "sit upon the throne of Lacedæmon." Agis had information of these matters from several hands, and he was the more ready to give credit to them, because they agreed with the time. For he had quitted his wife's chamber, in consequence of being terrified by an earthquake, and had not returned thither for the ensuing ten months; at the end of which Leotychidas being born, he declared the child was not his; and, for this reason, he was never suffered to inherit the Spartan crown.

---

[64] During the life of their legislator, the Spartans most rigidly observed his austere code of laws, but relaxed after his death.*

[65] This is spoken by Electra of Helen, in the Orestes of Euripides, upon her discovering the same vanity and solicitude about her beauty, when advanced in years, which she had shown when young.

After the miscarriage of the Athenians in Sicily, the people of Chios, of Lesbos, and of Cyzicum sent to treat with the Spartans about quitting the interests of Athens, and putting themselves under the protection of Sparta. The Bœotians upon this occasion solicited for the Lesbians, and Pharnabazus for the people of Cyzicum; but at the persuasion of Alcibiades, succours were sent to those of Chios before all others [66]. He likewise passed over into Ionia, and prevailed with almost the whole of that country to revolt; and, attending the Lacedæmonian generals in the execution of most of their commissions, he did considerable prejudice to the Athenians.

But Agis, who was already his enemy on account of the injury done to his bed, could not endure his renown; for most of the present successes were ascribed to Alcibiades. The great and the ambitious among the Spartans were indeed, in general, touched with envy; and had influence enough with the civil magistrates, to procure orders to be sent to their friends in Ionia to kill him. But he calmly foreseeing his danger, and cautioned by his fears, in all his steps still served the Lacedæmonians, though he took care at the same time not to put himself into their power. Instead of that, he sought the protection of Tisaphernes, one of the grandees of Persia or lieutenants of the king. With this Persian he soon attained the highest credit and authority: for, being himself a very subtile and insincere man, he admired the art and keenness of Alcibiades. By the elegance of his conversation, and indeed the charms of his politeness, every man was gained, every heart was captivated. Even those, who feared and envied him, were not insensible to pleasure in his company; and, while they enjoyed it, their resentment was disarmed. Tisaphernes in all other instances savage in his temper, and the bitterest enemy that Greece ever found among the Persians, gave himself up so entirely to the attention of Alcibiades, that he even vied with and exceeded him in flattery. For of all his gardens that which excelled in beauty, which was remarkable for the salubrity of it's streams and the freshness of it's meadows, which was set off with pavilions royally adorned [67] and retirements finished in the most elegant taste, he distinguished by the name of 'Alcibiades;' and every one continued to give it that appellation.

---

[66] See Thucyd. viii. 5., &c.*

Rejecting therefore the interests of Lacedæmon, and fearing that people as treacherous to him, he represented them and their king Agis in a disadvantageous light to Tisaphernes: and advised him neither to give any effectual assistance, nor absolutely to ruin the Athenians, but to send his subsidies to Sparta with a sparing hand: that so the two powers might insensibly weaken and consume each other, and both at last be easily subjected to the king. Tisaphernes readily followed his counsels, and it was evident to all the world that he held him in the greatest admiration and esteem; which made him equally considerable with the Greeks of both parties. The Athenians repented of the sentence, which they had passed upon him, because they had suffered for it since: and Alcibiades on his side was under some fear and concern lest, if their republic were destroyed, he should fall into the hands of his Lacedæmonian foes.

At that time, the whole strength of the Athenians lay at Samos. With their ships sent out thence, they recovered some of the towns which had revolted, and others they retained in their duty; and at sea they were in some measure able to make head against their enemies. But they were afraid of Tisaphernes, and the Phœnician fleet of a hundred and fifty ships, which were said to be advancing against them; for against such a force they could not hope to defend themselves. Alcibiades, apprised of this, privately sent a messenger to the principal Athenians at Samos, to give them hopes that he would procure for them the friendship of Tisaphernes: not to recommend himself to the people, whom he could not trust; but to oblige the nobility, if they would only exert their superiority, repress the insolence of the commonalty, and taking the government into their own hands save themselves and their country[68].

---

[67] For the princely stile, in which these viceroys of Asia Minor lived and dwelt, see Xenoph. (Ελλην. iv.) where he describes Pharnabazus' palace at Dascylus in Ionia.*

All the officers readily embraced his proposal, except Phryñichus, who was of the ward Dirades. He alone suspecting (what was really the case) that it was a matter of very little consequence to Alcibiades, whether an oligarchy or a democracy prevailed in Athens; that it was his business, to get himself recalled by any means whatever; and that therefore, by his invectives against the people, he only sought to insinuate himelf into the good graces of the nobility, resisted his suggestions. Seeing that his opinion however was disregarded, and that Alcibiades must certainly become his enemy, he gave secret intelligence to Astyochus, the Spartan admiral, of the double part which Alcibiades was acting, advising him to beware of his designs and to secure his person. But he knew not that, while he was thus betraying, he was himself betrayed. For Astyochus, seeking to make his court to Tisaphernes, informed Alcibiades, who he knew had the ear of that grandee, of the whole affair.

Alcibiades immediately despatched proper persons to Samos, with an accusation against Phrynichus; who seeing no other resource, as every body was against him and expressed the utmost indignation at his behaviour, attempted to cure one evil by a greater. For he sent to Astyochus to complain of his having revealed his secret, and to offer to deliver up to him the whole Athenian fleet and army. This treason of Phrynichus however did no injury to the Athenians, because it was again betrayed by Astyochus; for he laid the whole matter before Alcibiades. Phrynichus had the sagacity to foresee, and expect another accusation from Alcibiades; and to be beforehand with him, he himself forewarned the Athenians, that the enemy would endeavour to surprise them: and he therefore desired them to be upon their guard, to keep on board their ships, and to fortify their camp.

---

[68] The whole of this account of Alcibiades' intrigues, to procure his recal to Athens, is chiefly abridged from Thucydides, viii. 45., &c.*

While the Athenians were doing this, letters came a second time from Alcibiades, advising them to beware of Phrynichus, who had undertaken to betray their fleet to the enemy: but they gave no credit to these despatches, supposing that Alcibiades, who perfectly knew the preparations and intentions of the enemy, abused that knowledge to the raising of such a calumny against Phrynichus. Yet afterward, when Phrynichus was stabbed in full assembly by one of Hermon's soldiers who kept guard that day, the Athenians taking cognisance of the matter after his death, condemned Phrynichus as guilty of treason, and ordered Hermon and his party to be crowned for having killed a traitor[69].

The friends of Alcibiades, who had now the predominant interest at Samos, sent Pisander to Athens to change the form of government, by encouraging the nobility to assume it, and to deprive the people of their power and privileges, as the condition upon which Alcibiades would procure them the friendship and alliance of Tisaphernes. This was the pretext adopted by those, who sought to introduce an oligarchy. But when that body which were called the 'Five Thousand,' but in fact were only 'Four Hundred[70],' had gotten the power into their hands, they paid little attention to Alcibiades, and carried on the war very slowly: partly distrusting the citizens who did not yet relish the new form of government, and partly hoping that the Lacedæmonians, who were always inclined to favour an oligarchy, would not press them with their usual vigour.

---

[69] See Thucyd. viii. 92. Lycias however, and Lycurgus the orator, give different accounts of this affair.*

Such of the commonalty, as were at home, were reluctantly silent through fear; for a number of those, who had openly opposed the Four Hundred, were put to death. But, when those that were at Samos were informed of the affair, they were highly incensed at it; and resolved immediately to set sail for the Piræus. In the first place however they sent for Alcibiades, and having appointed him their general, ordered him to lead them against the tyrants, and demolish their power. Upon such an occasion almost any other man, suddenly exalted by the favour of the multitude, would have thought that he must comply with all their humours; and not venture in any respect to contradict those who, from a fugitive and an exile, had raised him to be commander-in-chief of such a fleet and army. But he behaved as became a great general, and prevented their plunging into errors through the violence of their resentment. This care of his was, evidently, the saving of the commonwealth. For if they had sailed home, the enemy would have immediately seized Ionia, and gained the Hellespont and the islands without striking a stroke; while the Athenians would have been engaged in a civil war, of which Athens itself must have been the seat. All this was prevented chiefly by Alcibiades, who not only tried what arguments would do with the army in general, and informed them of their danger; but applied to them one by one, using entreaties with some and force with others: in which he was assisted by the loud harangues[71] of Thrasybulus of the ward Stira, who attended him throughout the whole, and who had the strongest voice of any man among the Athenians.

---

[70] It was at first proposed, that only the dregs of the people should lose their authority, which was to be vested in 'five thousand' of the most wealthy, thenceforward to be reputed the people. But, when Pisander and his associates discovered the strength of their party, they carried it, that the old form of government should be dissolved, and that five Prytanes should be elected; that these five should choose a hundred; that each of the hundred should choose three; and that the 'four hundred' thus elected should become a senate with supreme power, and should consult the five thousand only at such time and upon such matters as they thought fit. (Thucyd. viii. 67, 68.)

Another signal service performed by Alcibiades was, his undertaking that the Phœnician fleet, which the Lacedæmonians expected from the king of Persia, should either join the Athenians, or at least not act upon the enemy's side. In consequence of this promise, he set out as expeditiously as possible, and prevailed upon Tisaphernes not to forward the ships, which were already come as far as Aspendus[72], but to disappoint the Lacedæmonians. Nevertheless both sides, and particularly the Lacedæmonians, accused Alcibiades of having prevented that fleet from coming to their aid; for they supposed, that he had instructed the Persians to leave the Greeks to destroy each other. And indeed it was obvious enough that such a force, added to either side, would entirely have deprived the other of the dominion of the sea.

After this, the Four Hundred were soon dissolved[73], the friends of Alcibiades very readily assisting those who were favourable to a democracy. And now the people in the city not only wished, but commanded him to return; yet he thought it best to return not with empty hands, or without having effected something worthy of note, but instead of being indebted to the compassion and favour of the multitude, to give some eclat to his restoration. Setting sail therefore from Samos with a few ships, he cruised on the sea of Cnidus and about the isle of Coos, where he got intelligence that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, was come with his whole fleet toward the Hellespont in pursuit of the Athenians. This made him hasten to the assistance of the latter, and fortunately enough he arrived[74] with his eighteen ships at the very juncture of time, when the two fleets having engaged near Abydos continued the fight from morning until night, one side having the advantage on the right wing and the other on the left.

---

[71] See Thucyd. ib. 82. 85. M. Ricard has a grave note at this place, upon the utility of a strong pair of lungs in an army, in justification of Homer, who occasionally mentions a loud voice among the accomplishments of his heroes.*

[72] A maritime city of Pamphylia between Rhodes and Cyprus. For Tisaphernes' probable motives, upon this occasion, see Thucyd. ib. 87.*

[73] The same year, in which they were set up, Ol. xcii. 2. The reader must carefully distinguish this faction of Four Hundred from the senate of the same number established by Solon, which these turned out during the few months they were in power.

Upon the appearance of his squadron, both sides entertained a false opinion of the end of his coming; for the Spartans were encouraged, and the Athenians struck with terror. But he soon hoisted the Athenian flag on the admiral-galley, and bore down directly upon the Peloponnesians, who had now the advantage and were urging the pursuit. His vigorous attack put them to flight, and following them close he drove them ashore, destroying their ships, and killing such of their men as endeavoured to save themselves by swimming: though Pharnabazus succoured them as much as he could from the shore, and with an armed force attempted to save their vessels. The event was that the Athenians, having taken thirty of the enemy's ships and recovered their own, erected a trophy.

After this glorious success Alcibiades, ambitious to show himself as soon as possible to Tisaphernes, prepared presents and other proper acknowledgements for his friendship and hospitality, and then went to wait upon him with a princely train. But he was not welcomed in the manner, which he expected; for Tisaphernes, who for some time had been accused by the Lacedæmonians, and was apprehensive that the charge might reach the king's ear, deemed the coming of Alcibiades a very seasonable incident; and therefore put him under arrest, and confined him at Sardis, thinking that this injurious proceeding would be a help to clear himself.

---

[74] Thucydides does not speak of this arrival of Alcibiades; but probably he did not live to receive a clear account of the action, for he died this year. It is mentioned however by Xenophon, who continued his History.

Thirty days afterward, Alcibiades having by some means or other obtained a horse, escaped from his keepers, and fled to Clazomenæ; and, by way of revenge, pretended that Tisaphernes had privately set him at liberty[75]. Thence he passed to the place, where the Athenians were stationed; and being informed, that Mindarus and Pharnabazus were together at Cyzicum, he showed the troops that it was necessary for them to fight both by sea and land, nay perhaps even with stone-walls, in order to come at their enemies: for, if the victory were not complete and universal, they could get no money. He then embarked the forces, and sailed to Proconesus; where he ordered them to take the lighter vessels into the middle of the fleet, and to have a particular care, that the enemy might conceive no suspicion of his coming against them. A heavy and sudden rain, which happened to fall at that time, together with dreadful thunder and darkness, was of great service in covering his operations. For not only were the enemy ignorant of his design, but the Athenians themselves, whom he had ordered in haste on board, did not immediately perceive that he was under sail. Soon afterward the weather cleared up, and the Peloponnesian ships were seen riding at anchor in the road of Cyzicum. Lest the enemy therefore should be alarmed at the largeness of his fleet, and save themselves by getting on shore, he directed many of the officers to slacken sail and keep out of sight, while he showed himself with only forty ships, and challenged the Lacedæmonians to the combat. This stratagem had it's effect; for, despising the small number of galleys which they saw, they immediately weighed anchor and engaged: but the rest of the Athenian ships coming up during the engagement, the Lacedæmonians were struck with terror, and fled. Upon which Alcibiades, with twenty of his best ships breaking through the midst of them, hastened to the shore, and disembarking pursued those who fled from the ships, and slew great numbers of them. He likewise defeated Mindarus and Pharnabazus, who came to their succour. Mindarus made a brave resistance, and was slain, but Pharnabazus saved himself by flight.

---

[75] For a more particular detail of the consequences of the last action, see Xenoph. (Ελλην. i.) whose authority is, of course, in every respect superior to that of Polyænus (i. 40. sect. 9.) in the circumstances in which they differ.*

The Athenians remained masters of the dead[76], and of the spoils, and took all the enemies' ships. Having also possessed themselves of Cyzicum, which was abandoned by Pharnabazus, and deprived of the assistance of the Peloponnesians (now almost all cut off), they not only secured the Hellespont, but entirely cleared the sea of the Lacedæmonians. The letter also was intercepted, which in the Laconic stile was to give the Ephori an account of their misfortune. "Our glory is faded. Mindarus is slain. "Our soldiers are starving; and we know not what "step to take."

On the other hand, Alcibiades' men were so elated and took so much upon them, because they had always been victorious, that they would not vouchsafe even to mix with other troops which had been sometimes beaten. It happened not long before, that Thrasyllus having miscarried in his attempt upon Ephesus, the Ephesians erected a trophy of brass in reproach of the Athenians[77]. Alcibiades' soldiers therefore upbraided those of Thrasyllus with this affair, magnifying themselves and their general, and disdaining to join the others, either in the place of exercise or in the camp. But soon afterward, when Pharnabazus with a strong body of horse and foot attacked the forces of Thrasyllus who were ravaging the country about Abydos, Alcibiades marched to their assistance, routed the enemy, and together with Thrasyllus pursued them until night. He then admitted Thrasyllus into his company, and with mutual civilities and satisfaction they returned to the camp. Next day he erected a trophy, and plundered the province which was under Pharnabazus, without the least opposition. The priests and priestesses he made prisoners among the rest, but dismissed them without ransom. Thence he intended to proceed and lay siege to Chalcedon[78], which had withdrawn it's allegiance from the Athenians, and received a Lacedæmonian garrison and governor; but being informed that the Chalcedonians had collected their cattle and corn, and sent it all to their Bithynian friends, he led his army to the frontier of the Bithynians, and despatched a herald before him to summon them to surrender it. They, dreading his resentment, gave up the booty, and entered into an alliance with him.

---

[76] Ol. xcii. 3. I have preserved in the word 'dead' the νεκρων of the original, for the sake of remarking (with M. Ricard) the religious attention paid by the ancients to the bodies of the deceased; which they accounted it so disgraceful to leave unburied, or in the enemies' power, that the Athenians for a neglect of the former kind, after the battle of Arginusæ, sentenced their victorious generals to death.*

---

[77] Trophies had previously been of wood, that time might gradually efface those memorials of national hostility; but the Ephesians erected this of brass, to perpetuate the Athenian infamy: and it was this new and mortifying circumstance, with which Alcibiades' soldiers reproached those of Thrasyllus. (Diod. xiii. 24.) (L.)

Plutarch elsewhere states, that the Greeks did not approve those, who first introduced into these erections the more durable materials of stone and iron, in which he is confirmed by Cicero (De Invent. ii. 23.) And that the Romans agreed with them in this sentiment, appears from a passage of Strabo iv., and Casaub. *in loc.*, who quotes Florus, iii. 2., to the same purport.*

[78] A city on the right of the Bosporus, in passing from the Propontis to the Euxine sea.*

After this he returned to the siege of Chalcedon, and enclosed it with a wall which reached from sea to sea. Pharnabazus advanced to raise the siege; and Hippocrates, the governor, sallied out with his whole force to attack the Athenians. But Alcibiades drew up his army so as to engage them both at once, and defeated them both; Pharnabazus betaking himself to a shameful flight, and Hippocrates, with a great part of his troops, being slain in the battle. He then sailed into the Hellespont, to raise contributions in the towns upon the coast.

In this voyage, he took Selybria[79]; but, in the action, unnecessarily exposed himself to considerable danger. The persons, who had promised to surrender the town to him, agreed to give him a signal at midnight with a lighted torch: this they were obliged to do before the time, from apprehension of one of their accomplices, who suddenly altered his mind. The torch therefore being held up before the army was ready, Alcibiades took about thirty men with him, and ran to the walls, having ordered the rest to follow as fast as possible. The gate was immediately opened to him, and twenty of the conspirators lightly armed having joined his small company, he advanced with great spirit; but he soon perceived the Selybrians, with their weapons in their hands, coming forward to attack him. As to stand and fight promised no sort of success, and he who to that day had never been defeated did not choose to fly, he ordered a trumpet to command silence, and proclamation to be made, that "the Selybrians "should not, under the pain of the republic's high "displeasure, take up arms against the Athenians." This instantly damped their inclination to the combat, partly from a supposition that the whole Athenian army was within the walls, and partly from the hopes which they conceived of obtaining tolerable terms. While they were jointly arranging these matters, the Athenian army arrived; and Alcibiades, rightly conjecturing that the inclinations of the Selybrians were for peace, was afraid of giving the Thracians (who from a particular attachment to his person had come down in considerable numbers to serve under him as volunteers) an opportunity of plundering the town. He therefore sent them all away; and upon the submission of the Selybrians preserved them from being pillaged, demanding only a sum of money, and leaving a garrison in the place.

---

[79] By Xenophon called Selymbria, a city of Thrace on the coast of the Propontis.*

In the mean time the other generals, who were carrying on the siege of Chalcedon, came to an agreement with Pharnabazus upon the following conditions: namely, that he should pay them a sum of money, that the Chalcedonians should return to their allegiance under the republic of Athens, and that no injury should be done to the province of which Pharnabazus was governor; he undertaking, that the Athenian embassadors should be conducted safe to the king. Upon the return of Alcibiades, Pharnabazus desired that he too would swear to the performance of the articles, but Alcibiades insisted that Pharnabazus should swear first. When the treaty had been reciprocally confirmed by an oath, Alcibiades went against Byzantium which had revolted, and drew a line of circumvallation about the city. While he was thus employed, Anaxilaus, Lycurgus, and some others[80] secretly promised to deliver up the place, on condition that he would preserve it from being plundered. Upon which he caused it to be reported, that certain weighty and unexpected affairs called him back to Ionia, and set sail in the day-time with his whole fleet; but returning at night he disembarked with the land-forces, and posting them under the walls commanded them not to make the least noise. The ships at the same time made for the harbour, and the crews pressing in with loud shouts and much tumult astonished the Byzantines, who expected no such matter. Thus an opportunity was given to those within the walls, who favoured the Athenians, to receive them with the utmost security, while every body's attention was engaged upon the harbour and the ships.

---

[80] Cydon, Ariston, and Anaxicrates, according to Xenophon, whom Plutarch has almost exactly followed in this part of his narrative.*

The affair did not pass, however, without blows. For the Peloponnesians, Bœotians, and Megarensians, who were at Byzantium, having driven the ships' crews back to their vessels, and perceiving that the Athenian land-forces had advanced into the town, charged them likewise with great vigour. The dispute was sharp, but victory declared for Alcibiades and Theramenes; the former of whom commanded the right wing, and the latter the left. About three hundred of the enemy, who survived, were taken prisoners. Not one of the Byzantines, after the battle, was either put to death or banished; for the terms, upon which the town was given up were, that the citizens should not be deprived of any part of their property.

Hence it was that, when Anaxilaus was tried at Lacedæmon for treason, he made a defence which reflected no disgrace upon his past behaviour; for he told them, "That not being a Lacedæmonian "but a Byzantine, and seeing not Lacedæmon but "Byzantium in danger—it's communication with "those that might have relieved it stopped, and the "Peloponnesians and Bœotians eating up the provi-"sions that were left, while the Byzantines with their "wives and children were starving—he had not be-"trayed the town to an enemy, but delivered it from "calamity and war: in this imitating the worthiest "men among the Lacedæmonians, whose sole rule "of justice and honour was by all possible means "to serve their country." The Lacedæmonians were so much pleased with this speech, that they acquitted him and all that were concerned with him.

Alcibiades now desirous to see his native country, and still more desirous to be seen by his countrymen after so many glorious victories, set sail[81] with the Athenian fleet hung round with many shields and other spoils of the enemy; a great number of ships that he had taken making up the rear, and the flags of many more which he had destroyed being carried in triumph; for all of them together were not fewer than two hundred. But as to what is added by Duris the Samian (who boasts of his being descended from Alcibiades), that the oars kept time to the flute of Chrysogonus, who had been victorious in the Pythian games; that Callipides the tragedian attired in his buskins, magnificent robes, and other theatrical ornaments, gave orders to those who laboured at the oars; and that the admiral-galley entered the harbour with a purple sail, as if the whole had been a drunken frolic; these are particulars not mentioned either by Theopompus, Ephorus, or Xenophon[82]. Neither is it probable that at his return from exile, and after such misfortunes as he had suffered, he would insult the Athenians by such a farce. On the other hand, he approached with some fear and caution; nor did he venture to disembark until, as he stood upon the deck, he saw his cousin Euryptolemus, with many others of his friends and relations, coming to receive and invite him on shore.

When he had landed, the multitude who advanced to meet him did not vouchsafe so much as to look upon the other generals, but crowding up to him hailed him with shouts of joy, conducted him on the way, and crowned him with garlands; while those that could not come up so close viewed him at a distance, and the old men pointed him out to the young. Many tears were mixed with the public joy, and the memory of past misfortunes accompanied the sense of their present success. For they concluded that they should not have miscarried in Sicily, nor indeed have failed in any of their views, if they had left the direction of affairs and the command of the forces to Alcibiades: since now having exerted himself in behalf of Athens, when it had almost lost it's dominion of the sea, was hardly able to defend it's own suburbs, and was moreover harassed with intestine broils, he had raised it from that low and ruinous condition, so as not only to restore it's maritime power, but to render it victorious every where by land.

---

[81] By a very circuitous course, however, as we learn from Xenophon; that he might collect some plunder, and at the same time procure farther information on the subject of his returning popularity.*

[82] As Justin and Athenæus (xii. 9.) are equally silent upon these particulars, we must conclude with Plutarch that Duris, though commended by Cicero (Ep. ad Att. vi. 1. See p. 42. not. 76.) for his accuracy, and supported by Diod. Sic. (xiii. 68.) has exaggerated a little, in compliment to the memory of his vaunted ancestor.*

The act for recalling him from banishment had been passed at the motion of Critias the son of Callæschrus[83], as appears from his Elegies, in which he reminds Alcibiades of his service:

> If you no more in hapless exile mourn,
> The praise is mine; I seal'd your glad return.

The people presently meeting in full assembly, Alcibiades entered, and having pathetically bewailed his sufferings, very modestly complained of their treatment, ascribing all to his own hard fortune and the influence of some envious dæmon. He then proceeded to discuss the hopes and designs of their enemies, against whom he used his utmost endeavours to animate them. With this harangue they were so highly delighted, that they placed upon his head crowns of gold, and gave him the absolute command of their forces both by sea and land. They likewise decreed that his estate should be restored to him, and that the Eumolpidæ and the heralds should take off the execrations, which by order of the people they had pronounced against him. While the rest were employed in expiations for this purpose, Theodorus the high-priest said, "For my part, I never denounced any curse "against him, if he did no injury to the common-"wealth[84]."

---

[83] This Critias was uncle to Plato's mother, and the same whom he introduces in his Dialogues. Though now the friend of Alcibiades, yet (as the lust of power destroys all ties) when one of the 'Thirty Tyrants,' he became his bitter enemy, and sending to Lysander assured him that Athens would never be quiet, nor Sparta safe, until Alcibiades was destroyed. Critias was afterward slain by Thrasybulus, when he delivered Athens from that tyranny. (L.) Among other works, he composed some elegies, of which Athenæus (x. 9. &c.) has preserved several fragments. Callæschrus in it's etymology involves an oxymoron, like the English name Onslow, in happy allusion to which the family use as their motto, *Festina lentè.*

Amidst this glory and prosperity of Alcibiades, some people were still uneasy, looking upon the time of his return as ominous. For on that very day was kept the Plynteria[85], or 'purification,' of the goddess Minerva. It was the twenty-fifth of Thargelion, when the Praxiergidæ perform those ceremonies which are not to be revealed, disrobing the image and covering it up. Hence it is, that the Athenians of all days reckon this the most unlucky, and take the greatest care not to transact business upon it. And it seemed that the goddess did not receive him graciously, but rather with aversion, since she hid her face from him. Notwithstanding all this, every thing succeeded according to his wish; three hundred galleys were manned, and ready to put to sea again: but a laudable zeal detained him until the celebration of the Mysteries[86]. For after the Lacedæmonians had fortified Decelea, which commanded the roads to Eleusis, the feast was not kept with it's usual pomp, because they were obliged to conduct the procession by sea; the sacrifices, dances, and other ceremonies performed on the Sacred Way, while the image of Bacchus was carried in procession, being on that account necessarily omitted. Alcibiades therefore judged it would be an act conducive to the honour of the gods, and to his reputation with men[87], to restore those rites to their due solemnity, by conducting the procession with his army and guarding it against the enemy. Thus; either king Agis would be checked and humbled, if he suffered it to pass unmolested; or if he attacked the convoy, Alcibiades would have a fight to maintain in the cause of piety and religion, for the greatest and most venerable of Mysteries, in the sight of his country, and all his fellow-citizens would be witnesses of his valour.

---

[84] This, at such an enthusiastic moment, was an adventurous, but a very honourable declaration; implying that as the original curse was conditional, it could neither fall upon the innocent, nor be retracted or diverted from the guilty.*

[85] On that day, when the statue of Minerva was 'washed' (whence the name of the festival), the temples were encompassed with a cord, to denote that they were shut up, as was customary upon all inauspicious days: and dried figs were carried in procession, because that was the first fruit which was eaten after acorns. The Praxiergidæ were the ministering priests.

When he had determined upon this, and communicated his design to the Eumolpidæ and the heralds, he placed sentinels upon the eminences, and sent out his advanced guard as soon as it was light. He next took the priests, the persons initiated, and those who had the charge of initiating others; and covering them with his forces, led them on in regular order and profound silence; exhibiting in that march a spectacle so hallowed and august, that those who did not envy him declared, he had performed not only the office of a general but of a high-priest. Not one of the enemy dared to attack him, and he conducted the procession back in safety; which both exalted him in his own thoughts, and gave the soldiery such an opinion of him, that they considered themselves as invincible while under his command. And he gained such an influence over the mean and indigent part of the people, that they were passionately desirous to see him invested with absolute power; insomuch that some of them applied to him in person and exhorted him, in order to quash the malignity of envy at once, to abolish the privileges of the people and the laws, and to quell those busy spirits who would otherwise be the ruin of the state; for then he might direct affairs and proceed to action, without fear of groundless impeachments.

---

[86] The festival of Ceres and Proserpine continued nine days. On the sixth the statue of Bacchus, or Iäcchus, whom they supposed to be the son of Jupiter and Ceres, was carried in procession to Eleusis. (L.) The term Iäcchus was also occasionally applied to the hymn sung during this procession, and even to the day upon which it took place.*

[87] Which had been considerably sullied, in a religious respect, by the charges relative to the mutilation of the Hermæ, and the profanation of the Mysteries brought against him in his earlier life.*

What opinion he himself entertained of this proposal, we know not; but the principal citizens were so apprehensive of his aiming at arbitrary power, that they got him to embark as soon as possible: and, the more to expedite the matter, they ordered among other things that he should have the choice of his collegues[88]. Putting to sea therefore with a fleet of a hundred ships, he sailed to the isle of Andros, where he fought and defeated the Andrians, and such of the Lacedæmonians as gave them assistance. But yet he did not take the city, which furnished his enemies with the first ground for the charge subsequently brought against him. If ever man indeed was ruined by the high distinction of his character, it was Alcibiades[89]. For his continual successes had inspired such an opinion of his courage, integrity, and capacity, that whenever he afterward happened to fail in what he undertook, it was suspected to be from want of inclination, and no one would believe it was from want of ability; they thought nothing indeed too hard for him, when he chose to exert himself. They hoped also to hear that Chios was taken, and all Ionia reduced; and grew impatient, when every thing was not despatched as suddenly as they desired. They never considered the smallness of his supplies, and that having to carry on the war against people who were supported by the treasury of a great king, he was often constrained to quit his camp, in order to procure money and provisions.

---

[88] Aristocrates and Adimantus, as Xenophon informs us; and those only authorised to share in the command by land.*

[89] It was not altogether the universality of his success, that rendered Alcibiades suspected, when he fell short of public expectation. The duplicity of his character is obvious from the whole account of his life. He paid not the least regard to veracity

This it was, which gave rise to the last accusation against him. Lysander the Lacedæmonian admiral, out of the money which he received from Cyrus, raised the wages of each mariner from three oboli a day to four, whereas it was with difficulty that Alcibiades paid his men three. The latter therefore went into Caria to raise money, leaving the fleet in charge with Antiochus[90], who was an experienced pilot indeed, but in other respects esteemed rash and inconsiderate. For though he had been expressly commanded by Alcibiades to let no provocation from the enemy induce him to hazard an engagement, yet in contempt of his orders, having taken some troops on board his own galley and one more, he stood for Ephesus where the enemy lay, and as he sailed by the heads of their ships insulted them both by words and actions in the most insufferable manner. Lysander sent out a few ships to pursue him; but, as the whole Athenian fleet came up to

---

in political matters; and it is not to be wondered at, that such principles should have rendered him continually obnoxious to the suspicion of the people.

[90] This was he, who caught the quail for him. (L.) Xenophon says, that Lysander took fifteen ships; and retired with his fleet, after the action, to Lesbos.*

assist Antiochus, he drew out the rest of his, and gained a complete victory. He slew Antiochus himself, took many ships and men, and erected a trophy. Upon this disagreeable intelligence, Alcibiades returned to Samos, whence he moved with the whole fleet to offer Lysander battle. But Lysander, content with the advantage which he had gained, did not think proper to accept it.

Among the enemies, which Alcibiades had in the army, Thrasybulus the son of Thrason being the most determined quitted the camp, and went to Athens to impeach him. To incense the people against him, he declared in full assembly, that Alcibiades had been the ruin of their affairs, and the cause of losing their ships, by his insolent behaviour in command, and by leaving the direction of every thing to persons who had gained the greatest credit with him, through the mere merit of drinking deep and cracking seamen's jokes; while he was securely ranging in quest of money, indulging his love of liquor, or abandoning himself to his pleasures with the courtesans of Ionia and Abydos: and this at a time, when the enemy was stationed at a small distance from his fleet. It was also objected to him, that he had built a castle in Thrace near the city of Bisanthe, to be made use of as a retreat for himself, as if he either could not or would not live any longer in his own country. The Athenians giving ear to these accusations, to show their resentment and dislike to him, appointed new commanders of their forces[91].

Alcibiades was no sooner informed of this than, consulting his own safety, he entirely quitted the Athenian army[92]; and, having collected a band of strangers, made war on his own account against those Thracians who acknowledged no king. From the booty, which he took, he raised immense sums; and, at the same time, he defended the Grecian frontier against the barbarians.

---

[91] Ten in number; Conon, Diomedon, Leontes, Pericles, Erasinides, Aristocrates, Archestratus, Protomachus, Thrasylus, and Aristogenes. (Xenoph. i.)*

[92] Taking with him a single galley, in which he retired to the forts he had built, probably with the view of making them places of refuge.*

Tydeus, Menander, and Adimantus the new-made generals, being now at Ægos-Potamos[93] with all the ships which the Athenians had left, used to stand out early every morning and offer battle to Lysander, whose station was at Lampsacus, and then to return and pass the day in a disorderly and careless manner, as if they despised their adversary. This seemed to Alcibiades, who was in the neighbourhood, a matter not to be treated negligently or without notice. He therefore galloped over and told the generals[94], "He thought their station by no "means safe in a place, where there was neither "town nor harbour; that it was very inconvenient "to have their provisions and stores from so distant "a place as Sestos, and extremely dangerous to let "their seamen go ashore and wander about at their "pleasure; while a fleet was watching their mo"tions, which was under the orders of one man and "the strictest discipline imaginable. He advised "them, then, to remove their station to Sestos." The generals, however, paid no attention to what he said; and Tydeus was so insolent as even to bid him begone, for that they, not he, were now to give orders. Alcibiades, suspecting that there was some treachery in the case, retired; telling his acquaintance, who conducted him out of the camp, that if he had not been so grossly insulted by the generals, he would in a few days have obliged the Lacedæmonians, however unwilling, either to come to an action at sea, or else to quit their ships. This though to some it appeared a vain boast, was by others deemed not at all improbable, since he might have brought down a number of Thracian archers and cavalry, to attack and harass the Lacedæmonian camp[95].

---

[93] Plutarch here passes over almost three years; namely, the twenty-fifth of the Peloponnesian war, in which Conon, after some irruptions into the enemy's territory, was defeated by Callicratidas; the twenty-sixth, in which the Athenians obtained the victory at Arginusæ, and put six of the ten generals to death (as stated in a former note, p. 156.) upon a slight accusation of their collegue Theramenes; and nearly the whole twenty-seventh, toward the end of which the Athenians sailed to Ægos-Potamos (a place on the borders of the Hellespont, opposite Lampsacus) as here mentioned.

[94] The officers at the head of the Grecian armies and navy are sometimes called 'generals,' sometimes 'admirals,' because they commonly commanded both by sea and land.

The event quickly evinced the correctness of his judgement with regard to the errors which the Athenians had committed. For Lysander falling upon them, when they least expected it, eight galleys only escaped[96] along with Conon; the rest, not much fewer than two hundred, were taken and carried away together with three thousand prisoners, who were subsequently put to death. And within a short time Lysander took Athens itself, burned the shipping, and demolished the Long Walls[97].

Alcibiades alarmed at this success of the Lacedæmonians, who were now masters both at sea and land, retired into Bithynia. Thither he ordered much treasure to be sent, and took large sums along with him, but left still more behind in the castle where he had resided. In Bithynia he once more lost the chief part of his substance, being stripped by the Thracians there; which determined him to go to Artaxerxes, and implore his protection, imagining that the king upon trial would find him not less serviceable than Themistocles[98] had been, and that he had a better pretence to his patronage. For he was not going to solicit the king's aid against his countrymen, as Themistocles had done, but for his country against its worst enemies. Pharnabazus, he concluded, was likely to procure him a safe conduct; and he therefore went to him in Phrygia, where he stayed some time, making his court to him, and receiving marks of respect.

---

[95] When a fleet remained for some time at one particular station, there was generally a body of land-forces, and part of the mariners likewise, encamped upon the shore.

[96] There was a ninth ship, called Paralus, which escaped and carried the news of their fatal defeat to Athens. Conon himself retired to Cyprus, where Evagoras was then king. See the Life of Lysander, in the sequel of the work.

[97] This event took place Ol. xciii. 4., in the twenty-eighth year of the war.*

It was a grief to the Athenians, to be deprived of their power and dominion: but when Lysander robbed them also of their liberty, and put their city under the authority of thirty chiefs, they were still more miserably afflicted. Now their affairs were ruined, they perceived with regret the measures which would have saved them, and which they had neglected to adopt; now they acknowledged their blindness and errors, of which they looked upon their second quarrel with Alcibiades as the greatest. They had cast him off, without any offence of his: their anger had been grounded upon the ill conduct of his lieutenant in losing a few ships, and their own conduct had been still worse in depriving the commonwealth of the most excellent and valiant of all it's generals. Yet amidst their present misery one slight glimpse of hope remained, that while Alcibiades survived, Athens could not be utterly undone. For he, who before was unwilling to lead an inactive though peaceable life in exile, would not now, if his own affairs were upon any tolerable footing, sit still and see the insolence of the Lacedæmonians and the madness of the Thirty Tyrants, without attempting some remedy. Neither was it at all unnatural for the multitude to dream of such relief, since those tyrants themselves were so solicitous to inquire after

---

[98] Here Plutarch, and also in his Life of Themistocles, follows Thucydides, who represents Artaxerxes as having just succeeded Xerxes, when Themistocles arrived at the Persian Court. See a former note.*

Alcibiades, and gave so much attention to what he was doing or projecting.

At last, Critias represented to Lysander that the Lacedæmonians could never securely enjoy the empire of Greece, till the Athenian democracy was absolutely destroyed; and that though the Athenians seemed at present to bear an oligarchy with some patience and moderation, yet Alcibiades, if he lived, would not suffer them long to submit to it. Lysander however could not be prevailed upon by these arguments, until he received private orders from the magistrates of Sparta, to get Alcibiades despatched; whether it was, that they dreaded his capacity and enterprising spirit, or did it in complaisance to king Agis. Lysander then sent to Pharnabazus, to desire him to carry this order into execution; and he appointed his brother Magæus, and his uncle Susamithres, to manage the affair.

Alcibiades at that time resided, with his mistress Timandra, in a small village in Phrygia. One night he dreamed that he was attired in his mistress' habit, and that as she held him in her arms, she dressed his head and painted his face like a woman's. Others say, he dreamed that Magæus cut off his head and burned his body; it was but a little before his death, we are told, that he had this vision. Be that as it may, those who were sent to assassinate him, not daring to enter his house, surrounded it and set it on fire. As soon as he perceived it, he got together large quantities of clothes and hangings, and threw them upon the fire to choke it; then having wrapped his robe about his left hand, and taking his sword in his right, he sallied through the fire and got safe out, before the stuff which he had thrown upon it could catch the flame. At sight of him the barbarians dispersed, not one of them daring to wait for him, or to encounter him hand to hand; but, standing at a distance, they pierced him with their darts and arrows. Thus fell Alcibiades. The barbarians retiring after he was slain, Timandra covered the body with her own robes, and buried it as decently and honourably as her circumstances would allow[99].

Timandra[100] is said to have been mother to the famous Laïs commonly called 'the Corinthian,' though she was brought a captive from Hyccaræ, a little town in Sicily.

Some writers, who agree as to the manner of Alcibiades' death, differ about the cause. That catastrophe (they tell us) is not to be imputed to Pharnabazus, or Lysander, or the Lacedæmonians; but that Alcibiades having corrupted a young woman of a noble family in that country, and keeping her with him, her brothers incensed at the injury set fire in the night to the house in which he lived, and upon his breaking through the flames killed him in the manner above related.

---

[99] She buried him in a town called Melissa; and from Athenæus (xiii. 4.) we learn, that the monument remained to his time, for he himself saw it. The emperor Hadrian, in memory of so great a man, caused his statue of Parian marble to be raised upon it, and ordered a bull to be sacrificed to him annually. (L.)

Beside the two accounts here given of Alcibiades' death, of which the latter is not at present any where else extant, though the first is to be found in Corn. Nepos, Diod. Sic. xiv. 11., &c., the latter writer, on the authority of the historian Ephorus, has preserved a third, which ascribes it to the mean political jealousy of Pharnabazus. It is singular (says M. Ricard) that Plutarch has not mentioned the name of the village, in which he was assassinated. Aristotle (Hist. Anim. vi. 29.) says, that he was slain at Elaphus, a mountain in Phrygia.*

[100] She is called Damasandra by Athenæus (ib.) who adds that Theodota, his other mistress (for he had always two, it seems, with him) buried him with as much funeral pomp as was in her power.*

THE

LIFE

OF

CAIUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS.

SUMMARY.

His extraction and origin. His taste for the military life: and first campaign. His emulation, and success. Affection for his mother. Dissensions between the patricians and plebeians. Secession of the latter to the Mons Sacer. Volscian war. Capture of Corioli. Coriolanus flies to the relief of the consuls, amd contributes largely to the defeat of the Volsci. His disinterestedness. He receives the surname of 'Coriolanus.' Digression on Roman surnames. New divisions in the commonwealth. Velitræ surrenders itself to Rome. Coriolanus takes the part of the patricians: Offers himself a candidate for the consulship; and is rejected. His resentment, and that of the patricians, upon the occasion. He opposes himself to the public largesses: Is summoned to appear before the people. The patricians declare in his favour. He complies with the summons. One of the tribunes pronounces upon him sentence of death. Struggle between the patricians and the tribunes. He is accused before the people; and banished. Deep concern of the senate: his firmness. He withdraws to the Volsci: and proposes to them to renew the war with the Romans. Disturbances and prodigies at Rome. Expiation of the prodigies. New quarrel between the Romans and the Volsci. The latter declare war. Coriolanus places himself at their head: subdues a great number of cities. The people demand of the senate his recal from exile; but in vain. He indignantly encamps near Rome. An embassy is sent to him, to whom he proposes conditions, and allows thirty days for their reply. A second deputation meets with no better success.

The priests of the different temples wait upon him in a body, to as little purpose. Reflexions on the influence exerted by the Deity over the human mind. The Roman ladies undertake the office of embassadresses. His mother's speech to him. His silence, and her second address. He is moved to compliance, and draws off his forces to Antium. Exultations of the Romans. Tullus, the Volscian general, forms a faction against Coriolanus, and procures his assassination. The Roman ladies mourn for him ten months. The Volsci are subdued.

THE family of the Marcii supplied Rome with many illustrious patricians. Of this house was Ancus Marcius, who was grandson to Numa[1] by his daughter; as were also Publius and Quintus Marcius, who provided Rome with abundance of the best water. Censorinus also, who was twice appointed censor by the Roman people, and who procured a law that no man should ever bear that office twice afterward, was of the same pedigree.

Caius Marcius, of whom I am now writing, was brought up by his mother in her widowhood; and from him it appeared that the loss of a father, though attended with other disadvantages[2], is no hindrance to a man's improving in virtue and attaining distinguished excellence; though profligate men sometimes allege it, as an excuse for their corrupt lives. On the other hand, the same Marcius evinced that if a generous and noble nature be not thoroughly formed by discipline, it will shoot forth many bad qualities along with the good; as the richest soil, if not cultivated, produces the rankest weeds. His undaunted courage and firmness of mind excited him to many great actions, and carried him through them with honour. But at the same time the violence of his passions, his spirit of contention, and his excessive obstinacy rendered him untractable and unaccommodating in conversation. So that the very persons who saw with admiration his soul unshaken by pleasures and toils and riches, and allowed him the virtues of temperance, justice, and fortitude, were yet in the affairs of the state unable to endure his overbearing, ungracious, and aristocratical temper. There is no other advantage indeed to be derived from a liberal education, equal to that of polishing and softening our nature by reason and discipline; for that produces an evenness of behaviour, and banishes from our manners all extremes. This is however to be said in his behalf, that in those times military abilities were deemed by the Romans the highest excellence; insomuch that the term, which they used for virtue in general, they applied to valour in particular[3].

---

[1] Pompilia the daughter of Numa married Marcius, the son of a Sabine of that name, who prevailed upon Numa to accept the kingdom, and followed him to Rome. He wished, likewise, to have succeeded him in that station; but, being postponed to Tullus Hostilius, slew himself. From his son's marriage with Pompilia, however, was born Ancus Marcius, who attained the dignity refused to his grandfather; and of this splendid lineage sprung M. Coriolanus. The water mentioned below, the purest in Rome, was brought thither by an aqueduct sixty miles long.*

[2] Plutarch (says M. Dacier) has here obviously in view Homer's pathetic lines:

> Αιει τοι τȣτῳγε πονος και κηδε' οπισσω
> Εσσοντ'· αλλοι γαρ ὁι απȣρισσȣσιν αρȣρας·
> Ημαρ δ' ορφανικον παναφηλικα παιδα τιθησι· κ. τ. λ.
>
> (Il. xxii. 488.)

There never was perhaps a more striking illustration of the truth of our biographer's remark, than the immortal sir William Jones. Much, however, as lord Teignmouth judiciously observes in his Life of that illustrious man, must be referred to the uncommon talents both of the pupil and the teacher (Mrs. Jones); and the English, like the Roman son, was chiefly led to distinction by his grateful and filial desire to give pleasure to his surviving parent.*

[3] So did the Greeks αρετη; and etymologists, in conformity to this theory, have derived the Latin term from *vir*, and the Greek one from Αρης. But M. Ricard, with due deference to Plutarch, inquires whether virtue might not deserve those appellations, without any reference to 'military abilities,' from the perpetual struggle which she excites between reason and the passions.*

Marcius had a more than ordinary inclination for war, and therefore from a child began to handle his weapons. As he thought that artificial arms avail but little, unless those with which nature has supplied us be well improved and kept ready for use; he so prepared himself by exercise for every kind of combat, that while his limbs were active and nimble for pursuing, from his force and weight in wrestling and in grappling with the enemy, none could easily shake him off. Those therefore who had any contest with him for the prize of courage and valour, when they failed of success, flattered themselves with imputing it to his strength, which nothing could resist or exhaust.

He made his first campaign in very early youth[4]; when Tarquin, who had reigned in Rome, was driven from the throne, and after many unsuccessful battles, was venturing all upon the last throw. Most of the people of Latium, and many other states of Italy, were now marching toward Rome to assist in his re-establishment; not through any regard for that prince, but out of fear and envy of the Romans, whose growing greatness they were desirous to check. A battle ensued, with various turns of fortune. Marcius distinguished himself that day, in sight of the dictator; for seeing a Roman pushed down at a small distance from him, he hastened to his help, and standing before him engaged his adversary and slew him. When the dispute was decided in favour of the Romans, the general presented Marcius, among the first, with an oaken crown[5]. This is the reward which their custom assigns to the man who saves the life of a citizen; either because they honoured the oak for the sake of the Arcadians, whom the oracle called 'Acorn-eaters;' or because an oaken branch is most easy to be had, be the scene of action where it may; or because they think it most suitable to take a crown for him, who has been the instrument of saving a citizen, from the tree which is sacred to Jupiter the protector of cities. Besides, the oak bears more and fairer fruit than any tree that grows wild, and is the strongest of those which are cultivated in plantations. It afforded the first ages both food and drink, by it's acorns and it's honey; and supplied men with birds and other creatures for dainties, as it produced the misletoe, from which birdlime is made[6].

---

[4] Ol. lxxi. 1., A. U. C. 258., B. C. 496. The battle in question was fought near the lake Regillus, in the dictatorship of Aulus Posthumius. This exploit, however, of Coriolanus is not recorded either by Livy (ii. 19, 20.), or Dion. Halic. (vi. 2.), in their account of the events of that day. The latter mentions the report, believed by Livy, of Tarquinius Superbus having received a wound in the course of the action; but seems to think that his great age, for he was now near ninety, rendered his personal interference almost impossible. And yet the Numidian prince, Masinissa, at that date retained much of his competency for the command of an army; and Lucian in one of his works states, that this very Tarquin was remarkable for an active and vigorous old age, in which however Livy disagrees with him: '*jam ætate et viribus erat gravior.*'*'

Castor and Pollux are reported to have appeared in that battle, and with their horses dropping sweat to have been seen soon afterward in the Forum announcing the victory, near the fountain where the temple now stands. Hence also it is said, that the fifteenth of July[7], being the day upon which that victory was gained, is consecrated to those sons of Jupiter.

---

[5] The Civic crown was the foundation of many privileges. He, who had once obtained it, had a right to wear it ever afterward. When he appeared at the public spectacles, the senators rose up to do him honour. He was placed near their bench; and his father, and grandfather by the father's side, were entitled to the same privileges. This was an encouragement to merit, which cost the public nothing, and yet was productive of many great effects. (L.) See Plin. xvi. 4. for a fine apostrophe to the simple manners of the age, which would not allow any selfish motive to mingle with those, which led to the saving of a citizen. The oracle, referred to in this passage, is preserved by Herodotus i. 66. M. Ricard concludes his note by gravely informing his readers, that honey is not the natural produce of the oak, but of bees which take up their residence in some of it's hollows; and that the misletoe '*est de même une excroissance parasite!*'*

[6] It does not any where appear, that the ancients made use of the oak in ship-building: how much nobler an encomium might an English historian afford that tree, than Plutarch has been able to give it; particularly since those memorable days, which have bestowed immortality upon the names of Howe, and Duncan, and St. Vincent, and Nelson!*

It generally happens, that when men of small ambition are very early distinguished by the voice of fame, their thirst of honour is speedily quenched and their desires satiated; whereas deep and solid minds are improved and brightened by marks of distinction, which serve as a brisk gale to drive them forward in the pursuit of glory. They do not so much think that they have received a reward, as that they have given a pledge, which would make them blush to fall short of the public expectation, and therefore they endeavour by their actions to exceed it. Marcius had a soul of this frame. He was always endeavouring to excel himself, and meditating some exploit which might set him in a new light, adding achievement to achievement, and spoils to spoils: hence the latter generals, under whom he served, were always striving to outdo the former in the honours which they paid him, and in the tokens of their esteem. The Romans at that time were engaged in several wars, and fought many battles; and there was not one, from which Marcius returned without some crown or other honorary distinction. The end, which others proposed in their acts of valour, was glory; but he pursued glory, because the acquisition of it delighted his mother. For when she was witness to the applauses which he received, when she saw him crowned, when she embraced him with tears of joy, then it was that he accounted himself at the height of honour and felicity. Epaminondas (they tell us) had the same feeling, and declared it to be the chief happiness of his life, that his father and mother lived to see him command and conquer at Leuctra. He had the satisfaction, indeed, to see both his parents rejoice in his success, and partake of his good fortune: but only the mother of Marcius, Volumnia[8], was living; and therefore holding himself obliged to pay her all that duty which would have belonged to his father, beside what was due to herself, he thought he could never sufficiently express his tenderness and respect. He even married, in compliance with her desire and request; and, after his wife had borne him children, continued to live in the same house with his mother.

---

[7] By the great disorder of the Roman calendar, the fifteenth of July then fell upon the twenty-fourth of our October. (L.)

Plutarch, in his Life of Paulus Æmilius, repeats this marvellous story; and adds that Lucius Domitius, to whom they announced the details of this victory, appearing (naturally) a little surprised, they gently touched his beard, which from black became instantly of a fine bronze colour, and gained him the surname of Ænobarbus. Livy takes no notice of this apparition, but Dion. Halic. takes a great deal too much.*

At the time when the reputation and interest which his virtue had procured him in Rome, stood very high, the senate, taking the part of the richer citizens, were at variance with the common people, who[9] were used by their creditors with intolerable cruelty. Those, that had any thing considerable, were stripped of their goods, which were either detained for security or sold; and those that had nothing were dragged into prison, and there bound with fetters, though their bodies were full of wounds and worn out with fighting for their country. The last expedition, in which they had been engaged, was against the Sabines; upon which occasion their rich creditors promised to treat them with more lenity, and in pursuance of a decree of the senate M. Valerius the consul[10] was guarantee of that promise. But when after having cheerfully undergone the fatigues of that war they returned victorious, and yet found that the usurers made them no abatement, and that the senate pretended to remember nothing of the agreement in question, but without any sort of concern saw them dragged to prison and their goods seized as formerly, they filled the city with tumult and sedition.

---

[8] Called Veturia by other writers (Dion. Halic. viii. 5., Livy ii. 40., and Val. Max. v. 4.), who as unanimously give the name of Volumnia to his wife, by Plutarch in the sequel called Vergilia.*

[9] Πασχειν δοκȣντα signifies the same as πασχοντα. So I Cor. vii. 40. δοκω δε καγω πνευμα Θεȣ εχειν, instead of ‘ I think also that I bave the spirit of God,’ should be translated, ‘ and I have the spirit of God.’

[10] Or, as others say, the dictator Max. Valerius, who (according to Dion. Halic. vi. 5.) had promised the people an act of insolvency.*

The enemy, apprised of these intestine broils, invaded the Roman territories, and laid them waste with fire and sword. And, when the consuls called upon such as were able to bear arms to give in their names, not a man took any notice of it. Something was then to be done, but the magistrates differed in their opinions. Some thought that the poor should have a little indulgence, and that the extreme rigour of the law ought to be relaxed. Others, and particularly Marcius, declared absolutely against that proposal. Not that he thought the money a matter of much consequence, but because he considered this specimen of the people's insolence as an attempt to subvert the laws, and the forerunner of farther disorders, which it became a wise government strenuously to restrain and suppress.

The senate assembled several times within the space of a few days, and debated this point; but as they came to no conclusion, the commonalty suddenly rose, and encouraging each other, left the city, and took possession of the hill now called 'Sacred,' near the river Anio, but without committing any violence or other act of sedition. Only as they went along, they loudly complained, "That it was now a
" great while, since the rich had driven them from
" their habitations: that Italy would any where
" supply them with air, and water, and a place of
" burial; and that Rome, if they stayed in it, would
" afford them no other privilege, unless indeed it
" were regarded as a privilege to bleed and to die
" in fighting for their wealthy oppressors."

The senate were now alarmed, and from the oldest of their body selected the most moderate and popular to treat with the people. At their head was Menenius Agrippa[11], who after much entreaty addressed to them, and many arguments adduced in defence of the senate, concluded his discourse with the following celebrated fable: "The members of "the human body once mutinied against the belly, "and accused it of lying idle and useless, while they "were all labouring and ministering to satisfy it's "appetites; but the belly only laughed at their sim-"plicity, in not knowing that, though it received "all the nourishment into itself, it prepared and "distributed it again to every part of the body. "Just so, my fellow-citizens," said he, "stands the "case between the senate and you. For their ne-"cessary counsels and acts of government are pro-"ductive of advantage to you all, and distribute "their salutary influence among the whole people."

After this they were reconciled to the senate, having demanded and obtained the privilege of appointing five men[12] to defend their rights upon all occasions. These are called 'Tribunes of the people.' The first that were elected were Junius Brutus[13], and Sicinius Vellutus, the leaders of the secession. When the breach was thus repaired, the plebeians soon offered themselves to be enrolled as soldiers, and readily obeyed the orders of the consuls relative to the war. As for Marcius, though he was far from being pleased at the advantage which the people had gained, as it was a lessening of the authority of the patricians, and though he found a considerable part of the nobility of his opinion, yet he exhorted them not to be backward wherever the interest of their country was concerned, but to show themselves superior to the commonalty rather in virtue than in power [14].

---

[11] Menenius Agrippa, if we may trust Dion. Halic. (vi. 7.), who has given an account of this business with much detail, was not the first speaker upon the occasion, but Marcus Valerius. To him Lucius Junius made a fine harangue in reply, and was himself answered by Titus Lartius; whom Sicinius, to the great satisfaction of the people, interrupted. Menenius then, at the end of a tolerably long speech, introduced this celebrated apologue; and, as it produced the desired effect, it has engrossed the honour of all the eloquence previously employed.*

[12] The tribunes were at first five in number; but, a few years afterward, five more were added. Before the people left the *Mons Sacer,* they enacted a law, by which the persons of the tribunes were made sacred. Their sole function was, to interpose in all grievances offered to the plebeians by their superiors. This was called *intercessio*, and was performed by standing up and pronouncing the single word *Veto*, 'I forbid it.' They had their seats placed at the door of the senate, and were never admitted into it, but when the consuls summoned them to ask their opinion upon some affair that concerned the interests of the people.

[13] The name of this tribune was Lucius Junius; and, because Lucius Junius Brutus was celebrated for having delivered his

Corioli was the capital of the country of the Volsci, with whom the Romans were at war. And as it was now besieged by the consul Cominius, the rest of the Volsci were much alarmed, and assembled to succour it; intending to give the Romans battle under the walls, and to attack them on both sides. But after Cominius had divided his forces, and taking part to meet the Volsci without, who were marching against him, had left Titus Lartius, an illustrious Roman, with the other part to carry on the siege, the inhabitants of Corioli despised the latter body, and sallied out to fight them. The Romans were at first obliged to give ground, and were driven to their entrenchments. But Marcius with a small party flew to their assistance, killed the foremost of the enemy, and stopping the rest in their career with a loud voice called his countrymen back. For he was (what Cato wished a soldier to be) not only dreadful

---

country from the tyranny of the kings, he also assumed the surname of Brutus, which exposed him to a great deal of ridicule. (L.) Dion. Halic. (ib.) represents him as a very turbulent, very penetrating, and very fluent man.*

[14] M. Dacier thinks Marcius was too young, at this time, to give advice to a body of so much greater experience, especially as neither Livy nor Dion. Halic. mention his name throughout the whole of the disturbance: but M. Ricard sturdily supports his author, and refers to the latter historian (vi. 6.) in confirmation of his accuracy.*

for the thunder of his arm, but of his voice too, and had an aspect which struck his adversaries with dismay. Many Romans then crowding about him, and being ready to second him, the enemy retired in confusion. Neither was he satisfied with making them retire, but pressed hard upon their rear, and pursued them quite up to the gates. There he perceived that his troops discontinued the pursuit, on account of the shower of arrows which fell from the walls, and that none of them had any thoughts of rushing along with the fugitives into the city, which was filled with warlike people, all under arms: nevertheless he exhorted and encouraged them to press forward, crying out, "That fortune had opened the "gates rather to the victors than to the vanquished." As few however were willing to follow him, he broke through the enemy, and pushed into the town with the crowd, no one at first daring to oppose him or even to look him in the face. But when he cast his eyes around, and perceived so inconsiderable a number within the walls, of whose service he could avail himself in that dangerous enterprise, and that friends and foes were mixed together; he summoned all his force and performed exploits almost incredible, both with respect to heroic strength, amazing agility, and dauntless intrepidity of spirit: for he overpowered all that were in his way, forcing some to seek refuge in the farthest corners of the town, and others to surrender and throw down their arms, which afforded Lartius an opportunity of bringing in the rest of the Romans unmolested.

The city thus taken, most of the soldiers fell to plundering, which Marcius highly resented; crying out, "That it was a shame for them to run about "after plunder, or under pretence of collecting the "spoils to get out of the way of danger, while the "consul and the Romans under his command were "perhaps engaged with the enemy." But, as there were not many who listened to what he said, he put himself at the head of such as offered to follow him, and took the route which he knew would lead him to the consul's army; now pressing his small party to hasten their march, and conjuring them not to suffer their ardour to cool, and now begging of the gods that the battle might not be over before he arrived, but that he might have his share in the glorious toils and dangers of his countrymen [15].

It was customary with the Romans of that age, when they were drawn up in order of battle, and ready to take their shields and gird their garments about them, to make a nuncupative will, naming each his heir in the presence of three or four witnesses. While the soldiers were thus employed, with the enemy in sight, Marcius came up. Some were startled at his first appearance, covered as he was with blood and sweat. But when he ran cheerfully up to the consul, took him by the hand, and told him that Corioli was taken, the consul clasped him to his heart; and those who heard the intelligence of that success, and those who did but guess at it were greatly animated, and with shouts demanded to be led on to the combat. Marcius inquired of Cominius, in what manner the enemy's army was drawn up, and where their best troops were posted. Being told in reply, that the Antiates, who were placed in the centre, were supposed to be the bravest and most warlike; "I beg it of you then," said Marcius, "as a favour, that you will place me directly opposite to them:" and the consul, admiring his spirit, readily granted his request.

When the battle was begun with the throwing of spears, Marcius advanced before the rest, and charged the centre of the Volsci with so much fury, that it was soon broken. Nevertheless, the wings attempted to surround him; and the consul, alarmed for his safety, sent to his assistance a select band, which he had near his own person. A sharp conflict then ensued about Marcius, and a dreadful carnage was quickly made: but the Romans pressed the enemy with so much vigour, that they put them to flight; and as they were engaging in the pursuit, requested Marcius, now almost weighed down with wounds and fatigue, to retire to the camp. But he answered, "That it was not for conquerors to be "tired," and joined them in prosecuting the victory. The whole army of the Volsci was defeated, immense numbers killed, and many made prisoners.

---

[15] Livy, very unaccountably, does not say a single word upon this second action of Coriolanus, so much more glorious than the first: but Dion. Halic. (vi. 10.) gives it at full length.*

Next day, Marcius waiting upon the consul, and the army being assembled, Cominius mounted the Rostrum; and, having in the first place returned due thanks to the gods for such extraordinary success, addressed himself to Marcius. He began with a detail of his gallant actions, of which he had himself been partly an eye-witness, and had partly received an account from Lartius[16]. Then out of the great quantity of treasure and horses and prisoners which they had taken, he ordered him to take a tenth, before any distribution was made to the rest, beside giving him a fine horse with noble trappings, as a reward for his valour.

The army received this speech with loud applause; and Marcius, stepping forward, said, "That he accepted of the horse, and was happy in the consul's "approbation; but as for the rest, he accounted it "rather a pecuniary reward than a mark of honour, "and therefore desired to be excused, being satisfied with his single share of the booty. One favour "only in particular (continued he) I desire, and beg "I may be indulged in. I have a friend among the "Volsci, bound with me in the sacred rites of hos-

---

[16] The officer left to carry on the siege of Corioli. The renown of Marcius, arising from this achievement (Livy informs us, ii. 33.) was so brilliant, as wholly to eclipse that of the consul; and the name of Posthumius Cominius is only preserved by it's having been engraved on brass, in the treaty of peace subsequently concluded with the Latins.*

"pitality[17], and a man of virtue and honour. He "is now a prisoner, and from easy and opulent "circumstances reduced to servitude. Of the many "misfortunes, under which he labours, I should be "glad to rescue him from one, which is that of being "sold as a slave."

These words of Marcius were followed with still louder acclamations; his conquering the temptations of money being more admired, than the valour which he had exerted in battle. For even those, who before regarded his superior honours with envy and jealousy, now thought him worthy of great things because he had declined them; and were more struck with that virtue, which led him to despise such extraordinary advantages, than with the merit which gave him a title to them. The right use of riches, indeed, is more commendable than that of arms, and not to desire them at all is more glorious than to use them well.

When the acclamations had ceased, and the multitude were again silent, Cominius subjoined; "You "cannot, it is true, my fellow-soldiers, force these "gifts of yours upon a person so firmly resolved to "refuse them: let us then give him, what it is not "in his power to decline; let us pass a vote that "he be called 'Coriolanus,' if his gallant behaviour "at Corioli has not already bestowed that name upon "him." Hence came his third name of Coriolanus. By which it appears, that Caius was the proper name; that the second name, Marcius, was that of the house or family; and that the third Roman appellative was a peculiar note of distinction, subsequently bestowed on account of some particular act of fortune, or signature, or virtue of him that bore it. Thus among the Greeks additional names were given to some on account of their achievements, as *Soter*, 'the Preserver,' and *Callinicus*, 'the Victorious;' to others, for something remarkable in their persons, as *Physcon*, 'the Gorebellied,' and *Grypus*, 'the Eagle-nosed;' or for their good qualities, as *Euergetes*, 'the Benefactor,' and *Philadelphus*, 'the Brotherly;' or their good fortune, as *Eudæmon*, 'the Prosperous,' a name given to the second[18] prince of the family of the Batti. Several princes also have had satirical names bestowed upon them; Antigonus (for instance) was called *Doson*, 'the Man that will give to-morrow,' and Ptolemy was stiled *Lamyrus*, 'the Buffoon.' But appellations of this latter kind were used with greater latitude among the Romans. One of the Metelli was distinguished by the name of *Diadematus*, because he for a long time wore 'a bandage over an ulcer which he had upon his forehead:' and another they called *Celer*, because with surprising 'celerity' he exhibited a funeral show of gladiators, a few days after his father's death. In our times also, some of the Romans receive their names from the circumstances of their birth; as that of *Proculus*, if born when their fathers are 'in a distant country;' and *Posthumus*, if born 'after their death:' and when twins come into the world, and one of them dies at the birth, the survivor is called *Vopiscus*. Names are, also, appropriated on account of bodily imperfections; for among them we find not only *Sylla*, 'the Red,' and *Niger*, 'the Black;' but even *Cæcus*, 'the Blind,' and *Claudius*, 'the Lame:' such persons by this custom being wisely taught, not to consider blindness or any other bodily misfortune as a reproach or disgrace, but to answer to appellations of that kind as their proper names. The discussion of this point, however, is better adapted for a different kind of work.

---

[17] With the former translator we have thus rendered the passage instead of introducing the term 'host,' which is indeed the literal sense but sounds uncouthly in English, as it conveys to the unlearned reader the idea of an innkeeper. Among the ancients, one friend called another of a different nation his 'stranger,' or his 'host;' because on their travels, or other occasions, they entertained each other at their houses.

---

[18] Herodotus (iv. 159) says it was given to the third, and not to the second, king of Cyrene; see also some of his preceding sections. Of the names here mentioned, Ricard observes *Soter* was given to one of the Ptolemies, the eighth king of Egypt (called likewise Lamyrus, or as some read it, Lathyrus) to Antiochus, and to Demetrius; *Callinicus* to Seleucus II., the fourth king of Syria; *Physcon* to Ptolemy, the seventh king of Egypt; *Grypus* to Antiochus VIII., the nineteenth king of Syria; and *Euergetes* and *Philadelphus* to two others of the Ptolemies. On the etymology of several Roman surnames, see Plin. xviii. 3. The derivation and classification of English names, from analogous causes, might form the subject of a curious dissertation.*

When the war was over, the demagogues stirred up another sedition. And as there was no new cause of disquiet or ground of accusation, they made use of the mischiefs, which were the necessary consequence of the former troubles and dissensions, as a handle against the patricians. For the greatest part of the ground being left uncultivated and unsown, and the war not permitting them to import bread-corn from other countries, there was an extreme scarcity in Rome[19]. The factious orators then perceiving that corn was not brought to market, and that even if the market could be supplied, the commonalty had but little money to buy with, slanderously asserted that the rich had caused the famine out of a spirit of revenge.

At this juncture there arrived embassadors from the people of Velitræ, who offered to surrender their city to the Romans, and desired to have a number of new inhabitants to replenish it; a pestilential distemper having committed such ravages there, that scarcely the tenth part of the inhabitants remained. The sensible part of the Romans thought this pressing necessity of Velitræ a seasonable and advantageous thing for Rome, as it would lessen the scarcity of provisions. They hoped moreover that the sedition would subside, if the city were purged of the troublesome part of the people, who most readily took fire at the harangues of their orators, and might be considered as the morbid and disordered superfluity of the state. Such as these therefore the consuls singled out for the colony, and pitched upon others to serve in the war against the Volsci: contriving it so, that employment abroad might tranquillise the intestine tumults; and believing that when rich and poor, plebeians and patricians, came to bear arms together again, to be in the same camp, and to encounter the same dangers, they would be disposed to treat each other with more gentleness and candour.

---

[19] The people withdrew to the Sacred Mount soon after the autumnal equinox, and the reconciliation with the patricians did not take place until the winter-solstice, so that the seed-time was lost. (Dion. Halic. vii. 1, 2.) And the Roman factors, who were sent to buy corn in other countries, Etruria, Campania, the territory of the Volsci, and even Sicily, with the exception of the first, were generally unsuccessful (ib. 3.) See also Livy, ii. 34.

But the restless tribunes, Sicinius and Brutus, opposed both these designs, crying out, that the consuls disguised a most inhuman act under the plausible term of a colony; for inhuman it certainly was, to throw the poor citizens into a devouring gulf, by sending them to a place where the air was infected, and where noisome carcases lay above ground, to be at the disposal of a strange and cruel deity[20]. And as if it were not sufficient to destroy some by famine, and to expose others to the plague, they involved them also in a needless war; that no kind of calamity might be wanting to complete the ruin of the city, because it refused to continue in slavery to the wealthy.

The people, irritated by these speeches, would neither obey the summons to be inlisted for the war, nor approve the order to go and people Velitræ. While the senate were in doubt what step they should take, Marcius now not a little elated by the honours which he had received, by the consciousness of his great abilities, and by the deference that was paid him by the principal persons in the state, stood foremost in opposition to the tribunes. The colony therefore was sent out, heavy fines being imposed upon such as refused to go. But as they declared absolutely against serving in the war, Marcius mustered up his own clients, and as many volunteers as he could procure, and with these made an inroad into the territories of the Antiates. There he found plenty of corn, and an immense number of cattle and slaves, no part of which he reserved to himself, but led his troops back to Rome loaded with the rich booty. The rest of the citizens then repenting of their obstinacy, and envying those who had procured such a quantity of provisions, looked upon Marcius with an evil eye, not being able to endure the increase of his power and honour, which they considered as rising upon the ruins of the people.

---

[20] As such the ancients considered the pestilence. It is not only called, as M. Ricard observes, in the first chorus of Æd. Tyr. v. 190. Αρεα τον μαλερον, but in a preceding passage of that play, v. 27. ὁ πυρφορος θεος; and Dion. Halic. in very vivid colours portrays it's devastations in the Volscian cities, particularly in Velitræ (vii. 3.)*

Soon afterward [21], Marcius stood for the consulship; upon which occasion the commonalty began to relent, reflecting what a shame it would be to disgrace and reject a man of his family and virtue, and that too, after he had rendered so many signal services to the public. It was the custom for those who were candidates for this high office, to solicit and caress the people in the Forum, and at those times to be clad in a loose gown without the tunic; whether that humble dress were thought more suitable for suppliants, or enabled those who had wounds to show them, as so many tokens of their valour. For it was not from any suspicion which the citizens then had of bribery, that they required the candidates to appear before them ungirt and without a close garment, when they came to beg their votes; since it was much later than this, and indeed many ages afterward, that buying and selling stole in, and money came to be a mean of gaining an election. Corruption then reaching also the tribunals and the camps, arms were subdued by opulence, and the commonwealth was changed into a monarchy. It was a shrewd saying, whoever said it, "That the man, who "first ruined the Roman people, was he who first gave "them treats and gratuities." But this mischief crept secretly and gradually in, and did not openly make it's appearance in Rome for a considerable time. For we know not who it was, that first bribed it's citizens or it's judges; but it is said, that in Athens the first man who corrupted a tribunal was Anytus[22], the son of Anthemion, when he was tried for treason in having delivered up the fort of Pylos, at the latter end of the Peloponnesian war; a time, when the Golden Age reigned in the Roman courts in all it's simplicity.

---

[21] It was the next year, being Ol. lxxii. 3., B. C. 490.

When therefore Marcius showed his wounds and scars received in the many glorious battles, which he had fought for seventeen successive[23] years, the people were struck with reverence for his virtue, and agreed to choose him consul. But when the day of election came, and he was conducted with great pomp into the Campus Martius by the senate in a body, all the patricians acting with more zeal and vigour than had ever been known on the like occasion; the commons then altered their minds, and their kindness was turned into envy and indignation. The malignity of these passions was farther assisted by their apprehension, that if a man so strongly attached to the interests of the senate, and so much respected by the nobility, should attain the consulship, he might utterly deprive them of their liberty. Influenced by these considerations, they rejected Marcius, and appointed others to that office. The senate took this extremely ill, considering it as an affront not so much intended against Marcius as against themselves. As for Marcius, he highly resented their treatment of him, indulging his irascible passions upon a supposition, that they have something great and exalted in them; and wanting a due mixture of gravity and mildness, which are the chief political virtues, and the fruits of reason and education. He did not consider, that the man who applies himself to public business, and undertakes to have intercourse with men, should above all things avoid that 'austerity,' which (as *Plato* says) is "always the companion of solitude[24]," and cultivate in his heart the patience which some people so much deride. Marcius then, being plain and artless, but at the same time rigid and inflexible, was persuaded that to vanquish opposition was the highest attainment of a gallant spirit; not the effect of the weakness and effeminacy of a distempered mind, which breaks out in violent passions like so many tumours: and he therefore went away exasperated, and full of rancour against the people. Such of the young nobility as were most distinguished by the pride of birth and greatness of spirit, who had always been strongly attached to Marcius and then unfortunately happened to attend him, inflamed his resentment by expressing their own grief and indignation. For he was their leader in every expedition, and their instructor in the art of war: he it was, who had inspired them with a truly virtuous emulation, and taught them to rejoice in their own successes without envying those of others.

---

[22] Subsequently notorious for his accusation of Socrates. For the particulars of this trial see Diod. Sic. xiii. 65. See also a note in the Life of Alcibiades.*

[23] Here, as M. Ricard justly observes, are great chronological difficulties, with respect to the point whence these seventeen years, if indeed the interval be accurately expressed, are to be dated. He quotes Dion. Halic. vii. 6., who (as well as Livy, ii. 34.) by implication seems to carry back the first campaign of Coriolanus to the year, in which Tarquin was exiled and Brutus slain. This indeed gives 'ample verge and room enough.' But he must have entered the lists, both as a combatant and a candidate for the consulship, rather prematurely. M. R. owns, at last, that '*ces commencemens de l'histoire Romaine sont pleins de tant d'incertitudes, qu'on ne doit pas espérer d'éclaircir les obscurités qui s'y rencontrent.*'*

---

[24] ἡ δὲ αὐθάδεια ἐρημίᾳ ξύνοικος, literally, *Haughtiness lives under the same roof with solitude.* This is toward the end of Plato's fourth Letter. It is preceded by a fine political precept, viz. that 'the complaisance, which produces popularity, is the source of the greatest operations in government.'

In the mean time, a large quantity of bread-corn was brought to Rome, being partly bought up in Italy, and partly a present from Gelon king of Syracuse. The aspect of affairs appeared now to be encouraging, and it was hoped that with the scarcity the intestine broils would cease. The senate therefore being immediately assembled, the people stood in crowds without, waiting for the issue of their deliberations. They expected, that the market-rates for the corn that had been bought would be moderate, and that a distribution of that which was a gift would be made gratis; for there were some senators, who made a motion to that purport. But Marcius stood up, and severely censured those who spoke in favour of the commonalty, calling them 'demagogues' and 'traitors to the nobility.' He said, "They nourished to their own ultimate pre-
" judice the pernicious seeds of boldness and petu-
" lance, which had been sown among the populace,
" when they should rather have nipped them in the
" bud, and not have suffered the plebeians to
" strengthen themselves with the tribunitial power.
" That the people were now become formidable, gain-
" ing whatever point they pleased, and not doing
" any one thing against their inclination; so that, liv-
" ing in a sort of anarchy, they would no longer obey
" the consuls, nor acknowledge any superiors but
" those whom they called 'their own magistrates.'
" That the senators, who advised distributions to be
" made in the manner of the most democratical of the
" Grecian states, were encouraging the insolence
" of the rabble to the ruin of the constitution.
" For that they would not suppose they received
" such favours for the campaign which they had re-
" fused to make, or for the secessions by which
" they had deserted their country, or for the ca-
" lumnies which they had countenanced against the
" senate: but (continued he) they will think that
" we yield to them through fear, and grant them

" such indulgences by way of flattery; and as they " will expect to find us always equally complaisant, " there will be no end to their disobedience, no period to their turbulent and seditious practices. It " would, therefore, be perfect madness to take such " a step. Nay, if we are wise, we shall entirely " abolish the tribunes' office[24], which has annihilated " the power of the consulship, and divided the city " in such a manner, that it is no longer as formerly " one, but broken into two parts; which will never " knit again, or cease to vex and harass each other " with all the evils of discord[25]."

Marcius, haranguing to this purpose, inspired the young senators and almost all the men of fortune with his own enthusiasm, and they cried out that he was the only man in Rome, who had a spirit above the meanness of flattery and submission; yet some of the more aged foresaw the consequence, and opposed his measures. In fact, the issue was unfortunate. For the tribunes who were present[26], when they saw that Marcius would have a majority of voices, ran out to the people, loudly calling upon them to stand by their own magistrates, and give their best assistance. An assembly was then held in a tumultuary manner, in which the speeches of Marcius were recited, and the plebeians in their fury had nearly broken in upon the senate. The tribunes pointed their rage against Marcius in particular, by impeaching him in form, and sent for him to make his defence. But as he spurned the messengers, they went themselves, attended by the Ædiles, to bring him by force, and began to lay hands on him.

---

[24] The tribunes had lately procured a law, which made it penal to interrupt them, when they were haranguing the people.

[25] Plutarch has omitted the most aggravating passage in Coriolanus' speech, in which he proposed holding up the price of bread-corn as high as ever, in order to keep the people in dependence and subjection. (Dion. Halic. vii. 6.)

[26] They had been invited to the deliberation by the consul, for they had otherwise no right to attend. See not. (12.) and also Dion. Halic. ib.; who makes some very sensible remarks on the temerity of Coriolanus' speech.*

Upon this the patricians stood up in his defence, drove off the tribunes, and beat the Ædiles; till[27] night coming on interrupted the quarrel. Early next morning the consuls, observing that the people now extremely incensed flocked from all quarters into the Forum, and dreading what might be the consequence to the city, hastily convened the senate and moved, "That they should consider how with kind "words and favourable resolutions they might bring "the commons to temper; for that this was not a "time to display their ambition, neither would it be "prudent to pursue disputes about the point of honour at a critical and dangerous juncture, which "required the greatest moderation and delicacy of "conduct." As the majority agreed to the motion, they went out to confer with the people, and used their best endeavours to pacify them; coolly refuting calumnies, and modestly, though not without some degree of sharpness, complaining of their behaviour. As to the price of bread-corn and other provisions, they declared, there should be no difference between them.

A considerable part of the people being moved with this application, and clearly appearing by their candid attention ready to close with it, the tribunes stood up and said; "That since the senate acted "with such moderation, the people were not unwilling to make concessions in their turn: but "they insisted, that Marcius should come and "answer to these articles; Whether he had not "stirred up the senate to the confounding of all "government, and to the destroying of the people's "privileges? Whether he had not refused to obey "their summons? Whether he had not beaten and "otherwise mal-treated the Ædiles in the Forum; "and by these means (so far as in him lay) levied "war, and incited the citizens to take up arms

---

[27] Not night, says Dion. Halic., but the remonstrances of the consuls, who prevailed upon the people to adjourn the matter till the next day.*

"against each other?" These things they said with a design, either to humble Marcius by constraining him to submit to implore the people's clemency, which was much against his haughty temper; or, if he followed his native bent, to impel him to make the breach incurable. Of the latter they were in hopes, and the rather because they knew the man well. He stood, as if he would have made his defence, and the people waited in silence for what he had to say. But when, instead of the submissive language that was expected, he began with an aggravating boldness, and rather accused the commons than defended himself; when with the tone of his voice and the fierceness of his looks he expressed an intrepidity bordering upon insolence and contempt, they lost all patience; and Sicinius the boldest of the tribunes, after a short consultation with his collegues, pronounced openly, that the tribunes condemned Marcius to die. He then ordered the Ædiles to take him immediately up to the top of the Tarpeian rock, and throw him down the precipice. When they came to lay hands upon him, however, the action appeared horrible even to many of the plebeians. The patricians, deeply shocked and alarmed, ran with great outcries to his assistance, and got Marcius in the midst of them, some interposing to keep off the arrest, and others stretching out their hands in supplication to the multitude. But, amidst such disorder and confusion, no regard was paid to words and entreaties; until the friends and relations of the tribunes, perceiving that it would be impossible to carry off Marcius and punish him capitally, without first spilling much patrician blood, persuaded them to alter the cruel and unprecedented part of the sentence; not to use violence in the affair, or put him to death without form of trial, but to refer every thing to the people's determination in full assembly.

Sicinius then, a little mollified, asked the patricians; "What they meant by taking Marcius out "of the hands of the people, who were resolved to "punish him?" To which they replied by another question, "What do you mean by thus dragging "one of the worthiest men in Rome, without trial, "to a barbarous and illegal execution?" "If that "be all," said Sicinius, "you shall no longer have a "pretence for your quarrels and factious behaviour "to the people: for they grant you what you desire; "the man shall have his trial. And as for you, "Marcius, we cite you to appear the third market-"day, and satisfy the citizens of your innocence, if "you can; for then, by their suffrages, your affair "will be decided." The patricians were content with this compromise, and thinking themselves happy in carrying Marcius off, retired.

In the mean while before the third market-day, which was a considerable space (for the Romans hold their markets every ninth day[28], and thence call them *Nundinæ)* war broke out with the Antiates[29]: which, because it was likely to be of some continuance, gave them hopes of evading the trial; since there would be time for the people to become more tractable, to moderate their anger, or perhaps to let it entirely evaporate in the business of that expedition. But they soon made peace with the Antiates, and returned: upon which the fears of the senate were renewed, and they often met to consider how things might be so managed that they should neither give up Marcius, nor leave room for the tribunes to throw the people into new disorders. On this occasion Appius Claudius, who was considered as one of the most violent adversaries the commons had, declared; "That the senate "would ruin themselves, and absolutely destroy "the constitution, if they should once suffer the "plebeians to assume a power of suffrage against "the patricians[30]." But the oldest and most popular of the senators[31] were of opinion, "That the "people, instead of behaving with more harshness "and severity, would become mild and gentle, if "that power were indulged to them: since they "did not despise the senate, but rather thought "themselves despised by it; and the prerogative "of judging would be such an honour and satis"faction to them, that they would immediately lay "aside all resentment."

---

[28] Macrob. Sat. i. 16. *nundinæ,* qu. *novendiales.* Dion. Halic. however (vii 8.) says there were only seven days' interval between the market-days. M. Ricard reconciles the difference by referring the first to the Roman, and the latter to the Julian calendar. The institution of markets has likewise been variously explained; some ascribing it to Romulus, some to Servius Tullius, and some with Varro to the times posterior to the kings, as a tribute of respect on the part of the people to Tullius' memory.*

[29] Advice was suddenly brought to Rome, that the people of Antium had seized and confiscated the ships belonging to Gelon's embassadors in their return to Sicily, and had even imprisoned the embassadors themselves. Upon which, the Romans took up arms to chastise the Antiates; but they submitted, and made satisfaction.

Marcius then, seeing the senate perplexed between their regard for him and their fear of the people, asked the tribunes; "Of what they accused "him, and upon what charge he was to be tried "before the people?" Being told, "That he was to "be tried for treason against the commonwealth, in "designing to set himself up as a tyrant[32];" "Let "me go then (said he) to the people, and make my "defence: I refuse no form of trial, nor any kind "of punishment, if I be found guilty. Only bring "no other charge against me, and do not impose

---

[30] Dion. Halic. vii. 8. gives Appius' speech much more at length; and a fine speech, according to his representation, it is.*

[31] At the head of these was Max. Valerius. (Dion. Halic. ib.) He insisted also at large upon the horrible consequences of a civil war.

[32] It was never known that any person, who affected to set himself up as a tyrant, joined with the nobility against the people; such, on the contrary, always conspire with the people against the nobility. 'Besides,' said he, in his defence, 'it was to save these citizens, that I have received the wounds you see: let the tribunes show, if they can, how such actions are consistent with the treacherous designs which they lay to my charge.' (L.) Dion. Halic. ib. does not say, however, that the tribunes agreed to the conditions, as below stated.*

"upon the senate." The tribunes agreed to these conditions; and the cause was to turn upon this single point.

But the first thing they did, after the people were assembled, was to compel them to give their voices by tribes[33], and not by centuries; thus contriving that the meanest and most seditious part of the populace, and those who had no regard to justice or honour, might out-vote such as had borne arms, or were of some fortune and character. In the next place, they passed by the charge of his affecting the sovereignty, because they could not prove it; and in it's stead repeated what Marcius some time before had said in the senate, against lowering the price of corn and for abolishing the tribunitial power. And they added to the impeachment a new article, namely, his not having brought into the public treasury the spoils which he had taken in the country of the Antiates, but divided them among his soldiers[34]. This last accusation is said to have discomposed

---

[33] From the reign of Servius Tullius, the voices had been always gathered by Centuries. The consuls were for adhering to the ancient custom: being well apprised that they could save Coriolanus, if the voices were reckoned by centuries, of which the knights and the wealthiest of the citizens made the majority; the first class, of people of the highest distinction, containing ninety-eight out of a hundred and ninety-three, the amount of all the six. But the artful tribunes alleging that, in an affair relating to the rights of the citizens, every citizen's vote ought to have it's due weight, would not by any means consent to let the voices be collected otherwise than by tribes. (L.) Beside these comitia *centuriata* and *tributa*, there were also the *curiata*, established by Romulus, who divided the original inhabitants of Rome into three tribes, and each tribe into ten *curiæ* (Dion. Halic. ii. 3—5.) This arrangement subsisted till the time of Servius Tullius, who introduced the two other modes of collecting the sense of the people.*

[34] 'This,' said the tribune Decius, 'is a plain proof of his evil designs: with the public money he secured to himself creatures and guards, as supporters of his intended usurpation. Let him make it appear, that he had power to dispose of this booty without violating the laws. Let him answer directly to this one article, without dazzling us with the splendid show of his crowns and his scars, or using any other arts to blind the assembly.' (L.) It is surprising, as M. Ricard observes, that neither Coriolanus nor his friends adduced any of those reasons in his justification, which Dion. Halic. has accumulated, vii. 9. But the tumult of a mob is not of

Marcius more than all the rest; for it was what he did not expect, and he could not immediately think of a plausible answer that would satisfy the commonalty; his praises of those who made that campaign with him, serving only to raise an outcry against him from the majority, who were not concerned in it. At last, when they came to vote, he was condemned by a majority of three tribes, and the penalty to be inflicted upon him was perpetual banishment.

After the sentence was pronounced, the people were more elated, and went off in greater transports, than they had ever felt, on account of a victory in the field; the senate on the other hand were in the greatest distress, and grievously repented that they had not done and suffered every thing, rather than have allowed the people to acquire and abuse such an enormous power. There was no need at that time to look upon their dress, or any other mark of distinction, to know which was a plebeian and which a patrician; the man who exulted was a plebeian, and the man who was dejected a patrician.

Marcius alone remained unmoved, and unhumbled. Still lofty in his port and firm in his countenance, he alone amidst the afflicted nobility appeared not to be sorry for himself. This air of fortitude was not, however, the effect of reason or mildness or resignation, but arose from the buoyancy of indignation and resentment. And this, though the vulgar know it not, has it's rise from grief, which when it catches flame, is turned to anger, and then bids adieu to all feebleness and dejection. Hence the angry man is courageous, just as he who has a fever is hot, the mind being upon the stretch and in a violent agitation. His subsequent behaviour

---

the reasoning kind. M. Ricard has a long note upon the number of tribes, which voted on this occasion; and it was pretty well agreed, that they were twenty-one, divided into twelve and nine: but the difficulty is, to settle whether these were all the tribes then created, or part only of the thirty-five, to which they certainly at a later period amounted. See Liv. ii. 21.*

soon showed, that he was thus affected. For having returned to his own house and embraced his mother and his wife, who lamented their fate with shrieks and tears[35], he exhorted them to bear it with patience, and then conducted by the patricians in a body, hastened to one of the city-gates. Thus he quitted Rome, without asking or receiving aught at any man's hand; and took with him only three or four clients. He spent a few days in a solitary manner at some of his farms near the city, agitated with a thousand different thoughts, such as his anger suggested; in which he did not propose any honour or advantage to himself, but considered only how he might satisfy his revenge upon the Romans. At last he determined to excite a cruel war against them from some neighbouring nation; and for this purpose to apply first to the Volsci, whom he knew to be yet strong both in men and money, and likely to have derived more in exasperation and hostility, than to have lost in strength from their previous defeats.

There was then at Antium a man, Tullus Aufidius by name[36], highly distinguished among the Volsci by his wealth, his valour, and his noble birth. Marcius was very sensible, that of all the Romans he himself was the person, whom Tullus most hated. For excited by ambition and emulation, as young warriors usually are, they had in several engagements encountered each other with menaces and bold defiances, and thus had added personal enmity to the hatred which reigned between the two nations. But notwithstanding all this, considering the great generosity of Tullus, and knowing that he was more desirous than any of the Volsci of an opportunity to retaliate upon the Romans part of the evils, which his country had suffered, he took a method strongly illustrative of that saying of the poet;

---

[35] Dion. Halic. (vii. 11.) adds a circumstance of an affecting nature, which Plutarch ought not to have omitted; namely, that Coriolanus, before his departure, commended to his mother and his wife the care of his two children, of whom the elder was not more than ten years old, and the younger an infant. The trait of Astyanax, in Hector's interview with Andromache, is not the least beautiful one of that interesting picture.*

[36] In Bryan's text, it is Αμφιδιος. The Bodleian has it, without the μ, Αφιδιος. But Livy ii. 35., and Dion. Halic. viii. 1., call him 'Tullus Attius;' and with them an anonymous MS. agrees. Aufidius however, which is very near the Bodleian reading, has a Latin sound, and probably was what Plutarch meant to write.

> How hard to fight with wrath! though life's the price,
> He pays it for his end.

For dressing himself in such clothes and habiliments, as were most likely to prevent his being known, like Ulysses[37],

> He stole into the hostile town.

It was evening, when he entered; and, though many people met him in the streets, not one of them knew him. He passed on therefore to the house of Tullus, where he got in undiscovered; and, having directly made up to the fire-place[38], he seated himself without saying a word, covering his face and remaining in a composed posture. The people of the house were much surprised; yet they did not venture to disturb him, for there was something of dignity both in his person and his silence; but they went and related the strange adventure to Tullus, who was then at supper. Tullus upon this arose from table, and coming to Coriolanus, asked him, "Who he was, and upon what business he was "come?" Coriolanus uncovering his face paused a while and then said: "If thou dost not yet know "me, Tullus, but distrustest thine eyes, I must of "necessity be my own accuser. I am Caius Mar"cius, who have brought so many calamities upon

---

[37] Odyss. iv. 216., either (as the scholiast on the passage observes) to measure the wall of Troy, or to persuade Helen to co-operate with her countrymen the Greeks.*

[38] The fire-place, having the domestic gods in it, was esteemed sacred; and therefore all suppliants resorted to it, as to an asylum.

" the Volsci; and I bear the additional name of " Coriolanus, which would not suffer me, were I so " inclined, to deny that imputation. For all the " labours and dangers, which I have undergone, I " have no other reward left but that appellation, " which distinguishes my enmity to your nation, " and of which indeed I cannot be deprived. Of " every thing else I have been stripped by the envy " and outrage of the people on the one hand, and " by the cowardice and treachery of the magistrates " and those of my own order on the other. Thus " driven out an exile, I am come a suppliant to " your household-gods; not for shelter and protection (for why should I come hither, if I were " afraid of death?) but for vengeance against those " who have expelled me, which I already seem to " begin to take, by putting myself into your hands. " If therefore you are disposed to attack the enemy, " come on, brave Tullus, avail yourself of my misfortunes; let my personal distress be the common " happiness of the Volsci. You may be assured, I " shall fight much better for you, than I have " fought against you; because they, who know " perfectly the state of the enemy's affairs, are " much more capable of annoying them, than such " as do not know them. But if you have given " up all thoughts of war, I neither desire to live, " nor is it proper for you to preserve a person who " of old has been your enemy in the field, and is " in that case incapable of rendering you any kind " of service."

Tullus, highly delighted with this address, gave him his hand; and said " Rise, Marcius, and take " courage. The present, which you thus make of " yourself, is inestimable; and you may assure " yourself, that the Volsci will not be ungrateful." He then entertained him at his table with great kindness; and on the following days they consulted together about the war.

At that time Rome was in the utmost confusion on account of the animosity of the nobility against the commons, which was considerably heightened by the late condemnation of Marcius. Many interesting prodigies also were announced by private persons, as well as by the priests and soothsayers. One of which was as follows: Titus Latinus[39], a man of no high rank but of remarkable modesty and candour, free from superstition and much more from vain pretences to what was extraordinary, had this dream. Jupiter, he thought, appeared to him, and ordered him to tell the senate, "That they had "provided him a very bad and disagreeable leader "of the dance in the sacred procession." Upon seeing this vision, he said, he paid at first but little regard to it. It was presented a second and a third time, and he neglected it: upon which he lost a son of the highest promise, and was himself suddenly struck in such a manner, as to be deprived of the use of all his limbs. These particulars he related in the senate-house, being carried thither on his couch for that purpose. And he had no sooner made an end, than he perceived (as they tell us) his strength return, and rose up and walked home without assistance.

The senate were much surprised, and made a strict inquiry into the affair; from which it appeared, that a certain householder had delivered up one of his slaves, who had been guilty of some offence, to his other servants, with an order to whip him through the market-place, and then put him to death. While they were executing this order and scourging the wretch, who writhed himself through the violence of pain into various postures[40], the procession happened to come up. Many of the people who composed it were fired with indignation, for the sight was excessively disagreeable and shocking to humanity, yet nobody gave him the least assistance; only curses and execrations were vented against the man, who punished with so much cruelty. For, in those times, they treated their slaves with great mildness and moderation; and this was natural, because they worked, and even ate with them. It was deemed a heavy punishment for a slave who had committed a fault to take up the piece of wood, used to support the thill of a waggon, and carry it round the neighbourhood. For he, who was thus exposed to the derision of the family and other inhabitants of the place, entirely lost his credit, and was stiled *Furcifer;* the Romans calling by the name of *furca*, what the Greeks term *hypostates*, that is, 'a supporter.'

---

[39] Livy calls him 'T. Latinius,' or 'Tib. Atinius;' Lactant. Div. Inst. ii. 8., and Val. Max. i. 7., 'T. Atinius;' and Macrob. Sat. i. 11. 'Atronius' or 'Acronius' Maximus. Cicero, De Div. i. 26., gives him no name at all.*

[40] According to Dion. Halic., the master had given orders that the slave should be punished at the head of the procession, to render the ignominy the more notorious; which was a still greater affront to the deity, in whose honour the procession was made.

When Latinus had given the senate an account of his dream, and they were doubting who 'this bad and disagreeable leader of the dance' might be, the excessive severity of the punishment reminded some of them of the slave, who had been whipped through the market-place, and subsequently put to death. All the priests agreeing, that he must be the person meant, his master had a severe punishment imposed, and the procession and games were exhibited anew in honour of Jupiter[41]. Hence it appears, that Numa's religious institutions in general are very wise, and that this in particular is highly conducive to the purposes of piety; namely, that when the magistrates or priests are employed in any sacred ceremony, a herald should go before and proclaim aloud, *Hoc age*, i.e. "Be attentive to this:" thus commanding every body to regard the solemn acts of religion, and not to suffer any business or avocation to intervene and disturb them; as well knowing, that men's attention is seldom fixed, except by a sort of violence and constraint.

---

[41] With increased magnificence, Dion. Halic. vii. 13., Liv. ii. 37.*

But it is not only in so important a case, that the Romans begin anew their sacrifices, their processions, and their games: they do it for very small matters. If one of the horses that draw the chariots called *Thensæ*[42], in which are placed the images of the gods, happened to stumble, or if the charioteer took the reins in his left hand, the whole procession was to be repeated. And in later ages they have set about one sacrifice thirty several times, on account of some defect or inauspicious appearance in it. Such reverence have the Romans ever paid to the Supreme Being.

In the mean time Marcius[43] and Tullus held secret conferences with the principal Volsci, in which they exhorted them to begin the war, while Rome was torn in pieces with factious disputes; but a sense of honour restrained some of them from breaking the truce, which had been concluded for two years. The Romans however furnished them with a pretence for it, having through some suspicion or false suggestion caused proclamation to be made at one of the public shows or games, that all the Volsci should quit the town before sun-set. Some[44] say that this was a stratagem contrived by Marcius, who suborned a person to go to the consuls, and accuse the Volsci of a design to attack the Romans during the games, and to set fire to the city. This proclamation exasperated the whole Volscian nation against the Romans; and Tullus, greatly aggravating the affront[45], at last persuaded them to send to Rome, to demand that the lands and cities which had been taken from them in the war should be restored. The senate having heard what the embassadors had to say, answered with indignation, "That the Volsci might be the first to "take up arms, but the Romans would be the last "to lay them down." Upon this, Tullus summoned a general assembly of his countrymen, whom he advised to send for Marcius; and forgetting all past injuries, to rest satisfied that the service which he would render them, as now their ally, would far exceed all the damage which they had received from him, while he had been their enemy.

---

[42] Liv. v. 41. These Thensæ were a kind of sacred vehicle ('*des espèces de brancards*,' R.) used for the purpose of conveying to the Circus the images of the gods.*

[43] See Dion. Halic. viii. 1., who assigns to Coriolanus an affectation, at least, of seeking some plausible pretext for commencing the war. With his disposition he would not, probably, be very scrupulous upon the subject.*

[44] *Ut domi compositum cum Marcio fuerat.* Liv. ii. 37. Dion. Halic. still more expressly states, what Livy here strongly insinuates. But Plutarch's tenderness for his hero induces him to slur these authoritative names under an Ενιοι δε φασιν.*

[45] 'We alone,' said he, 'of all the different nations now in

Marcius accordingly was called in, and made an oration[46] to the people; who finding that he knew how to speak as well as to fight, and that he excelled in capacity as well as courage, joined him in commission with Tullus, and invested both with absolute power. As he was afraid that the Volsci would spend much time in preparation, and thus lose a favourable opportunity for action, he left it to the magistrates and other principal persons in Antium to provide troops, and whatever else was necessary; while he himself[47], without making any set levies, took a number of volunteers, and with them over-ran the Roman territories before any one in Rome expected it. There he collected so much booty, that the Volsci found it difficult to carry it off, and consume it in the camp. But the immense quantity of provisions which he seized, and the

---

Rome, are not thought worthy to see the games. We alone, like the profanest wretches and outlaws, are driven from a public festival. Go, and announce in all your cities and villages the distinguishing mark, which the Romans have put upon us.' (L.)

The re-demanding of the lands and cities, however, was suggested by Coriolanus.*

[46] This oration is given by Dion. Halic. at great length, and deserves the character here bestowed upon it.*

[47] Tullus at the same time, by way of diversion, made a similar incursion into the Latin territory, and with equal success. Dion. Halic. viii. 2.*

damage which he did the enemy by committing such spoil, was the least part of his service in this expedition. The chief point, which he had in view in the whole matter, was to increase the people's suspicions of the nobility. For while he ravaged the whole country, he scrupulously spared the lands of the patricians, and did not suffer them to be ravaged or plundered in any respect. Hence the ill opinion, which the two parties entertained of each other, and consequently the troubles, grew greater than ever: the patricians accusing the plebeians of having unjustly driven out one of the bravest men in Rome; and the plebeians reproaching them with having brought Marcius upon them to indulge their revenge, and with sitting secure spectators of what others suffered by the war, while the war itself was a guard to their lands and subsistence. Marcius having thus effected his purpose, and inspired the Volsci with courage not only to meet, but even to despise the enemy, drew off his party without having sustained any injury.

The Volscian forces, in the mean time, having assembled with much expedition and alacrity, appeared so considerable, that it was thought proper to leave part to garrison their towns, while the rest marched against the Romans. Coriolanus giving it to the option of Tullus which corps he would command, Tullus observed that as his collegue was not at all inferior to himself in valour, and had hitherto fought with better success, he thought it most advisable for him to lead the army into the field; while he himself stayed behind, to provide for the defence of the towns, and to supply the troops which were engaged in the campaign with every thing necessary[48].

---

[48] It would have been very imprudent in Tullus to have left Coriolanus, who had been an enemy, and might now possibly be only a pretended friend, at the head of an army in the bowels of his country, while he himself was marching at the head of another against Rome.

Marcius, strengthened still more by this division of the command, marched first against Circeii[49], a Roman colony; and, as it surrendered without resistance, he would not suffer it to be plundered. After this, he laid waste the territories of the Latins; expecting that the Romans would hazard a battle for the Latins, who were their allies, and by frequent messengers called upon them for assistance. But the commons of Rome showed no alacrity in the affair; and the consuls, whose office was now nearly expired, were not willing to incur such a risk, and therefore rejected their request. Marcius then turned his arms against Tolerium, Labici, Pedum, and Bola, cities of Latium, which he took by assault: and because they made resistance, he sold the inhabitants as slaves, and plundered their houses. At the same time, he was particularly careful of such, as voluntarily came over to him; and, that they might not sustain any damage against his wish, he always encamped and kept himself at the greatest distance from them he could.

He afterward took Bollæ, which is little more than twelve miles from Rome, where he put to the sword almost all that were of age to bear arms, and got much plunder. The rest of the Volsci, who were left as a safeguard to the towns, had now no patience to remain at home any longer; but ran with their weapons in their hands to Marcius, declaring that they would acknowledge no other leader or general. His name, and his valour, were renowned through Italy: and all were astonished that one single person's changing sides could effect so prodigious an alteration in affairs.

---

[49] For the right terminations of this, and other towns soon afterward mentioned, see Liv. ii. 39. Plutarch calls the town 'Circæum.' His error is much greater, when a little below he writes 'Clœliæ' instead of 'Cluiliæ.' (L.) With regard to the doubtful readings, and indeed somewhat obscure geography of this passage, I shall preserve no more of what M. Ricard has collected from Dion. Halic. viii. 3., and various parts of Livy, &c., than what relates to 'Bollæ;' and that only for the sake of stating that it should probably be read Βοιλλαι, and be thus made to correspond more closely with Bovillæ on the Via Appia, at nearly the assigned distance from Rome.

At Rome, every thing was in disorder. The Romans refused to fight, and passed their time in cabals, seditious speeches, and mutual complaints; until intelligence was brought that Coriolanus had laid siege to Lavinium, where the holy symbols of the gods of their fathers[50] were placed, and whence they derived their original, that being the first city which Æneas had built. A wonderful and universal change of opinion then appeared among the people, and a very strange and absurd one among the patricians. The people were desirous to annul the sentence against Marcius, and to recal him to Rome; but the senate, being assembled to deliberate on that point, finally rejected the proposition: either out of a perverse humour of opposing whatever measure the people espoused; or perhaps unwilling, that Coriolanus should owe his return to the favour of the people; or finally having conceived some resentment against him for harassing and distressing all the Romans, when he had been injured only by a part, and for showing himself an enemy to his country, of which he knew the most respectable class of inhabitants had both sympathised with him and shared in his ill-treatment. This resolution being announced to the commons[51], it was not in their power to vote or to pass a bill; as, to such a procedure, a decree of the senate was an indispensable preliminary.

---

[50] Originally brought from Troy. See the Life of Romulus, Vol. I. p. 89. not. (84.)*

[51] Perhaps the senate now refused to comply with the demands of the people, either to clear themselves from the suspicion of having maintained a correspondence with Coriolanus, or possibly out of that magnanimity which made the Romans averse from peace, whenever they were attended with ill success in war.

Upon this, Coriolanus was still more exasperated; so that, quitting the siege of Lavinium [52], he marched in great fury toward Rome, and encamped only five miles from it, at the Fossæ Cluiliæ. The sight of him caused extreme terror and confusion; but, for the present, it appeased the sedition; for neither magistrate nor senator durst any longer oppose the people's desire to recal him. When they saw the women running up and down the streets, and the supplications and tears of the aged men at the altars of the gods; when all spirit was gone, and salutary councils were no more; they acknowledged that the people were right in endeavouring to be reconciled to Coriolanus, and that the senate were under a great mistake, in beginning to indulge the passions of anger and revenge, at a time when they ought to have renounced them. They all therefore agreed to send embassadors to Coriolanus to offer him liberty to return, and to implore him to put an end to the war. Those that went on the part of the senate, being all either relations or friends of Coriolanus [53], expected at the first interview much kindness from a man, who was thus connected with them. But it happened quite otherwise; for, being conducted through the Volscian ranks, they found him seated in council with a number of high officers, and with an insufferable appearance of austerity. He then bade them declare their business, which they did in a very modest and humble manner, as became the state of their affairs.

When they had finished, he answered them with much bitterness and high resentment of the injuries done him; and, as general of the Volsci, insisted "That the Romans should restore all the cities and

---

[52] He left a body of troops to continue the blockade. Dion. Halic. viii. 4.

[53] Their names were Marcus Minucius, Posthumius Cominius, Spurius Largius, Publius Pinarius, and Quintus Sulpicius. Dion. Halic. has given us a fine speech made by Minucius upon the occasion, as well as Coriolanus' reply.*

" lands, which they had taken in the former wars, " and should grant by decree the freedom of the " city to the Volsci, as they had done to the " Latins: for that no lasting peace could be made " between the two nations, but upon these fair " and equal conditions." He gave them thirty days, to consider of them: and, having dismissed the embassadors, immediately retired from the Roman territories.

Several of the Volsci, who for a long time had envied his reputation, and been uneasy at the interest which he had with the people, availed themselves of this circumstance to calumniate and reproach him. Tullus himself was of the number. Not that he had received any particular injury from Coriolanus; but he was led away by a passion too natural to man. It caused him pain to find his own glory obscured, and himself entirely neglected by the Volsci, who looked upon Coriolanus as their supreme head, and thought that others might well be satisfied with that portion of power and authority, which he thought proper to allow them. Hence, secret hints were first whispered, and in their private cabals his enemies expressed their dissatisfaction, giving the name of treason to his retreat. For though he had not betrayed their cities or armies, yet (they said) he had traitorously given up time, by which these and all other things are both won and lost. He had allowed them a respite of no less than thirty days [54], knowing their affairs to be so embarrassed, that they required such a space to their re-establishment.

---

[54] So Dacier paraphrases *ȣ μειζονας, καθ' εν ελαττονι χρονῳ λαμβανειν μεταβολας*, and his paraphrase seems nearest the sound of the Greek. But the text is manifestly corrupted, and it is not easy to restore the true reading. Perhaps the Latin translation, as published by Bryan, has the sense intended by Plutarch. It is to this effect, 'when greater changes (than were necessary in this case) might happen in a less space of time.' But, to justify that translation, the Greek should run as follows: *οτε μειζονας εν ελαττονι χρονω εδυνατο (sc. πολεμος) λαμβανειν μεταβολας.* M. Ricard has adopted the sense assigned in the text.

Coriolanus, however, did not spend those thirty days in idleness. Within that interval he harassed the enemy's allies[55], laid waste their lands, and took seven great and populous cities. The Romans did not venture to send them any succours. They were as spiritless, and as little disposed to the war, as if their bodies had been relaxed and benumbed with the palsy.

When the term was expired, and Coriolanus returned with all his forces, they sent a second embassy; “ To implore him to lay aside his resentment, to draw off the Volsci from their territories, and then to proceed as should seem most conducive to the advantage of both nations. For that the Romans would not give up any thing through fear: but, if he thought it reasonable that the Volsci should be indulged in some particular points, those should be duly considered, when they had laid down their arms.” Coriolanus replied, “ That as general of the Volsci, he would give them no answer; but, as one who was still a citizen of Rome, he would advise and exhort them to entertain humble thoughts, and to come within three days with a ratification of the just conditions which he had proposed. At the same time, he assured them that, if their resolutions should be of a different nature, it would not be safe for them to venture any more into his camp with empty words.”

The senate, having received the report of the embassadors, considered the commonwealth as ready to sink in the waves of a dreadful tempest, and therefore cast the last, the ‘ sacred anchor[56],’ as it is called. They ordered all the priests of the gods, the ministers and guardians of the mysteries, and all who according to the ancient usage of their country practised divination by the flight of birds, to proceed to Coriolanus in their robes, with the ensigns which they bore in the duties of their office, and exert their utmost endeavours to persuade him to desist from the war, and then to treat with his countrymen upon articles of peace for the Volsci. When they came, he did indeed vouchsafe to admit them into the camp; but he showed them no other favour, nor gave them any milder answer than what the others had received: "He bade them," in short, "either accept his former proposals, or "prepare for war."

---

[55] By this he prevented the allies of the Romans from assisting them, and guarded against the charge of treachery, which some of the Volsci were ready to bring against him. (Dion. Halic.)

[56] This, I believe, our sailors would call ‘ the sheet-anchor,’ and the French (who, *vocabulis tenus*, are skilful sailors) ‘ *la maîtresse ancre* :’ the subordinate ones with us are the best-bower, the small-bower, &c. St. Chrysostom, in his fourth Homily on Lazarus,

When the priests returned, the Romans resolved to keep close within the city, and to defend the walls; intending only to repulse the enemy, should they attack them, and placing their chief hopes on the accidents of time and fortune, as they knew of no resource within themselves. The city was full of confusion, and terror, and unhappy presages. At last, something happened similar to what is often mentioned by Homer, but which men in general are little inclined to believe. For, when on occasion of any great and uncommon event he says,

> Pallas inspired that counsel[57];

And again,

> But some immortal power, who rules the mind,
> Changed their resolves;

And elsewhere,

> ——The thought spontaneous sprung,
> Or by some god inspired[58];

they despise the poet, as if, for the sake of absurd

---

finely calls conscience 'the sacred anchor of man,' intended to preserve him amidst the storms of passion.*

[57] Odyss. xviii. 157.

[58] Ib. ix. 339.

notions and incredible fables, he endeavoured to take away our liberty of will. A thing, of which Homer never dreamed: for whatever happens in the ordinary course of things, and is the usual effect of deliberation, he often ascribes to our own powers; as,

——My own great mind
I then consulted[59];

And in another place,

Achilles heard with grief, and various thoughts
Perplex'd his mighty mind[60];

Once more,

——————But she in vain
Tempted Bellerophon: the noble youth
With wisdom's shield was arm'd.

And in extraordinary and wonderful actions, which require some supernatural impulse and enthusiastic movement, he never introduces the Deity as taking away, but as rousing into action the freedom of the will. He does not represent the heavenly Power as producing the resolution, but ideas which lead to the resolution; thereby rendering the act in no respect involuntary, but giving occasion to such as are voluntary, and superadding confidence and good hope of accomplishment. For either the Supreme Being must be excluded from all causality and influence upon our actions, or it must be confessed that this is the only way in which he assists and co-operates with man: since it is not to be supposed that he fashions our corporeal organs, or directs the motions of our hands and feet to the purposes which he designs; but that by certain motives and ideas, which he suggests, he either excites or on the other hand checks and restrains the active powers of the will[61].

---

[59] Odyss. xviii. 299.

[60] Il. i. 188.

The Roman women were then dispersed in the several temples, but the chief and most illustrious part of the matrons were making their supplications at the altar of Jupiter Capitolinus. Among the last was Valeria the sister of the great Publicola, a person who had rendered the Romans the most considerable services both in peace and war. Publicola, as we have related in his Life, died some time before; but Valeria still survived in the highest esteem, for her conduct did honour to her high birth. This woman discerning, by some divine impulse, what would be the best expedient, rose and called upon the other matrons to attend her to the house of Volumnia, the mother of Coriolanus. When she entered, and found her sitting with her daughter-in-law, and with the children of Coriolanus on her lap, she approached her with her female companions, and spoke to the following effect: “ We address our-
“ selves to you, Volumnia and Vergilia, as women
“ to women, without any decree of the senate or
“ order of the consuls. But our god, we believe,
“ lending a merciful ear to our prayers, put it in
“ our minds to apply to you; and to entreat you to
“ do what will not only be salutary to us and the
“ other citizens, but more glorious for you, if you
“ hearken to us, than the reducing of their fathers
“ and husbands from mortal enmity to peace and
“ friendship was to the daughters of the Sabines.
“ Come then, go along with us to Coriolanus: join
“ your instances to ours; and bear a true and ho-
“ nourable testimony to your country, that though
“ she has received the deepest injuries from him,
“ she has yet neither done nor meditated any thing
“ against you in her anger, but restores you safe

---

[61] Plutarch represents the divine assistance as ‘ a moral influence,’ prevailing (if it does prevail) by rational motives. And the best Christian divines describe it in the same manner.

" into his hands, though perhaps she may not obtain any better terms for herself on that account."

When Valeria had thus spoken, the rest of the women joined her request. Volumnia gave them this answer: " Beside the share which we have in " the general calamity, we, my friends, have our " particular infelicity; since Marcius' glory and " virtue are lost to us, and we behold his person " guarded rather than protected by the arms of our " enemies. But it is a still greater misfortune to " us, if our country is become so weak, as to have " need to repose her hopes upon us. For I know " not whether he will have any regard for us, since " he has had none for his country, which he used " to prefer to his mother, his wife, and his children. " Take us, however, and make what use of us you " please. Lead us to him. If we can do nothing " else, we can expire at his feet in supplicating for " Rome[62]."

She then took the children and Vergilia with her[63], and went with the other matrons to the Volscian camp. The sight of them produced, even in the enemy, compassion and a reverential silence. Coriolanus, who at that time happened to be seated upon the tribunal with his principal officers, seeing the women approach, was greatly surprised. Nevertheless, he endeavoured to retain his purposed inflexibility of temper, though he perceived that his wife was at their head. Unable however to resist the emotions of affection, he could not suffer them to approach him as he sat: but descended from the tribunal, and running to meet them, embraced first his mother for a considerable time[61], and afterward his wife and his children; neither refraining from tears, nor any other proof of natural tenderness, but wholly surrendering himself to the impetuous torrent of his feelings.

---

[62] These speeches are given by Dion. Halic., as usual, in a more detailed manner. The mother of Coriolanus indeed, according to this historian, does not immediately comply, but yields at length to the reiterated entreaties of her patriotic countrywomen.*

[63] Valeria first gave advice of this design to the consuls; and they proposed it in the senate, where after long debates it was sanctioned by the fathers. Upon which, Veturia and the most illustrious of the Roman matrons, in chariots provided by the consuls and amidst the acclamations of the senators and the whole people, took their way to the enemy's camp.

When he had sufficiently indulged his passion, and perceived that his mother wished to speak, he called the Volscian counsellors to him, and Volumnia expressed herself to the following purpose: "You see, "my son, by our attire and our miserable looks, "and therefore I may spare myself the trouble of "declaring, to what condition your banishment has "reduced us. Think within yourself, whether we "are not the most unhappy of women, when fortune has changed the spectacle, that should have "been the most pleasing in the world, into the "most dreadful; when Volumnia beholds her "son, and Vergilia her husband, encamped in a "hostile manner before the walls of his native city. "And what to others is a principal consolation under misfortune and adversity, I mean prayer to "the gods, to us is rendered impracticable: for we "cannot at the same time implore victory for our "country, and your preservation; but what our "worst enemies would imprecate upon us as a curse, "must of necessity be interwoven with our prayers. "Your wife and children must either behold their "country, or you, perish. As to my own part, I "will not live to see this war decided by fortune.

---

[64] This and other marks of filial affection and respect, shown by Coriolanus to his mother, which constitute amidst all his military glories the finest part of his character, are recorded by Dion. Halic. viii. 6., and by Livy ii. 40. Both these historians agree with Plutarch, in making his mother the speaker upon this occasion: and the speeches which they have drawn up, and which are well worth perusing, accurately characterise their respective authors; exhibiting the concise vehemence of Livy, the more affecting but somewhat tedious and tautological diffusion of Dion. Halic., and the intermediate eloquence of Plutarch, which preserves the softness of the latter without his prolixity, and by it's deviations from the former gains more in pathos than it loses in energy.*

" If I cannot persuade you to prefer friendship and " union to enmity and it's ruinous consequences, " and so to become a benefactor to both sides, rather than the destruction of one of them; reflect " upon this, and prepare to expect it, that you shall " not advance against your country, without trampling upon the dead body of her who bore you. " For it does not become me to wait for that day, " when my son shall be either led captive by his " fellow-citizens, or triumph over Rome. If indeed " I desired you to save your country by ruining the " Volsci, I confess the case would be hard, and the " choice difficult: for it would neither be honourable to destroy your countrymen, nor just to betray those, who have placed their confidence in " you. But what do we desire of you, more than " deliverance from our own calamities? A deliverance which will be equally salutary to both " parties[65], but most to the honour of the Volsci; " since it will appear that their superiority empowered them to grant us the greatest of blessings, " peace and friendship, while they themselves receive the same. If these take place, you will be " acknowledged to be the chief cause of them; if " they do not, you alone must expect to bear the " blame from both nations. And though the chance " of war is uncertain, yet the certain event of this " will be that, if you conquer, you will be a destroying dæmon to your country; if you are beaten, " it will be obvious that by indulging your resentment, you have plunged your friends and benefactors into the deepest misfortunes."

Coriolanus listened to his mother, while she went on with her speech, without saying the least word to her; and Volumnia, seeing him stand a long time mute after she had ceased speaking, proceeded again in this manner, " Why are you silent, my son? Is " it an honour to yield every thing to anger and re-

---

[65] She begged a truce for a year, that within that time measures might be taken for settling a solid and lasting peace.

"sentiment, and would it be a disgrace to yield to "your mother in so important a petition? Or does "it become a great man to remember the injuries "done to him; and would it not equally become a "great and good man, with the highest regard and "reverence to keep in mind the benefits, which he "has received from his parents? Surely you, of all "men, should take care to be grateful, who have "suffered so extremely by ingratitude. And yet, "though you have already severely punished your "country, you have not made your mother the least "return for her kindness. The most sacred ties "both of nature and religion, without any other "constraint, require that you should indulge me in "this just and reasonable request; but, if words "cannot prevail, this only resource is left." Saying this, she threw herself at his feet, together with his wife and children; upon which Coriolanus crying out, "O mother! what is it you have done?" raised her from the ground, and tenderly pressing her hand, continued, "You have gained a victory "fortunate for your country, but ruinous to me[66]. "I go, vanquished by you alone." Then, after a short private conference with his mother and wife, he sent them back to Rome, agreeably to their desire. Next morning he drew off the Volsci, who entertained different sentiments upon what had passed. Some blamed him: others, whose inclinations were for peace, found no fault: others again, though they disliked what was done, did not look upon Coriolanus as a bad man, but thought him excusable in yielding to such irresistible solicitations. None however presumed to contradict his orders, though they followed him rather out of veneration for his virtue, than regard to his authority.

The sense of the dreadful and dangerous circumstances, in which the Roman people had been involved by the war, never appeared so strong as when they were delivered from it. For no sooner did they perceive from the walls, that the Volsci were drawing off, than all the temples were opened and filled with persons crowned with garlands, and offering sacrifice as for some great victory. But in nothing was the public joy more evident, than in the affectionate regard and honour which both the senate and people paid to the women, whom they considered and announced as the certain instruments of their preservation. Nevertheless, when the senate decreed [67] that, whatever they thought would contribute most to their glory and gratification, the consuls should take care to see it done, they only desired that a temple might be built to ‘ the Fortune of Women :’ the expense of which they offered to defray themselves, requiring the commonwealth to be at no other charge than that of sacrifices, and such a solemn service as was suitable to the majesty of the gods. The senate, though they commended their generosity, ordered the temple and shrine to be erected at the public charge [68]: but the women contributed their money notwithstanding, and with it provided another image of the goddess, which on being set up in the temple, as the Romans report, uttered these words; “ O women! acceptable to the gods “ is this your gift [69].”

---

[66] He well foresaw, that the Volsci would never forgive him the favour, which he was about to show to their enemies.

This voice, they fabulously affirm, was repeated twice, thus offering to our faith things, which appear impossible. We will not deny indeed that images may have sweated, shed abundant tears, and emitted drops like blood. For wood and stone often contract a mouldiness, which produces moisture; and not only exhibit many different colours themselves, but receive variety of tinctures from the ambient air: at the same time there is no reason, why the Deity may not make use of these signs to announce things to come. It is also very possible, that a sound like that of a sigh or a groan may proceed from a statue, by the rupture or violent separation of some of the interior parts: but that an articulate voice and expression so clear, full, and perfect, should issue from a thing inanimate, is altogether inconceivable. For neither the soul of man, nor even God himself, can utter vocal sounds and pronounce words, without an organised body and parts fitted for utterance. Wherever then history asserts such things, and bears us down with the testimony of many credible witnesses, we must conclude that some impression not unlike that of sense influenced the imagination, and produced the belief of a real sensation; as in sleep we seem to hear when we do not hear, and to see when we do not see. As for those persons, who are possessed with such a strong sense of religion that they cannot reject any thing of this kind, they found their faith on the wonderful and incomprehensible power of God. For there is no kind of resemblance between him and a human being, either in his nature, his operations, his wisdom, or his power. If therefore he performs something which we cannot effect, and executes what with us is impossible, there is nothing in this contradictory to reason; since, though he differs greatly from us in every thing, yet the dissimilitude and distance between him and ourselves appears much the greatest in the works which he has wrought. But "the knowledge of many things divine," as Heraclitus affirms, "escapes us through want of faith [70]."

---

[67] It was decreed, that an encomium of those matrons should be engraven on a public monument. Dion. Halic.

[68] It was erected on the *Via Latina*, about four miles from Rome, on the very place where Veturia had overcome the obstinacy of her son. (Val. Max. i. 8.) Valeria, who had proposed so successful a deputation, was the first priestess of this temple, which was much frequented by the Roman women. (Id., and Liv. ii. 40.)

[69] Dion. Halic. viii. 7., not satisfied with relating this prodigy, demands credit for it, as being recorded in the Commentaries of the High-Priests, the only historians of the early ages of Rome, (Cic. de Orat. ii. 12.)*

---

[70] Surely this passage should induce us to acquit Plutarch of the charge of superstition. When he reports these prodigies, he does

When Coriolanus returned after this expedition to Antium, Tullus, who both hated and feared him, resolved to have him immediately assassinated; being persuaded that, if he missed this, he should not find such another opportunity. He first therefore collected and prepared a number of accomplices, and then summoned Coriolanus to divest himself of his authority, and give an account of his conduct to the Volsci. Dreading the consequence of being reduced to a private station, while Tullus, who had so great an interest with his countrymen, remained in power, he answered that if the Volsci required it he would resign his commission, and not otherwise, since he had accepted it at their common request; but that he was ready even then to give an account of his behaviour, if the citizens of Antium would have it so. Upon this, they met in full assembly; and some of the orators, who were prepared for it, endeavoured to exasperate the populace against him. But when Coriolanus stood up, the violence of the tumult abated, and he had liberty to speak; the best part of the people of Antium, and those who were most inclined to peace, appearing ready to hear him with candour, and to pass sentence upon him with equity. Tullus was then afraid, that he would make but too good a defence: for he was an eloquent man, and the former advantages, which he had procured for the nation, outweighed his present offence. Nay, the very impeachment was a clear proof of the magnitude of the benefits, which he had conferred upon them. For they would never have thought themselves injured, in not conquering Rome, if they had not been near taking it through his means. The conspirators, therefore, judged it prudent not to wait any longer, or to try the multitude; and the boldest of their faction, crying out that a traitor ought not to be heard, or suffered by

---

it in deference to the manners of the times, of which he writes; and, if he does not always accompany his narrative with reflexions of this kind, it is most probably to avoid the imputation of tautology.)*

the Volsci to act the tyrant and refuse to lay down his authority, rushed upon him in a body, and killed him on the spot[71]; not one, that was present, lifting a hand to defend him. It was soon evident, however, that this was not done with the general approbation: for they assembled from several cities to give his body an honourable burial[72], and adorned his monument with arms and spoils, as became a distinguished warrior and general.

When the Romans were informed of his death, they showed no sign either of favour or of resentment[73]. Only they permitted the women, at their request, to go into mourning for ten months, as they used to do for a father, a son, or a brother; this being the longest term for mourning allowed by Numa Pompilius, as we have stated in his Life.

---

[71] Dion. Halic. says, they stoned him to death. (L.) His account of this whole affair agrees with that of Plutarch, except that he says the skirmishing between Tullus and Coriolanus continued several days. Cicero (de Clar. Orat. x.) favours the opinion, that he died by his own hand; he subjoins, however, *etsi aliter est apud te, Attice, &c.**

[72] They dressed him in his general's robes, and laid his corpse on a magnificent bier, which was carried by such young officers, as had been most distinguished for their martial exploits. Before him were borne the spoils which he had seized from the enemy, the crowns which he had gained, and the plans and models of the cities which he had taken. In this order his body was laid upon the pile, while several victims were slain in honour to his memory. When the pile was consumed, they gathered up his ashes, which they interred on the spot, and erected there a magnificent monument. According to this story, Coriolanus was slain Ol. lxxiii. 1., A. U. C. 266., and eight years after his first campaign; but Livy, after stating that accounts differed, ii. 40., informs us (from Fabius Pictor, a very ancient author) that he lived, till he was extremely old; and that in the decline of life he was wont to say, 'A state of exile is more uncomfortable to an old man, than to any other.' We cannot, however, think that Coriolanus grew old among the Volsci. Had he done so, his counsels would have preserved them from ruin; and, after Tullus was slain, he would most probably have restored their affairs and have procured their admission to the rights and privileges of Roman citizens, in the same manner as the Latins.

[73] This is surely a more probable account, than that of the usually accurate Dion. Halic., who says that the Romans went into general mourning upon the occasion, and that for the five ensuing centuries he was the universal theme of praise: an exception at least must be allowed toward the close of that period, in the instance of Cicero, who says *Impiè Coriolanus, qui auxilium petiit à Volscis.* (Ep. ad Att. ix. 10.)*

The Volsci had quickly occasion to regret the loss of Marcius. For first in a dispute with the Æqui, their friends and allies, whether of the two nations should furnish a general to their armies, they proceeded to blows, and a number were killed and wounded; and afterward coming to a battle with the Romans, in which they were defeated, and Tullus with the flower of their army perished, they were compelled to accept very disgraceful conditions of peace, by which they were reduced to the obedience of Rome, and obliged to receive such terms as the conquerors chose to allow.

ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS

COMPARED.

HAVING now given a detail of all the actions of these two great men, which we thought worthy to be known and remembered, we may perceive at one glance that as to their military exploits the balance is nearly even. For both gave extraordinary proofs of courage as soldiers, and of prudence and capacity as commanders-in-chief: though perhaps some may think Alcibiades the more complete general, on account of his many successful expeditions by sea as well as by land. But this is common to both, that when they had the command and fought in person, the affairs of their country infallibly prospered, and as infallibly declined when they went over to the enemy.

As to their behaviour in point of government, if the licentiousness of Alcibiades, and his compliances with the humour of the populace, were abhorred by the wise and sober part of the Athenians; the proud and forbidding manner of Coriolanus, and his excessive attachment to the patricians, were equally detested by the Roman people. In this respect, therefore, neither of them is to be commended; though he who avails himself of popular arts, and shows too much indulgence, is less blameable than he who, to avoid the imputation of obsequiousness, treats the people with severity. It is, indeed, disgraceful to attain power by flattering them; but, on the other hand, to pursue it by terrifying and injuring and oppressing them, is not only disgraceful but unjust.

That Coriolanus had an openness and simplicity of manners, is a point beyond dispute, whilst Alcibiades in the proceedings of his administration was crafty and deceitful. The latter has been most blamed for the trick by which, as Thucydides informs us, he imposed upon the Lacedæmonian embassadors, and renewed the contest. Yet this stroke of policy, though it plunged Athens again in war, rendered the alliance with the Mantineans and Argives, which was brought about by Alcibiades, much stronger and more respectable. And was not Coriolanus likewise chargeable with a falsity, in stirring up the Romans (as Dionysius states) against the Volsci, by loading the latter with an infamous calumny, when they went to see the public games? The cause, too, makes this action the more criminal: for it was not by ambition, or a rival spirit in politics, that he was influenced, as Alcibiades had been; but he did it to gratify his anger, "a passion which," as Dion[74] observes, "is ever ungrateful to it's votaries." He thus disturbed the greatest part of Italy, and in his quarrel with his country destroyed many cities, which had never done him any injury.

---

[74] Or, as Reiske (without just reason, however) would read, 'Ion' the tragic poet, who is often quoted by Plutarch. No such saying indeed, M. Reiske remarks, is elsewhere recorded of the Dion of Syracuse, either by our author or by other writers.*

Alcibiades, it must be confessed, was the author of many evils to the Athenians; but he was easily reconciled to them, when he found that they repented. Nay, when he was driven a second time into exile, he could not bear with patience the blunders committed by the new generals, nor behold with indifference the dangers to which they were exposed; but pursued the same conduct, for which Aristides is so highly extolled with respect to Themistocles. He went in person to those generals who, he knew, were not his friends, and pointed out and explained to them what steps it was proper for them to take. Whereas Coriolanus directed his revenge against the whole commonwealth, though he had not been injured by the whole, but the best and most respectable part both suffered and sympathised with him. And subsequently, when the Romans endeavoured to make satisfaction for that single grievance by many embassies and with much submission, he was not in the least pacified or conciliated; but appeared determined to prosecute a cruel war, not in order to procure his recal or return to his native country, but to conquer and to ruin it. It may indeed be granted, that there was this difference in the case: Alcibiades returned to the Athenians, when the Spartans, who both feared and hated him, intended privately to despatch him. But it would not have been so honourable in Coriolanus to desert the Volsci, who had showed him the utmost kindness, appointed him general with full authority, and reposed in him the highest confidence: very differently treated in this respect from Alcibiades, who was abused to their own purposes, rather than used by the Lacedæmonians; and who, after having been tossed about in their city and their camp, was at last obliged to put himself into the hands of Tisaphernes. But perhaps he made his court to the Persian[75], in order to prevent the utter ruin of his country, to which he was desirous to return.

---

[75] For he prevented Tisaphernes from assisting the Spartans with all his forces. He thus, at once, served the Athenians and the Persians. For it was undoubtedly the interest of the Persians to

History informs us, that Alcibiades often took bribes, which he lavished again with equal discredit upon his vicious pleasures; while Coriolanus refused to receive even what the generals, under whom he served, would have bestowed upon him with honour. Hence the behaviour of the latter was the more detested by the people, in the disputes about debts; since it was not with a view to advantage, but out of contempt and by way of insult, as they thought, that he bore so hard upon them.

Antipater in one of his Epistles, where he speaks of the death of Aristotle the philosopher, observes; "That great man, beside his other extraordinary "talents, had the art of insinuating himself into "the affections of those, with whom he conversed." For want of this talent, the illustrious actions and virtues of Coriolanus were odious even to those who received the benefit of them, and who notwithstanding could not endure 'that overbearing austerity' which, as Plato says, is "always the companion of solitude." But as Alcibiades on the other hand knew how to treat those, with whom he conversed, with an engaging civility, it is no wonder that the glory of his exploits flourished in the favour and honourable regard of mankind, since his very faults had occasionally their grace and elegance. Hence it was that, though his conduct was often very prejudicial to Athens, he was still frequently appointed commander-in-chief; while Coriolanus, after many heroic achievements. with the best pretensions sued for the consulship, and lost it. The former deserved to be hated by his countrymen, and was not; the latter was not beloved, though at the same time he was admired.

We should moreover consider, that Coriolanus

---

preserve the two leading powers of Greece in a condition to annoy each other, and in the mean time to reap the advantage themselves.

performed no considerable services, while he commanded the armies of his country, though for the enemy against his country he did; but that Alcibiades, both as a soldier and a general, effected great things for the Athenians. While among his fellow-citizens, Alcibiades was superior to all the attempts of his enemies, though their calumnies prevailed against him in his absence; whereas Coriolanus was condemned by the Romans, though present to defend himself, and was at length assassinated by the Volsci, against all rights indeed human and divine. Nevertheless, he afforded them a colour for what they did, by granting to the entreaties of the women that peace, which he had refused to the application of the embassadors; thus leaving the enmity between the two nations and the grounds of the war entire, and losing a very favourable opportunity for the Volsci. For surely he would not have drawn off his forces without the consent of those, who had committed them to his conduct, if he had sufficiently regarded his duty to his employers.

If however, without considering the Volsci in the least, he consulted his own resentment alone in stirring up the war, and put a period to it again when that was satisfied, he should not have spared his country on his mother's account, but have spared her with it; for both his mother and his wife made a part of his native city, which he was besieging. But inhumanly to reject the application and prayers of the embassadors and the petition of the priests, and then to consent to a retreat in deference to his mother, was not doing her honour, but bringing disgrace upon his country; as unworthy to be saved for its own sake, and saved only in compassion and condescension to a woman. For the favour was invidious, and so far from being engaging, that in fact it savoured of cruelty, and consequently was unacceptable to both parties. He retired, without being won by the supplications of those with whom he was at war, and without having won the consent of those for whom he undertook it.

The cause of all which was the austerity of his manners, and the arrogance and inflexibility of his mind, things hateful enough to the people at all times; but, when united with ambition, savage and intolerable. Persons of his temper, as if they had no need of honours, neglect to ingratiate themselves with the multitude, and yet are excessively chagrined when those honours are withheld. It is true, neither Metellus, nor Aristides, nor Epaminondas was pliant to the people's honour, or could submit to flatter them; but then they had a thorough contempt of every thing, which the people could either give or take away: and when they were banished, or upon any other occasion miscarried in the suffrages, or were condemned in large fines, they nourished no anger against their ungrateful countrymen, but were satisfied with their repentance and reconciled to them at their request. And surely he, who is sparing in his assiduities to the people, can but with an ill grace think of revenging any slight, which he may suffer: for extreme resentment, founded on disappointment in a pursuit of honour, must be the effect of an excessive desire of it.

Alcibiades, for his part, readily acknowledged that he was charmed with honours, and that he was very uneasy at being neglected; and therefore he endeavoured to recommend himself to those, among whom he lived, by every engaging art in his power. But the pride of Coriolanus would not permit him to make his court to those, who were capable of conferring honours upon him; while at the same time his ambition filled him with indignation and regret, when they passed him by. This, then, is the blameable part of his character; all the rest is eminently glorious. In point of temperance and disregard of riches, he is fit to be compared with the most illustrious examples of integrity in Greece; not with Alcibiades, who in this respect was the most profligate of men, and had the least regard for every principle of decorum.

THE LIFE OF TIMOLEON.

SUMMARY.

State of Sicily, previously to Timoleon's arrival. The Carthaginians make a descent upon the island, and the Sicilians send to Corinth for succours. The Corinthians determine to despatch troops to their assistance, under the command of Timoleon. His noble birth, character, and bravery. He takes a part in the destruction of his brother, who had usurped the government of Corinth. Different opinions upon the subject. He resolves to spend his life in retirement. Reflexions on the effects of excessive grief. Icetes' treachery occasions the hurrying of the succours. Presuges of their success. Icetes endeavours to mislead Timoleon, who finds himself much perplexed. He eludes the Carthaginians, and disembarks his forces. Is distrusted by the Syracusans, and other inhabitants of Sicily. Gains an advantage over Icetes. Adranum opens it's gates to him, and Dionysius gives up to him the citadel of Syracuse. Dionysius is sent to Corinth. His many remarkable sayings. Timoleon receives a reinforcement: incurs considerable danger. The garrison in the citadel are reduced to great extremities. Icetes goes to besiege Catana; but is recalled by intelligence of the capture of the Achradina. Timoleon gets possession of Messina, and marches to Syracuse. Magon is surprised, and withdraws. Syracuse taken by storm. The citadel, and all that had been the property of the tyrant destroyed. Re-establishment of the liberty of Sicily. A fresh attempt of the Carthaginians upon that island: Opposed by Timoleon, who encourages his drooping forces. The Carthaginian numbers. Timoleon attacks them in crossing a river: is fa-

voured by a storm; and gains a complete victory. He sends the spoils to Corinth. The Carthaginians despatch additional forces to Sicily. Proofs of the favour, in which Timoleon is held by the gods. Icetes renews the war; but is taken, and killed. Timoleon reduces the rest of the Sicilian tyrants; the gratitude of Sicily. Timoleon compared with the great men of his age. Re-establishes himself at Syracuse: loses his sight in old age. His honours, death, and monument.

THE affairs of the Syracusans, before Timoleon was sent into Sicily, were in the following posture: Dion, having driven out Dionysius the tyrant, was soon assassinated; those, who had participated with him in delivering Syracuse, were divided among themselves; and the city, which only changed one tyrant for another, was oppressed with so many miseries, that it was almost desolate[1]. As for the rest of Sicily, the wars had made part of it quite a desert, and most of the towns that remained were held by a confused mixture of barbarians and soldiers, who having no regular pay were ready for every change of government.

Such being the state of things, Dionysius, in the tenth year after his expulsion, having collected a body of foreigners drove out Nysæus[2] then master of Syracuse, restored his own affairs, and re-established himself in his dominions. Thus he, who had been unaccountably stripped by a small body of men of the greatest power that any tyrant ever possessed, still more unaccountably from a beggarly fugitive became the master of those, by whom he had been expelled. Every one therefore, who remained in Syracuse, became slaves to a tyrant at all times of an ungentle nature, and at that time in particular exasperated by his misfortunes to a degree of savage ferocity. But the best and most considerable of the citizens having retired to Icetes, prince of the Leontines[3], put themselves under his protection, and chose him for their general. Not, that he was better than the most avowed tyrants; but they had no other resource: and they were willing to repose some confidence in him, as being of a Syracusan family, and having an army able to cope with that of Dionysius.

---

[1] Upon the death of Dion, who had expelled Dionysius the Younger from Syracuse, Ol. cv. 4., B. C. 357., his murtherer Callippus usurped the supreme power; but after ten months he was driven out, and slain with the same dagger, which he had planted in the breast of his friend. Hipparinus, the brother of Dionysius, arriving with a numerous fleet possessed himself of the city of Syracuse, and held it for the space of two years. Syracuse and all Sicily being thus divided into parties and factions, Dionysius the Younger, who had been driven from the throne, naturally took advantage of these troubles. Diod. Sic. x., &c.

[2] Nysæus was a man of high military character, and had been commander-in-chief under Dionysius.*

In the mean time, the Carthaginians appearing before Sicily with a large fleet, and being likely to avail themselves of the disordered state of the island, the Sicilians struck with terror determined to send an embassy into Greece, to beg assistance of the Corinthians: not only on account of their kindred to that people[4], and the many services which they had received from them on former occasions; but because they knew that Corinth was always a patroness of liberty and an enemy to tyrants, and that she had engaged in many wars, not from a motive of ambition or avarice, but to maintain the freedom and independence of Greece. Upon this Icetes, whose intention in accepting the command had been not so much to deliver Syracuse from it's tyrants, as to set up himself there in the same capacity, entered into a private negociation with the Carthaginians; while in public he commended the design of the Syracusans, and despatched embassadors along with theirs into Peloponnesus. Not that he was desirous of obtaining succours from that quarter, but he hoped that if the Corinthians, on account of the troubles of Greece[5] and their engagements at home should (as it was likely enough) decline sending any, he might the more easily incline the balance to the side of the Carthaginians, and then make use of their alliance and co-operation, either against the Syracusans or their present tyrant. That such were his views, a little time discovered.

---

[3] These people inhabited a city (*hod.* Leontini) situated not far to the N. of Syracuse, between the rivers Lissus and Ferias (*hod.* Lisso, and Fiume di San Leonardo) and originally built by the Chalcidians of Naxus in Sicily. The surrounding countries, called *Campi Leontini* or *Læstrygonii*, were celebrated for their fertility.*

[4] The Syracusans were a colony from Corinth, founded by Archias the Corinthian (the year following the foundation of Naxus by the Chalcidians) Ol. xii. 1., A. C. 732. The rest of Sicily had been planted with Phœnicians and other 'barbarians,' as the Grecians called them, above three hundred years before.

When the embassadors arrived and their business was known, the Corinthians, always accustomed to give particular attention to the concerns of their colonies, and especially to those of Syracuse, having fortunately nothing to molest or employ them in their own country, readily passed a vote that the succours should be granted. The next thing to be considered was, who should be general: when the magistrates put in nomination such, as had endeavoured to distinguish themselves in the state: but one of the plebeians stood up and nominated Timoleon, the son of Timodemus, who as yet had never concerned himself in the business of the commonwealth, and was so far from hoping or wishing for such an appointment, that it seemed some god had inspired his proposer with the thought; with such indulgence did fortune immediately promote his election, and so much did her favour afterward signalise his actions, and add lustre to his valour!

---

[5] Occasioned by the encroachments and intrigues of Philip, king of Macedon.*

His parentage was noble on both sides, for his father Timodemus[6] and his mother Demariste were of the best families in Corinth. His love of his country was remarkable, and so was the mildness of his disposition, except that he bore an extreme hatred to tyrants and wicked men. His natural abilities for war were so happily tempered, that as an extraordinary prudence was seen in the enterprises of his younger years, so an undaunted courage distinguished his declining age. He had an elder brother, named Timophanes, who resembled him in nothing; being rash and indiscreet of himself, and utterly corrupted besides through a passion for sovereignty infused into him by some of his profligate acquaintance, and certain foreign soldiers whom he had always about him. He appeared to be impetuous in war and to court danger, which gave his countrymen such an opinion of his courage and activity, that they frequently entrusted him with the command of the army. And in these matters Timoleon much assisted him, by entirely concealing or at least extenuating his faults, and setting off and magnifying the good qualities which nature had given him.

In a battle between the Corinthians and the troops of Argos and Cleone[7], Timoleon happened to serve among the infantry, when Timophanes, at the head of the cavalry, was brought into extreme danger; for his horse, being wounded, threw him amidst the enemy. Upon this, part of his companions were frightened and presently dispersed: and the few who remained, having to sustain the attack of numbers, with difficulty stood their ground. Timoleon, seeing what had occurred, ran to his assistance, and covered him as he lay with his shield; and, after having received abundance of darts, and many strokes of the sword upon his body and his armour, by great efforts repulsed the enemy, and saved his brother.

---

[6] Timenetus, says Diod. Sic. xvi. 65. From this historian it appears, that Timoleon was already eminent as a general, and at the head of the Corinthian administration.*

[7] The last village of Argolis, on the side of Corinth.*

Some time after this, the Corinthians apprehensive that their city might be surprised through some treachery of their allies, as it had been previously resolved to keep on foot four hundred mercenaries, gave the command of them to Timophanes. But he, having no regard to justice or honour, soon entered into measures to subject the city to himself; and, having put to death a number of the principal inhabitants without form of trial, declared himself it's absolute sovereign. Timoleon deeply concerned at this, and accounting the treacherous proceedings of his brother his own misfortune, went to expostulate with him, and endeavoured to persuade him to renounce this mad and unfortunate ambition, and to bethink himself how to make his fellow-citizens some amends for the crimes which he had committed. But as he rejected his single admonition with disdain, he returned a few days afterward, taking with him a kinsman named Æschylus, brother to the wife of Timophanes, and a certain soothsayer a friend of his, whom Theopompus calls Satyrus, but Ephorus and Timæus mention by the name of Orthagoras. These three, standing round him, earnestly implored him yet to listen to reason, and change his mind. Timophanes at first laughed at them, and subsequently gave way to a violent passion: upon which Timoleon stepped aside, and stood weeping with his face covered, while the other two drew their swords, and despatched him in a moment[8].

---

[8] Diod. Sic. (xvi. 10.) in the circumstances of this fact, differs from Plutarch. He informs us that, Timoleon having killed his brother in the market-place with his own hand, a great tumult arose among the citizens. To appease this tumult, an assembly was convened; and in the height of their debates the Syracusan embassadors arrived, demanding a general; upon which, they unanimously agreed to send Timoleon; but first informed him that, 'if he discharged his duty there well, he should be considered as

The matter being soon generally known, the principal and most valuable part of the Corinthians extolled Timoleon's detestation of wickedness, and that magnanimity which, notwithstanding the gentleness of his heart and his affection to his relations, had led him to prefer his country to his family, and justice and honour to self-interest. While his brother fought valiantly for his country, he had saved him; and slain him, when he treacherously enslaved it. Those who knew not how to live in a democracy, and had been used to make their court to men in power, pretended indeed to rejoice at the tyrant's death; but at the same time reviling Timoleon as guilty of a horrible and impious deed, they created him extreme uneasiness. When he heard how heavily his mother bore it, and that she uttered the most dreadful wishes and imprecations against him, he went to excuse it, and to console her: but she could not endure the thought of seeing him, and ordered the doors to be shut against him. He then became entirely a prey to sorrow, and attempted to put an end to his life by abstaining from all kinds of food. In these unhappy circumstances, his friends did not abandon him. They even added force to their entreaties, till they prevailed upon him to live. He determined, however, to live in solitude; and accordingly withdrew from all public affairs, and for some years did not so much as approach the city; but wandered about the most gloomy parts of his grounds, a victim to melancholy. Thus the judgement, if it borrows not from reason and philosophy sufficient strength and steadiness for action, is easily unsettled and depraved by any casual commendation or dispraise, and departs from it's own purposes. For an action should not only be just and laudable in itself, but the principle, from which it proceeds,

---

one who had killed a tyrant; if not, as the murtherer of his brother.' (L.) Plutarch's account, however, appears the more probable one, and is supported by other authorities.*

should be firm and immoveable, in order that our conduct may have the sanction of our own approbation. Otherwise, upon the completion of any undertaking, we shall through our own weakness be filled with sorrow and remorse, when the splendid ideas of honour that led us to perform it, vanish; just as the glutton is soon cloyed with the luscious viands, which he had devoured with too keen an appetite. Repentance tarnishes the best actions; whereas purposes grounded upon knowledge and reason never change, though they may happen to be disappointed of success. Hence it was that Phocion of Athens, having vigorously opposed the proceedings of Leosthenes[9] (which, notwithstanding, turned out much more happily than he expected) when he saw the Athenians offering sacrifices and elated with their victory, told them: "He was glad of their success, "but if it was to do over again, he should give the "same counsel." Still stronger was the answer which Aristides the Locrian, one of Plato's intimate friends, gave to Dionysius the Elder, when he demanded one of his daughters in marriage; "I had "rather see the virgin in her grave, than in the "palace of a tyrant." And when Dionysius soon afterward put his son to death, and then insolently asked him; "What he now thought, as to the dis-"posal of his daughter?" "I am sorry," said he, "for what you have done, but I do not repent of "what I said." It is only a superior and more accomplished virtue, however, which can attain such heights as these.

As for Timoleon's extreme dejection in consequence of the late fact, whether it proceeded from regret of his brother's fate or from the reverence which he bore his mother, it so shattered and impaired his spirits, that for almost twenty years he was concerned in no important or public affair.

When therefore he was nominated general, and readily accepted and elected by the people, Teleclides, a man of the greatest power and reputation in Corinth, exhorted him to behave well, and to exert a generous valour in the execution of his commission: "For," said he, "if your conduct be good, we shall "consider you as the destroyer of a tyrant; if bad, "as the murtherer of your brother[10]."

---

[9] See the Life of Phocion.

While Timoleon was assembling his forces and preparing to set sail, the Corinthians received letters from Icetes, which plainly discovered his revolt and treachery. For his embassadors were no sooner set out for Corinth, than he openly joined the Carthaginians and acted in concert with them, in order to expel Dionysius from Syracuse, and usurp the tyranny himself. Fearing likewise that he should lose his opportunity, by the speedy arrival of the army from Corinth, he wrote to the Corinthians to acquaint them, "That there was no occasion for "them to put themselves to trouble and expense, or "to expose themselves to the danger of a voyage to "Sicily; particularly, as the Carthaginians would "oppose them, and were looking out for their ships, "with a numerous fleet: and that indeed, on ac"count of the slowness of their motions, he had "been forced to engage those very Carthaginians "to assist him against the tyrant."

If any of the Corinthians before were cold and indifferent as to the expedition, upon the reading of these letters they were all so incensed against Icetes, that they readily supplied Timoleon with whatever he wanted, and united their endeavours to expedite his sailing.

When the fleet was equipped and the soldiers provided with all that was necessary, the priestesses of Proserpine had a dream, in which that goddess and her mother Ceres appeared to them in a travelling garb, and told them, "That they intended to "accompany Timoleon into Sicily." Upon this the Corinthians equipped[11] a sacred galley, which they called 'the Galley of the Goddesses.' Timoleon himself went to Delphi, where he offered sacrifice to Apollo; and, upon his descending into the place where the oracles were delivered, met with the following strange occurrence: A wreath, embroidered with crowns and pictures of victory, slipped down from among the offerings which were there hung up, and fell upon Timoleon's head, so that Apollo himself seemed to send him crowned to the enterprise.

---

[10] This version is preserved for the sake of it's perspicuity; but in strictness it is rather a version of Diodorus Siculus, than of Plutarch. The former accurately distinguishes the deed, according to it's moral complexion, by the two terms τυραννοκτονια and ἀδελφοφονια: the latter uses the word [illegible] for both.*

He had seven ships of Corinth, two of Corcyra[12], and a tenth fitted out by the Leucadians, with which he put to sea. It was in the night that he set sail, and was making his way with a prosperous breeze; when on a sudden the heavens seemed to be rent asunder, and to pour upon his ship a bright and spreading flame, which soon formed itself into a torch, such as is used in the Sacred Mysteries, and having conducted them through their whole course brought them to that quarter of Italy, for which they designed to steer. The soothsayers declared, that this appearance perfectly agreed with the dream of the priestesses; and that, by this light from heaven, the goddesses showed themselves interested in the success of the expedition; particularly, as Sicily was sacred to Proserpine; it being fabled that her rape happened there, and that the island was bestowed upon her as a nuptial gift[13].

The fleet, thus encouraged by tokens of the divine favour, speedily crossed the sea and made the coast of Italy. But the news brought thither from Sicily much perplexed Timoleon, and disheartened his forces. For Icetes having beaten Dionysius in a set battle[14], and taken great part of Syracuse, had by a line of circumvallation shut up the tyrant in the citadel and that part of the city which is called 'the Island,' and besieged him there. At the same time he ordered the Carthaginians to take care, that Timoleon should not land in Sicily; hoping, when the Corinthians were driven off, without farther opposition to share the island with his new allies. The Carthaginians accordingly despatched twenty of their galleys to Rhegium[15], in which were embassadors from Icetes to Timoleon charged with proposals, quite correspondent to the rest of his proceedings; for they were nothing but specious and artful words, invented to give a colour to his treacherous designs. They were to make an offer, "That Timoleon might, if he thought proper, go "and assist Icetes with his counsel and share in his "successes: but that he must send back his ships "and troops to Corinth, since the war was almost "concluded, and the Carthaginians were deter"mined to prevent their passage, and ready to repel "force with force."

---

[11] Or, as Diod. Sic. (ib. 66.) more probably states, gave that name to one of those already equipped.*

[12] *Mod.* Corfu I., known in Homer's time as the residence of the Phæacians. Leucadia, a peninsula in the neighbourhood, was chiefly distinguished by it's celebrated promontory (of Leucate) called 'the Lovers' Leap.'*

[13] The bridegroom made a present to the bride upon the third day after the wedding, when according to the modesty of those ancient times, she first appeared without a veil; for which reason the present was called ανακαλυπτηριον.

The Corinthians then, as soon as they arrived at Rhegium, meeting with this embassy and seeing the Carthaginians riding at anchor near them, were vexed at the insult; a general indignation was expressed against Icetes, and fear for the Sicilians, whom they plainly saw left as a prize to reward Icetes for his treachery, and the Carthaginians for having assisted him in establishing his tyranny. And it seemed impossible for them to get the better, either of the barbarians who were watching them with double their number of ships, or of the forces of Icetes, which they had expected would have put themselves under their command.

---

[14] Icetes, finding himself in want of provisions, withdrew from the siege of Syracuse toward his own country; upon which Dionysius marched out, and attacked his rear. But Icetes facing about defeated him, killed three thousand of his men, and pursuing him into the city got possession of part of it. Our author observes a little below that Syracuse, being divided by strong walls, was as it were an assemblage of cities. (L.) The embassadors, it appears from Diod. Sic. xvi. 66—68., were not on board the twenty galleys mentioned below, but had previously been despatched to Metapontum, where Timoleon had landed.*

[15] *Hod.* Reggio in Calabria, on the straits of Messina.*

Timoleon upon this occasion, coming to an interview with the embassadors and the Carthaginian commanders, mildly replied, "He would submit to "their proposals (for what could he gain by opposing "them?) but he was desirous that they would give "them in publicly before the people of Rhegium, "previously to his quitting that place, since it was "a Grecian city and a common friend to both "parties. For that this tended to his security, and "they themselves would stand more firmly to their "engagements about the Syracusans, if they took "that people for witnesses to them."

This overture he made only to amuse them, intending all the while to steal a passage, and the magistrates of Rhegium entered zealously into his scheme, as wishing to see the affairs of Sicily in Corinthian hands, and dreading the neighbourhood of the barbarians. They summoned therefore an assembly, and shut the gates, lest the citizens should go about any other business. Being convened, they made long speeches, one of them taking up the argument where another had laid it down, with no other view than to gain time for the Corinthian galleys to get under sail; and the Carthaginians were easily detained in the assembly as having no suspicion because Timoleon was present, and it was expected every moment that he would stand up and make his speech. But upon secret notice that the other galleys had put to sea[16], and that his alone was left behind; by the help of the Rhegians who pressed close to the Rostrum and concealed him among them, he slipped through the crowd, got down to the shore, and hoisted sail with all speed.

---

[16] The Carthaginians believed, that the departure of those nine galleys for Corinth had been agreed upon between the officers of

He soon arrived with all his vessels at Tauromenium in Sicily, to which he had been invited some time before, and where he was now kindly received by Andromachus, the lord and master of that city. This Andromachus was father to Timæus, the historian; and, being much the best of all the Sicilian princes of his time, both governed his own people agreeably to the laws and principles of justice, and had ever avowed his hatred and enmity to tyrants. Upon this account, he readily allowed Timoleon to make his city a place of arms, and persuaded his people to co-operate strenuously with the Corinthians in restoring liberty to the whole island.

The Carthaginians at Rhegium, upon the breaking up of the assembly seeing that Timoleon was gone, were irritated to find themselves outwitted; and it afforded no small diversion to the Rhegians, to hear Phœnicians complaining of any thing effected by guile[17]. They despatched however one of their galleys with an embassador to Tauromenium, who represented the affair at large to Andromachus, insisting with much insolence and barbaric pride, that he should immediately turn the Corinthians out of his town; and at last showing him his hand with the palm upward, and then turning it down again, told him "If he did not comply with that condition,

---

both parties, and that the tenth was left behind to carry Timoleon to Icetes.

[17] *Fraus Punica*, 'Phœnician fraud,' had passed into a proverb. (L.) *Perfidia plusquam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deûm metus, nullum jusjurandum, nulla religio* (Liv. xxi. 4.), are some of the strong features in the portrait drawn of Annibal by one of the most eminent historians of Rome. And that this was not a recent part of their character, appears from Hom. (Od. xiv. 288.)

——Φοινιξ ηλθεν ανηρ, απατηλια ειδως,
Τρωκτης, ὁς δη πολλα κακ' ανθρωποισιν εωργει.*

" the Carthaginians would overturn his city, just as " he had turned his hand." Andromachus only smiled, and without making him any other answer stretched out his hand, first with one side up and then the other, and bade him " Begone directly, if " he did not choose to have his ship turned upside " down in the same manner."

Icetes, hearing that Timoleon had made good his passage, was much alarmed, and sent for a great number of the Carthaginian galleys. The Syracusans then began to despair of a deliverance; for they saw the Carthaginians masters of their harbour[18], Icetes possessed of the city, and the citadel in the hand of Dionysius: while Timoleon held only by a small border of the skirts of Sicily, the little town of Tauromenium, with a feeble hope and an inconsiderable force, having no more than a thousand men and provisions barely sufficient for their subsistence. Neither had the Sicilian states any confidence in him, plunged as they were in misfortunes, and exasperated against all who pretended to lead armies to their succour, particularly on account of the perfidy of Callippus and Pharax. The one was an Athenian, and the other a Lacedæmonian; and both came with professions to do great things for the liberty of Sicily, and the demolition of tyrants: yet the Sicilians soon found, that the reign of former oppressors was comparatively a golden age, and reckoned those far more happy who had died in servitude, than those who had acquired such a freedom. Expecting therefore that this Corinthian deliverer would be no better than those before him, and that the deceitful hand of art would reach out to them the same bait of good hopes and fair promises to draw them into subjection to a new master, they all, except the people of Adranum, suspected and declined the Corinthian proposals. Adranum was a small city, consecrated to the god Adranus[19], who was held in the highest veneration throughout all Sicily. It's inhabitants were at variance with each other; some calling in Icetes and the Carthaginians, and others applying to Timoleon. Both generals striving which should get there first, as fortune would have it, arrived about the same time. But Icetes had five thousand men with him, and Timoleon at the most only twelve hundred drawn out of Tauromenium, which was forty-two miles and a half from Adranum. The first day he made but a short march, and pitched his tents in good time. The next day he marched forward at a great pace, though the road was very rugged, and toward evening was informed that Icetes had just reached the town, and was encamping before it. At the same time his officers made the foremost division halt, to take some refreshment, that they might be the more vigorous in the ensuing engagement. This however was against the opinion of Timoleon, who entreated them to advance as fast as possible, and to attack the enemy before they were put in order; it being probable, now they were just come off their march, that they were employed in pitching their tents and preparing their supper. He had no sooner given this direction, than he took his buckler and placed himself at the head of them, as leading them on to undoubted victory.

---

[18] The Carthaginians had a hundred and fifty men of war, sixty thousand foot, and three hundred chariots. Diod. Sic. xvi. 67.

His men thus encouraged followed him most cheerfully, being now not quite thirty furlongs from Adranum. As soon as they came up, they fell upon the enemy, who were in great confusion and ready to fly at their first approach. For this reason not many more than three hundred were killed, but twice as many were made prisoners, and the camp was taken.

---

[19] This deity, by his *insignia* subsequently mentioned, must have been Mars. His temple was guarded by a hundred dogs. (L.) He is represented on an Athenian medal in Pelerin's *Medailles des peuples et des villes*, iii. p. 97. The city itself is situated below Ætna, upon a river of the same name, which flows from that mountain.*

Upon this, the people of Adranum opened their gates to Timoleon, and joined his party; declaring with terror and astonishment, that during the battle the sacred doors of the temple had opened of their own accord, the spear of their god had been seen to shake to the very point, and his face to run down with sweat. These things did not foreshow that victory only, but the future successes, to which this dispute was a fortunate prelude. For several cities, by their embassadors, immediately joined in alliance with Timoleon; and Mamercus[20] sovereign of Catana, a warlike and wealthy prince, entered into the confederacy. But (what was still more material) Dionysius himself, having renounced all hope and being unable to hold out much longer, despising Icetes who was so shamefully beaten, and admiring the bravery of Timoleon, offered to deliver up to him and the Corinthians both himself and the citadel.

Timoleon accepted of this good fortune so superior to his hopes, and sent Euclides and Telemachus, two Corinthian officers, into the citadel; as he did four hundred men besides, not all together nor openly (for that would have been impossible, because the enemy were upon their guard) but by stealth, and a few at a time. This corps then took possession of the citadel and the tyrant's moveables, with whatever he had provided for carrying on the war; namely, a great number of horses, all kinds of engines, and a vast quantity of darts. They found also arms for seventy thousand men, which had been laid up of old, and two thousand soldiers with Dionysius, whom he delivered along with the stores to Timoleon. But the tyrant reserved his money to himself, and having embarked on board a ship sailed with a few of his friends, without being perceived by Icetes, and reached the camp of Timoleon.

---

[20] Marcus, says Diod. Sic. ib.

Then it was, that he first appeared in the humble figure of a private man[21], and as such was sent with one ship and a very moderate sum of money to Corinth; he, who had been born in a splendid court, and educated as heir to the most absolute monarchy that ever existed. He held it for ten years[22]; and for twelve more, from the time that Dion took up arms against him, he was exercised continually in wars and troubles: insomuch, that the mischiefs caused by his tyranny were more than recompensed upon his own head in what he suffered. He saw his sons die in their youth, his daughters deflowered, and his sister, who was also his wife[23], defiled by the brutal lusts of his enemies, and then (as we have related more particularly, in the Life of Dion) slaughtered with her children, and thrown into the sea.

When Dionysius arrived at Corinth, there was hardly a man in Greece, who was not desirous to see and to discourse with him. Some, hating the man, and rejoicing at his misfortunes, came for the pleasure of insulting him in his present distress: others, whose sentiments with respect to him were somewhat changed, and who were touched with compassion for his fate, plainly traced the great influence of an invisible and divine power displayed in the affairs of feeble mortals. For neither nature nor art[24] produced in those times any thing so remarkable as that work of fortune, which exhibited the man, lately the sovereign of Sicily, now holding conversation in a victualler's shop at Corinth, or sitting whole days in a perfumer's, or drinking the adulterated wine of taverns, or squabbling in the streets with women who subsisted by their beauty; or directing female musicians in their singing, and disputing with them seriously about the harmony of certain airs, that were sung in the theatre.

---

[21] Dionysius was born to absolute power, whereas most other tyrants (Dionysius the Elder, for instance) had raised themselves to it, and some from a mean condition.

[22] For he began his reign Ol. ciii. 1., A. C. 368. Dion took up arms against him Ol. cv. 4., and he delivered the citadel to Timoleon, and was sent to Corinth, Ol. cix. 1. (L.) See Diod. Sic. xv. 73., xvi. 9. It is said, that he there subsisted by teaching school, *usque eò imperio carere non poterat:* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. iii. 12., Ep. Fam. ix. 18., ad. Att. ix. 9., and this his extraordinary change of situation passed into a proverb. To some insolent menaces of Philip of Macedon the Spartans, with their usual laconism, hinted a possible reverse of fortune: 'Dionysius at Corinth.'*

[23] Sophrosyne, the daughter of his father's wife Aristomache.*

[24] Plutarch adds 'nor art;' implying that the tragic poets, who

Some were of opinion, that he fell into these unworthy amusements, as being naturally idle, effeminate, and dissolute: but others thought it was a stroke of policy, and that he rendered himself despicable, in order to prevent his being feared by the Corinthians; affecting that meanness and stupidity, contrary to his nature, lest they should imagine that the change of his circumstances sat heavy upon him, and that he aimed at re-establishing himself.

Nevertheless, some sayings of his are recorded, by which it should seem that he did not bear his misfortunes in an abject manner. When he arrived at Leucas, which was a Corinthian colony as well as Syracuse, he said, "He found himself in a situation "like that of young men, who had been guilty of "some misdemeanor. For as they still converse "cheerfully with their brothers, but are abashed at "the thought of coming before their fathers, so he "was ashamed of going to live in the mother city, "and could pass his days with the Leucadians much "more to his satisfaction." Another time, when a certain stranger rudely derided him at Corinth for having in the midst of his power taken pleasure in the discourses of philosophers, and at last asked him, "What he had gotten by the wisdom of Plato[26]?" "Do you think," said he, "that we have reaped "no advantage from Plato, when we can thus bear

---

deal largely in the misfortunes of princes, had no where represented so signal a catastrophe.

[26] The different voyages made by this philosopher at Dionysius' entreaty to Syracuse, and their consequences, are detailed at length in the Life of Dion.*

"such a change of fortune?" Aristoxenus the musician, and some others, having inquired, "What "was the ground of his displeasure against Plato?" he answered, "That absolute power abounded in-"deed with evils; but that it had this great infeli-"city above all the rest, that among the number of "those, who call themselves the friends of an arbi-"trary prince, there is not one who will speak his "mind to him freely; and that by such he had been "deprived of the friendship of Plato."

Some one who had a mind to be arch, and to make merry with Dionysius, shook his robe when he entered his apartment, as is usual when persons approach a tyrant[27]; and he, quickly returning the jest, bade him "Do the same when he went out, that he "might not carry off any of the moveables."

One day over their cups Philip of Macedon, with a kind of sneer, introduced some discourse about the odes[28] and tragedies, which Dionysius the Elder left behind him, and pretended to doubt how he could find leisure for such works. To this Dionysius smartly replied, "They were written in the time "which you, and I, and all other jolly fellows, spend "over the bowl."

---

[27] To show, that they have no dagger concealed in their garments.*

[28] Dionysius the Elder valued himself upon his poetry, though he has been censured as the worst poet in the world. Philoxenus himself, an excellent poet, attempted to undeceive him in the favourable opinion which he had of his own abilities, but was sent to the quarries for his presumption. The next day however he was restored to favour, and Dionysius repeated to him some verses with which he had taken extraordinary pains, expecting his approbation. But the poet, instead of giving it, looked round to the guards, and said to them very humorously, 'Take me back to the quarries.' Notwithstanding all this, Dionysius disputed the prize of poetry at the Olympic games; but there he was hissed, and the rich pavilion which he had sent thither was torn in pieces. He had better success, however, at Athens; for he gained the prize of poetry by a grossly-partial adjudication, at the celebrated feast of Bacchus. Upon this occasion he was in such raptures, that he drank to excess, and the debauch threw him into violent pains: to allay these, he asked for a soporific; and his physicians gave him one that produced a sleep, out of which he never awaked. (L.) An oracle had foretold, that 'he should die, whenever he overcame those who were better than himself;' this he had always applied to the Carthaginians, and had therefore never exerted against them his whole strength.' See Diod. Sic. xiv. 109., xv. 6.*

Plato did not see Dionysius in Corinth, for he had now been dead some time. But Diogenes of Sinope, when he first met him, addressed him as follows; "How little dost thou deserve to live!" To which Dionysius answered, "It is kind in you "to sympathise with me in my misfortunes!" "Dost "thou think then," said Diogenes, "that I have "any pity for thee; and that I am not rather vexed "that such a slave as thou art, and so fit to grow "old and die like thy father on a tyrant's uneasy "throne, should instead of that live with us here in "mirth and pleasure?" So that, when I compare with these words of the philosopher the expressions of Philistus, in which he bewails the fate of the daughters of Leptines[29], "That from the splendid "enjoyments of absolute power they were reduced "to a humble station;" they appear to me the lamentations of a woman, who regrets her perfumes, her purple robes, and her golden trinkets. This account of the sayings of Dionysius seems to me neither foreign from biography, nor without it's utility to such readers as are not in a hurry, or absorbed in other concerns.

If the ill-fortune of Dionysius was surprising, the success of Timoleon was not less wonderful. For within fifty days after his landing in Sicily, he had made himself master of the citadel of Syracuse, and despatched Dionysius to Peloponnesus. The Corinthians, encouraged by these advantages, sent him a re-inforcement of two thousand foot and two hundred horse. These advanced on their way as far as Thurium: but finding it impracticable to gain a passage thence, because the sea was beset with a numerous fleet of Carthaginians, they were forced to stop there and watch their opportunity. They employed their time, however, in a very noble undertaking. For the Thurians, marching out of their city to war against the Bruttians, left it in charge with these Corinthian strangers, who defended it with as much honour and integrity as if it had been their own.

---

[29] Leptines, as mentioned below, was tyrant of Apollonia, a city of Sicily near cape Pachynus. Philistus wrote the History of Egypt in twelve, of Sicily in eleven, and of the reign of Dionysius in five books. Of these the last is accounted the best by Cicero, who from his having made Thucydides his model in composition (De Orat. ii. 13.), calls him *penè pusillus Thucydides*, (Ep. ad. Q. Fratr. ii. 13.) See also Voss. de Hist. Gr. i. 6.

In the mean time Icetes carried on the siege of the citadel with great vigour, and blocked it up so closely, that no provisions could be introduced into it for the Corinthian garrison. He provided also two strangers to assassinate Timoleon, and sent them privately to Adranum. That general, who never kept any regular guards about him, lived then among the Adranites without any sort of precaution or suspicion, on account of his confidence in their god. The assassins, happening to hear that he was going to offer sacrifice, went into the temple with their poniards under their clothes, and mixing with those who stood round the altar got nearer to him by little and little. They were just going to give each other the signal to begin, when somebody strikes one of them on the head with his sword, and lays him at his feet. Neither he who struck the blow, nor the companion of the dead man kept his station: the former, with his sword in his hand, fled to the top of a high rock; and the latter laid hold on the altar, imploring Timoleon to spare his life, on condition that he discovered the whole matter. Accordingly, pardon was promised him; and he confessed that he, and the person who lay dead, were sent on purpose to kill him.

While he was making this confession, the other man was brought down from the rock, and loudly protested that he was guilty of no injustice, for he had only taken righteous vengeance on the wretch who had murthered his father in the city of Leontium[30]. And for the truth of this he appealed to several then present, who all attested the same, and could not but admire the wonderful management of fortune, which moving one thing by another, bringing together the most distant incidents, and combining those that have no manner of relation but rather the greatest dissimilarity, makes such use of them that the close of one process is always the beginning of another. The Corinthians rewarded the man with a present of ten minæ, because his hand had co-operated with the guardian genius of Timoleon, and he had reserved the long-meditated satisfaction for his private wrongs to the time, when fortune availed herself of it to save the general. This happy escape had effects beyond the present, for it inspired the Corinthians with high expectations of Timoleon, when they beheld the Sicilians now reverence and guard him as one whose person was sacred, and who was come as the minister of the gods to avenge and deliver them.

When Icetes had failed in this attempt, and saw many of the Sicilians going over to Timoleon, he blamed himself for making use of the Carthaginians in small numbers only, and availing himself of their assistance as it were by stealth and as if he were ashamed of it, when they had such immense forces at hand. He sent therefore for Mago, their commander-in-chief, and his whole fleet; who in terrible pomp took possession of the harbour with a hundred and fifty ships, and landed an army of sixty thousand men, which encamped in the city of Syracuse; insomuch that every one imagined the inundation of barbarians, announced and expected of old, was now come upon Sicily. For in the many wars, which they had waged in that island, the Carthaginians had never before been able to take Syracuse; but Icetes then receiving them, and delivering up the city to them, the whole became a camp of barbarians.

---

[30] History can scarcely afford a stronger instance of an interfering Providence. Plutarch's remarks upon the event are excellent.

The Corinthians, who still held the citadel, found themselves in very dangerous and difficult circumstances; for beside that they were in want of provisions, because the port was guarded and blocked up, they were employed in sharp and continual disputes about the walls, which were attacked with all kinds of machines and batteries, and for the defence of which they were obliged to divide themselves. Timoleon however found means to relieve them, by sending a supply of corn from Catana in small fishing-boats and little skiffs, which watched the opportunity of making their way through the enemy's fleet, when it happened to be separated by a storm. Mago and Icetes no sooner saw this, than they resolved to render themselves masters of Catana, from which provisions had been furnished to the besieged: and accordingly, taking with them the best of their troops, they sailed from Syracuse. Leo the Corinthian, who commanded in the citadel, having observed from the top of it that those of the enemy who stayed behind abated their vigilance, and kept but an indifferent guard, suddenly fell upon them as they were dispersed; and killing some, and putting the rest to flight, gained the quarter called Achradina, which was much the strongest and had suffered the least from the enemy; for Syracuse is an assemblage, as it were, of towns[31]. Finding abundance of provisions and money there, he did not give up the acquisition, nor return into the citadel; but stood upon his defence in the Achradina, having fortified it quite round, and joined it by new works to the citadel. Mago and Icetes were now near Catana, when a horseman, despatched from Syracuse, brought them tidings that the Achradina was taken; which struck them with such surprise, that they returned in great haste, having neither taken the place which they went against, nor kept that which they had before.

---

[31] There were four: the Isle, or the citadel, which was between the two ports; the Achradina, at a little distance from the former; Tyche, so called from the temple of Fortune; and Neapolis, or 'the new city.' See Liv. xxv. 24., Diod. Sic. xiii. 7. To these, some eminent authors (and Plutarch is of the number, though Cicero adv. Verr. de Sign. enumerates only four) add a fifth, which they call Epipolæ. Thus Strabo says, πενταπολις γαρ ην το παλαιον.

Prudence and valour have, perhaps, as much right as fortune to lay claim to these successes; but the event, which next ensued, is wholly to be ascribed to the favour of fortune. The corps of Corinthians that were at Thurium, dreading the Carthaginian fleet, which under the command of Hanno watched their motions, and finding at the same time that the sea for many days was stormy and tempestuous, determined to march through the country of the Bruttians; and partly by persuasion, partly by force, they made good their passage through the territories of the barbarians, and came down to Rhegium, the sea still continuing rough as before.

The Carthaginian admiral, not expecting that the Corinthians would venture out, thought it was in vain to sit still; and having persuaded himself that he had invented one of the finest and ablest stratagems in the world, ordered the mariners to crown themselves with garlands, and to dress up the galleys with Grecian and Phœnician bucklers[32], and thus equipped sailed to Syracuse. When he came near the citadel, he hailed it with loud huzzas and expressions of joy; declaring that he was just come from beating the Corinthian succours, whom he had met at sea, as they were attempting a passage. By these means he hoped to strike terror into the besieged. While he was acting this trifling part, the Corinthians reached Rhegium; and as the coast was clear, and the wind unexpectedly falling promised smooth water and a safe voyage, they immediately went aboard such barks and fishing-boats as they could find, and passed over into Sicily with so much safety and in such a dead calm, that they even drew the horses by the reins, swimming by the side of the vessels.

---

[32] As it seems absurd to make mention here of 'Phœnician bucklers,' since they could afford no token that the Greeks were beaten; M. Dacier conjectures that the word Φοινικισιν should not be taken for a patronymic, nor written with a capital but with a simple φ, and then it may signify 'glistering with purple:' so Plutarch, a little below, takes notice of ασπιδας εςριογραφεις. But it must be acknowledged, that the και before the φοινικισιν stands in the way of that correction.

When they were all landed, and had joined Timoleon, he soon took Messana[33]; and thence marched in good order to Syracuse, depending more upon his good fortune than his forces, for he had not with him above four thousand men. On the first intelligence of his approach, Mago was greatly perplexed and alarmed, and his suspicions were increased by the following circumstance: the marshes about Syracuse[34], which receive a large quantity of fresh water from the springs, and from the lakes and rivers which discharge themselves there into the sea, have such abundance of eels, that there is always plenty for those who choose to fish for them. With this sport the common soldiers of both sides amused themselves promiscuously at their vacant hours, and upon any cessation of arms. As they were all Greeks, and had no pretence for any private animosity against each other, they fought boldly when they met in battle, and in times of truce mixed together and conversed with the utmost familiarity. While they were engaged at one of these times in their common diversion of fishing, they fell into discourse, and expressed their admiration of the convenience of the sea, and the situation of the adjacent places. Upon which, one of the Corinthian soldiers thus addressed those who served under Icetes: "And can "you, who are Greeks[35], readily consent to reduce "this city, so spacious in itself, and blest with so "many advantages, into the power of the barbarians, "and to bring the Carthaginians, the most deceitful "and bloody of them all, into our neighbourhood; "when you ought to wish, that between them and "Greece there were many Sicilies? Or can you "think that they have brought an armed force from "the Pillars of Hercules and the Atlantic ocean, "and braved the hazards of war, merely to erect a "principality for Icetes; who, if he had had the "prudence which becomes a general, would never "have driven out the founders, to call into his "country the worst of it's enemies, when he might "have obtained of the Corinthians and Timoleon "every proper degree of honour and power?"

---

[33] 'Messana' in the ancient Sicilian pronunciation, *hod.* Messina.

[34] There is one morass called Lysimelia (Thucyd. vii. 53.), and another called Syraco. From this last the city took it's name. These morasses render the air of Syracuse very unwholesome.

The soldiers in Icetes' pay, repeating these discourses often in their camp, gave Mago, who had long sought a pretence to be gone, reason to suspect that he was betrayed. Accordingly, though Icetes entreated him to stay, and remonstrated upon their great superiority to the enemy, he weighed anchor and sailed back to Africa, shamefully and unaccountably suffering Sicily to slip out of his hands.

Next day, Timoleon drew up his army in order of battle before the place; but when he and his Corinthians were told that Mago was fled, and saw the harbour empty, they could not forbear laughing at his cowardice: and by way of mockery caused proclamation to be made about the city, promising a reward to any one that could give information whither the Carthaginian fleet was gone to hide itself. Icetes however had still the spirit to stand a farther shock, and would not let go his hold; but vigorously defended those quarters of the city which he occupied, and which appeared almost impregnable. Timoleon therefore divided his forces into three parts, and himself with one of them made his attack by the river Anapus, where he was likely to meet with the warmest reception; commanding the second, under Isias the Corinthian, to begin their operations from the Achradina; while Dinarchus and Demaretus, who brought the last re-inforcement from Corinth, were ordered to attempt the Epipolæ: so that, several impressions being made at the same time and on every side, the soldiers of Icetes were overpowered and put to flight. That the city then was thus taken by assault and suddenly reduced, upon the flight of the enemy, we may justly impute to the bravery of the troops and the ability of their general; but that not one Corinthian was either killed or wounded, the Fortune of Timoleon claims entirely to herself, maintaining as it were a dispute with his valour, whether those who read his story ought more to admire the luck or the merit of his actions. The fame of this achievement not only quickly overspread Sicily and Italy, but in a few days resounded through Greece: so that the city of Corinth, which was in some doubt whether or not it's fleet had arrived in Sicily, was informed by the same messengers, that it's forces had made good their passage and were victorious. So well did their affairs prosper, and so much lustre did fortune add to the gallantry of their exploits, by the speediness of their execution.

---

[35] Greek mercenaries in the army of that prince.*

Timoleon, thus master of the citadel, did not proceed like Dion, or spare the place for it's beauty and magnificence; but guarding against the suspicions, which first slandered and then destroyed that illustrious man, ordered the public crier to give notice "That all the Syracusans, who were willing "to have a hand in the work, should come with "proper instruments to destroy the bulwarks of "tyranny[36]." Upon this they all came, considering that proclamation and that day as the surest commencement of their liberty; and not only demolished the citadel, but levelled with the ground both the palaces and the monuments of the tyrants. Having soon cleared the place, he erected upon it a common-hall for the seat of judicature, at once to gratify the citizens, and to show that a popular government should be raised upon the ruins of tyranny.

---

[36] How strong a parallel to this procedure is furnished by Paris, in the demolition of the Bastile, A. D. 1789.

Ah! si sic omnia!

But Louis XVI. was no Dionysius, nor were his destroyers Timoleons.*

The city, thus taken, was found comparatively destitute of inhabitants. Many had been slain in the wars and intestine broils, and many more had fled from the rage of the tyrants. Nay, so little frequented was the market-place of Syracuse, that it produced rank grass enough for the horses to pasture upon, and for the grooms to repose themselves by their sides. The other cities, except a very few, were entire deserts full of deer and wild boars, and such as had leisure for it often hunted them in the suburbs and about the walls: while none of those, who had possessed themselves of castles and strongholds, could be persuaded to quit them, or return to the city; regarding the tribunals and other seats of government, with hatred and horror, as so many nurseries of tyrants. Timoleon and the Syracusans therefore thought proper to write to the Corinthians, to send them a good number from Greece to people Syracuse, because the land must otherwise lie uncultivated, and because they expected a more formidable war from Africa; having been informed that Mago had killed himself, and that the Carthaginians, provoked at his misconduct in the expedition, had crucified his body, and were collecting immense forces for the invasion of Sicily in the ensuing summer.

These letters of Timoleon's being delivered, the Syracusan embassadors attended at the same time, and entreated the Corinthians to take their city under their protection, and to become founders of it anew. They did not however hastily seize the proffered advantage, or appropriate the city to themselves; but first sent to the sacred games and the other great assemblies of Greece, and caused proclamation to be made by their heralds; "That the "Corinthians having abolished arbitrary power in "Syracuse, and expelled the tyrant, invited all Syracusans and other Sicilians to people that city, "where they should enjoy their liberties and privileges, and have the lands divided by just and "equal lots among them." They then despatched envoys into Asia and the islands, in which they were told the chief part of the fugitives had dispersed themselves, to exhort them all to come to Corinth; where they should be provided with vessels, commanders, and a convoy at the expense of the Corinthians, to conduct them safe to Syracuse. Their intentions thus published, the Corinthians enjoyed the most deserved and distinguished glory of having delivered a Grecian city from tyrants, preserved it from the barbarians, and restored the citizens to their country. But the persons who met upon this occasion at Corinth, not being sufficient in number, desired that they might take others along with them from Corinth and the rest of Greece, as new colonists; and having thus completed their number to ten thousand, they sailed to Syracuse. Ere this time, great multitudes from Italy and Sicily had flocked in to Timoleon; who, finding them (as Athanis reports) amount to sixty thousand, freely divided the lands among them, but sold the houses for a thousand talents. By this contrivance he both left it in the power of the ancient inhabitants to redeem their own, and took occasion also to raise a stock for the community; who had been so poor in all respects, and so little able to furnish the supplies for the war, that they had sold the very statues, after having formed a judicial process, and lodged accusations against them as if they had been so many culprits. Upon this occasion we are told they spared one statue, when all the rest were condemned; namely that of Gelon one of their ancient kings, in honour of the man, and for the sake of the victory [37] which he had gained over the Carthaginians at Himera.

Syracuse being thus revived, and replenished with such a number of inhabitants who thronged to it from all quarters, Timoleon was desirous to bestow the blessing of liberty upon the other cities also, and once for all to extirpate despotism out of Sicily. For this purpose, marching into the territories of the petty tyrants, he compelled Icetes to quit the interests of Carthage, to agree to demolish his castles, and to live among the Leontines as a private person. Leptines also, prince of Apollonia and several other little towns, finding himself in danger of being taken, surrendered and had his life granted him, but was sent to Corinth: for Timoleon looked upon it as glorious, that the tyrants of Sicily should be forced to live as miserable exiles in the city, which had originally colonised that island, and should be seen by the Greeks in such an abject condition.

After this, he returned to Syracuse to settle the civil government, and to establish the most important and necessary laws[38], along with Cephalus and Dinarchus, lawgivers sent from Corinth. In the mean while, willing that the mercenaries should reap some advantage from the enemy's country, and be kept from inaction, he sent Dinarchus and Demaretus into the Carthaginian province; who drew several cities from the Punic interest, and not only lived in abundance themselves, but also raised money from the plunder for carrying on the war. While these matters were transacting, the Carthaginians arrived at Lilybæum with seventy thousand land-forces, two hundred galleys, and a thousand other vessels carrying machines of war, chariots, vast quantities of provisions, and all other stores; as if they were now determined not to carry on the war by piecemeal, but to drive the Greeks entirely out of Sicily. For their force was sufficient to effect this, even if the Sicilians had not been disunited and harassed by mutual animosities. When the Carthaginians therefore found that their Sicilian territories were laid waste, they marched under the command of Asdrubal and Hamilcar in great fury against the Corinthians.

---

[37] He had defeated Hamilcar who landed in Sicily, with three hundred thousand men, Ol. lxxv. 2. (Diod. Sic. xi. 20.)

[38] Among other wise institutions, he appointed a chief magistrate to be chosen yearly, whom the Syracusans called the *Amphipolus* of Jupiter Olympius; thus giving him a kind of sacred character. Of these, the first was Commenes. Hence arose the custom, among the Syracusans, of computing their years by the respective governments of these magistrates; which continued in the time of Diod. Sic. (xvi. 12.) that is, in the reign of Augustus, above three hundred years after the office was first introduced.

Information of this being brought directly to Syracuse, the inhabitants were struck with such terror by that prodigious armament, that scarcely three thousand out of ten times that number took up arms, and ventured to follow Timoleon. The mercenaries were in number four thousand, and of them about a thousand gave way to their fears when upon their march, and turned back, crying out; "That Timoleon must be mad or in his dotage, to advance against an army of seventy thousand men with only five thousand foot and a thousand horse, and to lead his handful of men too eight days' march from Syracuse; by which means there could be neither refuge for those who fled, nor burial for those who fell in battle."

Timoleon considered it as an advantage, that these cowards had discovered themselves before the engagement; and, having encouraged the rest, led them hastily to the banks of the Crimesus[39], where he was told the Carthaginians were drawn together. But as he was ascending a hill, at the top of which the enemy's camp and all their vast forces would be in sight, he met some mules loaded with parsley. This his men regarded as a bad omen, because with parsley we usually crown sepulchres; whence the proverb, with respect to one who is dangerously ill, "He has need of nothing but parsley." To deliver them from this superstition, and to remove their despondency, Timoleon ordered the troops to halt; and making a speech suitable to the occasion, observed among other things, "That crowns were "brought to them before the victory, and offered "themselves of their own accord." For the Corinthians, having from all antiquity considered a wreath of parsley as sacred, crowned the victors with it at the Isthmian games: in Timoleon's time it was still in use at those games, as it is now at the Nemean, and the pine-branch has but lately taken it's place. Having thus addressed his army, the general took a chaplet of parsley, and crowned himself with it first, after which his officers and the common soldiers did the same. At that instant the soothsayers observing two eagles flying toward them, one of which bore a serpent with his talons, while the other advanced with a loud and animating noise, pointed them out to the army, who all betook themselves to prayer and invocation of the gods.

---

[39] A Sicilian river; the name of which Bochart derives from a word signifying 'smallage, or parsley,' a herb produced abundantly in it's neighbourhood; for the same reason, too, a small city

The summer was now begun, and the end of the month Thargelion[40] brought on the solstice. The

---

at it's mouth was called by the Greeks Selinontium, and a rivulet near it Selinus. At the head of the above-mentioned infamous band of deserters was Thrasius, a principal accomplice fifteen years before in the sacrilegious expedition of the Phocensians against the temple of Delphi. Such is the heroism of infidelity!*

[40] Here we see the uncertainty of the Grecian months. The writers upon that subject, Dion. Halic. e. g. (Rom. Ant. 1.), take Thargelion to be 'April.' And yet here we are told, that the end of that month was near the solstice. Hence it is, that Dacier ventures in this place to translate it 'June,' the solstice certainly being in that month.

river then sending up a thick mist, the field was at first covered with it, so that nothing in the enemy's camp was discernible: only an inarticulate and confused noise, which reached the summit of the hill, showed that a great army lay at some distance. But when the Corinthians had reached the top, and laid down their shields to take breath, the sun had raised the vapours higher; so that the fog, being collected upon the summits, covered them alone, while the places below were all visible. The river Crimesus appeared clearly, and the enemy were seen crossing it, first with chariots drawn by four horses, and formidably provided for the combat; behind which there marched ten thousand men with white bucklers. These they conjectured to be Carthaginians, from the brightness of their armour, and the slowness and good order in which they moved. Then followed the troops of other nations, advancing in a confused and tumultuous manner.

Timoleon, observing that the river put it in his power to engage with what number of the enemy he pleased, bade his men take notice how the main body was divided by the stream, part having already passed and part preparing to pass it; and ordered Demaretus with the cavalry to attack the Carthaginians, and throw them into confusion, before they had time to range themselves in order of battle. He himself then, descending into the plain with the infantry, formed the wings out of other Sicilians, intermingling a few strangers with them; but the natives of Syracuse and the most warlike of the mercenaries he placed about himself in the centre, and waited a while to observe the success of the horse. When he saw that they could not come up to grapple with the Carthaginians, on account of the chariots that ran to and fro before their army, and that they were obliged often to wheel about to avoid the danger of having their ranks broken, and then to rally again and return frequently to the charge; he took his buckler, and called to the foot to follow him and be of good courage, with an accent that seemed more than human, so much was it above his usual pitch; whether it were exalted by his ardour and enthusiasm, or whether (as many were of opinion) it was assisted by the voice of some god. His troops answering him with a loud shout, and pressing him to lead them on without delay, he sent orders to the cavalry to get beyond the line of chariots, and to take the enemy in flank; while he himself thickening his first ranks, so as to join buckler to buckler, and causing the trumpet to sound, bore down upon the Carthaginians. The first shock they sustained with great spirit: for being fortified with breast-plates of iron and helmets of brass, and covering themselves with large shields, they could easily repel the spears and javelins. But when the business came to a decision by the sword, where art is not less requisite than strength, all on a sudden there broke out dreadful thunders from the mountains, mingled with long trails of lightning; after which the black clouds, descending from the tops of the hills, fell upon the two armies in a storm of rain, wind, and hail. This tempest was on the backs of the Greeks, but beat upon the faces of the barbarians, and almost blinded them with the sleety showers and the fire continually streaming from the clouds.

These things extremely incommoded the enemy, particularly such of them as were not veterans. The chief inconvenience seems to have been the roaring of the thunder, and the clattering of the rain and hail upon their arms, which prevented them from hearing the orders of their officers. Besides, the Carthaginians not being light but heavy-armed, as I stated above, the dirt was troublesome to them: and as the bosoms of their tunics were filled with water, they were very unwieldly in the combat, so that the Greeks could overturn them with ease; and when they were down, it was impossible for them, encumbered as they were with arms, to get up again out of the mire. For the river Crimesus swollen partly with the rains, and partly having it's course stopped by the vast numbers that were crossing it, had overflowed it's banks. The adjacent field likewise, having many cavities and low places in it, was filled with water which settled there; and the Carthaginians, falling into them, could not disengage themselves without extreme difficulty. In short, the storm continued to beat upon them with great violence, and the Greeks having cut to pieces four hundred men who composed their first ranks, their whole body was put to flight. Vast numbers were overtaken in the field, and put to the sword; many rushed into the river, and jostling with those that were yet crossing it, were carried down and drowned. The larger part, who endeavoured to gain the hills, were stopped by the light-armed soldiers and slain. Among the ten thousand that were killed, it is said, there were three thousand[41] natives of Carthage; a heavy loss to that city: as none of it's citizens were superior to these either in birth, in fortune, or in character. Neither have we any account, that so many Carthaginians ever fell before in one battle; for generally making use of Lybians, Spaniards, and Numidians in their wars, if they sustained a defeat, it was chiefly at the expense of the blood of strangers.

The Greeks discovered by the spoils the quality of the slain. Those who stripped the dead set no value upon brass or iron, such was the abundance of silver and gold: for they passed the river, and made themselves masters of the camp and baggage. Many of the prisoners were clandestinely sold by the soldiers, but five thousand were delivered in upon the public account, and two hundred chariots also were taken. The tent of Timoleon afforded the most beautiful and magnificent spectacle. In it were piled all kinds of spoils, among which a thousand breast-plates of exquisite workmanship and ten thousand bucklers were exposed to view. As there was but a small number to collect the plunder of such a multitude, and they found such immense riches, it was the third day after the battle before they could erect the trophy. With the first news of the victory, Timoleon sent to Corinth the most splendid of the arms which he had taken; desirous that the world might admire and emulate his native city, when they saw the fairest temples adorned—not with Grecian spoils, nor with the unpleasing monuments of kindred blood and domestic ruin—but with the spoils of barbarians, which bore this honourable inscription, declaring the justice as well as the valour of the conquerors; "That the people of Corinth "and Timoleon their general, having delivered the "Greeks who dwelt in Sicily from the Carthaginian "yoke, made this offering, as a grateful acknow"ledgement to the gods."

---

[41] 2,500, says Diod. Sic. xvi. 80.*

After this, Timoleon left the mercenaries to lay waste the Carthaginian province, and returned to Syracuse. By an edict there published he banished from Sicily the thousand hired soldiers, who had deserted him before the battle, and obliged them to quit Syracuse before sun-set. These wretches passed over into Italy, where they were treacherously slain by the Bruttians. Such was the vengeance, which heaven took of their perfidy.

Nevertheless Mamercus prince of Catana, and Icetes, either moved with envy at the success of Timoleon or dreading him as an implacable enemy, who thought no faith was to be kept with tyrants, entered into a league with the Carthaginians, and desired them to send over a new army and general, if they wished not wholly to lose Sicily. Upon which, Gisco came with a fleet of seventy ships, and a body of Greeks whom he had taken into pay. The Carthaginians had not employed any Greeks before, but now they considered them as the bravest and most invincible of men.

Upon this occasion, the inhabitants of Messene rising with one consent slew four hundred of the foreign soldiers, whom Timoleon had sent to their assistance; and within the dependencies of Carthage the mercenaries, commanded by Euthymus the Leucadian, were cut off by an ambush at a place called Hieræ[42]. Hence the good fortune of Timoleon became still more illustrious: for these were some of the men who, with Philodemus of Phocis and Onomarchus, had broken into the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and were partakers with them in the sacrilege[43]. Shunned as execrable upon this account, they wandered about Peloponnesus, when Timoleon being in great want of men took them into pay. When they came into Sicily, they were victorious in all the battles where he commanded in person: but after the great struggles of the war were over, being sent upon service where succours were required, they were totally cut off, not all at once, but by little and little. In this, avenging justice seems to have been willing to use the prosperity of Timoleon as an apology for it's delay; taking care, as it did, that no harm might happen to the good from the punishment of the wicked: insomuch, that the favour of the gods toward that great man was not less discerned and admired in his very losses, than in his most brilliant successes.

---

[42] We do not find that there was any place in Sicily called 'Hieræ:' in all probability, therefore, it should be 'Hietæ;' for Steph. (de Urb.) mentions a castle in Sicily of that name. (Lubin., who thinks it is *hod.* Lato in the vale of Mazara, 30 miles S. of Palermo.)

[43] The Sacred War, which lasted from Ol. cv. 4. to Ol. cviii. 1., commenced upon this occasion. The Amphictyons having condemned the people of Phocis in a heavy fine, for plundering the country of Cyrrha which was dedicated to Apollo, and that people being unable to pay it, their whole country was adjudged forfeit to the god. Upon which Philomelus (not 'Philodemus') called the people together, and advised them to seize the treasures in the temple of Delphi, to enable them to hire forces to defend themselves. This brought on a war of six years; in the course of which, most of the sacrilegious persons miserably perished. (L.) See Diod. Sic. xvi. 26, 27, 60. Philomelus himself fell headlong down a precipice: Onomarchus, his successor in the command, was assassinated by his own soldiers, and exposed on a cross; and Phayllus, his brother, died of a sudden consumption. Even the wives, who had profanely worn the ornaments of the temple, shared in the miseries of their husbands. The most sacrilegious Grecian chiefs, Ajax, Oïleus, &c. expiated their crimes by proportionably-heavy inflictions. The sacred plate of the Jewish temple was on the table of Belshazzar, when the Invisible Hand traced his destiny upon the wall. Thus both fabulous and sacred history exclaim,

Discite justitiam moniti, et non temnere Divos.
(Virg. vi. 620.)*

Upon any of these paltry advantages, the tyrants took occasion to ridicule the Syracusans, at which they were highly incensed. Mamercus for instance, who valued himself on his poems and tragedies, talked in a pompous manner of the victory, which he had gained over the mercenaries; and ordered the following insolent inscription to be put upon the shields, which he dedicated to the gods:

> These bucklers[44] purpled, ivory-gold-embost,
> The day to our plain little bucklers lost.

Subsequently, when Timoleon was laying siege to Calauria, Icetes took the opportunity of making an inroad into the territories of Syracuse, where he met with considerable booty; and having caused great havock and mischief, he marched back by Calauria itself, in contempt of Timoleon and the slender force which he had with him. Timoleon suffered him to pass, and then followed him with his cavalry and light-armed foot. When Icetes saw that he was pursued, he crossed the Damyrias[45], and waited in a posture to receive the enemy on the other side. What emboldened him to do this, was the difficulty of the passage, and the steepness of both the banks. But a strange dispute of jealousy and honour, which arose among Timoleon's officers, a while delayed the combat; not one of them consenting to go after another, but each wishing to be foremost in the attack: so that their fording was likely to be very tumultuous and disorderly by their jostling one another, and pressing forward for precedency. To remedy this, Timoleon ordered them to decide the matter by lot, and that each of them for this purpose should give him his ring. These he shook in the skirt of his robe; and the first which came up happening to have a trophy for the seal, the young officers received it with joy, and crying out that they would not wait for any other lot, made their way as fast as possible through the river, and fell upon the enemy; who unable to sustain the shock soon fled, throwing away their arms, and leaving a thousand of their men dead upon the spot.

---

[44] They were shields, which had been taken out of the temple at Delphi.

[45] Or the Lamyrias, the difference between the Greek Δ and Λ being so slight, as to render such a mistake not improbable.*

A few days after this, Timoleon marched into the territory of the Leontines, where he took Icetes alive; and his son Eupolemus, and Euthymus his general of the horse, were brought to him bound by the soldiers. Icetes and his son were capitally punished, as tyrants and traitors to their country: neither did Euthymus find mercy, though remarkably brave and bold in action, because he was accused of a severe sarcasm against the Corinthians. He had said (it seems) in a speech which he made to the Leontines, upon the Corinthians taking the field[46], "That it was no formidable matter, if the "Corinthian dames were gone out to take the air." Thus the generality of men are more apt to resent a contemptuous word than an unjust action, and can bear any injury better than disgrace. Every hostile deed is imputed to the necessity of war, but satirical expressions are considered as the overflowings of hatred or malignity.

---

[46] A verse in the Medea of Euripides (216.), quite altered in it's meaning by the different punctuation. Medea there says,

Κορινθιαι γυναικες, εξηλθον δομων,
Μη μοι τι μεμφησθ᾽. κ. τ. λ.

Instead of which, Euthymus pronounced it thus:

Κορινθιαι γυναικες εξηλθον δομων.

When Timoleon was returned, the wives and daughters of Icetes were brought by the Syracusans to a public trial, condemned, and executed. This seems to have been the most exceptionable part of Timoleon's conduct: for, if he had interposed, the women would not have suffered. But he appears to have connived at it, and to have given them up to the resentment of a people anxious to make some satisfaction to the *manes* of Dion, who had expelled Dionysius. For Icetes was the man who, as we have related in the Life of Dion [47], threw Arete the wife of Dion, his sister Aristomache, and his son (yet a child) alive into the sea.

Timoleon then marched to Catana against Mamercus, who waited for him in order of battle upon the banks of the Abolus [48]; and defeated and put him to flight, with the loss of above two thousand men, no small part of which consisted of the Punic succours sent by Gisco. Upon this, the Carthaginians desired him to grant them peace, which he did on the following conditions: "That they should "hold only the lands within the Lycus [49]; that they "should permit all who desired it, to remove out of "their province with their families and goods, and "to settle at Syracuse; and that they should re"nounce all alliance with the tyrants." Mamercus, reduced by this treaty to despair, set sail for Italy, with an intent to bring the Lucanians agains Timoleon and the Syracusans. But the crews tacking about with the galleys, and returning to Sicily, delivered up Catana to Timoleon; which obliged Mamercus to take refuge at Messina with Hippo, the prince of that city. Timoleon coming upon them and investing the place both by sea and land, Hippo got on board a ship, and attempted to make his escape, but was taken by the Messenians themselves, who exposed him in the theatre; and calling their children out of the schools, as to the finest spectacle in the world, the punishment of a tyrant, first scourged him and then put him to death.

---

[47] From this passage, and another before, it seems as if the Life of Dion had been written before this. And yet at the conclusion of the Life of Dion Plutarch expresses himself, as if this had been written first: For there he mentions some circumstances, 'of which (he adds) I have made more particular mention in the Life of Timoleon.' In one of them therefore, if not in both, those references must have been made by the transcribers, according to the different order in which the Lives were placed.

[48] Ptolemy and others call this river Alabus, Alabis, or Alabon. It is near Hybla, between Catana and Syracuse. See Diod. Sic. iv. 58., and Steph. de Urb.

[49] Plutarch probably took the name of this river, as he found it in Diod Sic. xvi. 82.; but other historians call it the Halycus. The Carthaginians, indeed, might possibly give it the oriental aspirate *ha*, which signifies only the particle 'the.'

Upon this, Mamercus surrendered himself to Timoleon, agreeing to take his trial at Syracuse, on condition that Timoleon himself should not be his accuser. Being conducted to Syracuse, and brought before the people, he attempted to pronounce a speech, which he had composed long before for such an occasion; but as he was received with clamour, and saw that the assembly were determined to show him no favour, he threw off his upper garment, ran through the theatre, and dashed his head violently against one of the steps, with a design to kill himself: failing however in his attempt, he was taken up alive, and suffered the punishment of thieves and robbers.

In this manner did Timoleon extirpate tyranny from among the Sicilians, and put a period to their wars. He found the whole island turned almost wild and savage with it's misfortunes, so that it's very inhabitants could scarcely endure it; and yet he so civilised it again, and rendered it so desirable, that strangers came to settle in the country, from which it's own people had lately fled; the large cities of Agrigentum and Gela, which after the Athenian war had been sacked and left desolate by the Carthaginians, were now repeopled; the former by Megellus and Pheristus from Elea, and the latter by Gorgus from the isle of Ceos, who also collected and brought along with him some of the old citizens. Timoleon not only assured them of his protection, and of peaceful days to settle in after the tempests of such a war; but cordially entered into their necessities, and supplied them with every thing, so that he was even beloved by them, as if he had been their founder. Nay, to such a degree did he enjoy the affections of the Sicilians in general, that no war seemed concluded, no laws enacted, no lands divided, no political regulation made in a proper manner, except it was revised and retouched by him: he was the master-builder, who put the last hand to the work, and bestowed upon it a happy elegance and perfection. Though at that time Greece boasted a number of illustrious men, whose achievements were highly distinguished, Timotheus (for instance), Agesilaus, Pelopidas, and Epaminondas, with the last of whom Timoleon principally vied in the course of glory; yet we may discern in their actions a certain labour and effort, which diminishes their lustre, and some of them have afforded room for censure, and been followed with repentance; whereas there is not a single action of Timoleon (if we except the extremities, resorted to in the case of his brother) to which we may not, with Timæus, apply that passage of Sophocles;

> What Love, what Venus, by their soft control
> Bound the fair parts in this harmonious whole?

For, as the poetry of Antimachus[50] and the portraits of Dionysius[51] (both of them Colophonians) with all the nerves and strength, which one finds in them, appear to be too much forced and laboured; whereas the paintings of Nicomachus[52] and the verses of Homer beside their other excellences and graces, seem to have been struck off with freedom and readiness[53]: so if we compare the exploits of Epaminondas and Agesilaus, performed with infinite pains and difficulty, to those of Timoleon, which glorious as they were had in them a great deal of ease, when we deeply and justly consider the case, we shall conclude the latter not to have been the work of fortune indeed, but the effects of fortunate virtue.

---

[50] Antimachus was an epic poet of Colophon, a city in Ionia, who flourished in the days of Socrates and Plato. He wrote a poem called 'the Thebaid.' Quintilian (x. 1.) says, he possessed a great degree of force and solidity, together with a considerable elevation of stile, and had the second place assigned him by the grammarians, after Homer; but as he failed in the passions, in the disposition of his fable, and in the ease and elegance of manner, though he was second, he was far from coming near the first.

[51] Dionysius was a portrait-painter, and therefore called *Anthropographus.* (Plin. H. N. xxxv. 10.)

He himself, it is true, ascribed all his successes to Fortune. For in writing to his friends at Corinth, or addressing the Syracusans, he often said that he was highly indebted to that goddess, when she was resolved to save Sicily, for having done it under his name. In his house he built a chapel and offered sacrifices to Chance[54], and dedicated the house itself to Fortune: for the Syracusans had given him one of the best houses in the city, as a reward of his services; and provided him, besides, a very elegant and agreeable retreat in the country. In the country it was, that he spent most of his time with his wife and children, whom he had sent for from Corinth: for he never returned home, took no part in the troubles of Greece, nor exposed himself to public envy (the rock, upon which great generals commonly split, in their insatiable pursuits of honour and power) but remained in Sicily, enjoying the blessings which he had introduced; and of which the greatest was, to see so many cities and so many thousands of people made happy through his means.

---

[52] 'Nicomachus,' as Pliny informs us, 'painted with a swift, as well as masterly hand; and his pieces sold for as much as a town was worth.' *Nec fuit alius in arte velocior.*—'*Tabulæ singulæ oppidorum vænibant opibus.*' Aristratus the tyrant of Sicyon, having agreed with him for a piece of work which seemed to require a considerable time, Nicomachus did not appear till within a few days of that, on which he had agreed to finish it. Upon this, the tyrant talked of punishing him; but in those few days he completed the thing most admirably, and entirely to his satisfaction.

[53] Surely, as has been observed before me, a great excellence;

> —*ut sibi quivis*
> *Speret idem, sudet multùm frustraque laboret,*
> *Ausus idem.* (Hor. A. P. 240.)

Well has Quintilian wound up his panegyric on Homer with '*Ut magni sit viri virtutes ejus non æmulatione, quod fieri non potest, sed intellectu sequi.*' (x. I.)*

[54] When the ancients ascribed any event to Fortune, they did not mean to deny the operation of the Deity in it, but only to exclude all human contrivance and power. And, in events ascribed to Chance, they might possibly mean to exclude the agency of all rational beings, whether human or divine. (L.) The deliverance of Sicily was the work of Fortune, according to Timoleon (or rather Plutarch); it's deliverance by his hand, of Chance. Fortune led

But since, according to the comparison of Simonides, every republic must have some impudent slanderer, just as every lark must have a crest upon it's head, so it was at Syracuse; for Timoleon was attacked by two demagogues, Laphystius and Demænetus. The first of these having demanded of him sureties, that he would answer to an indictment which was to be brought against him, the people began to rise, declaring they would not suffer him to proceed. But Timoleon stilled the tumult, by representing "That he had voluntarily undergone "so many labours and dangers, on purpose that "every Syracusan might have recourse, when he "pleased, to the laws." And, when Demænetus in full assembly alleged many articles against his behaviour in command, he vouchsafed him no answer; but only said, "He could not sufficiently "express his gratitude to the gods for granting his "request, in having permitted him to see all the "Syracusans enjoy the liberty of saying whatever "they thought fit."

the man, whose father had been murthered twenty years before, to the same temple with the murtherer—at the very moment, as Chance would have it, that the assassin was meditating a new crime in the murther of Timoleon.*

Having then confessedly performed greater things than any Grecian of his time, and being the only man who had realised those glorious achievements, to which the orators of Greece were constantly exhorting their countrymen in the general assemblies of the states, Fortune happily placed him at a distance from the calamities in which the mother-country was involved, and kept his hands unstained with it's blood. He made his courage and conduct appear in his dealings with the barbarians and with tyrants, as well as his justice and moderation wherever the Greeks or their friends were concerned. Very few of his trophies cost his fellow-citizens a tear or put any of them in mourning[55]; and yet, in less then eight years, he delivered Sicily from it's intestine miseries and distempers, and restored it to the native inhabitants.

After so much prosperity, when he was well advanced in years, his eyes began to fail him, and the defect increased so fast that he entirely lost his sight. Not that he had done any thing to occasion it, nor was it imputable to the caprice of Fortune[56]; but it seems to have been owing to a family-weakness and disorder, which operated together with the course of time. For several of his relations are said to have lost their sight in the same manner, having had it gradually impaired by years. But Athanis informs us, notwithstanding, that during the war with Hippo and Mamercus, and while he lay before Mylæ, a white speck appeared on his eye, which was a plain indication that blindness was coming on. This did not hinder him, however, from continuing the siege, and prosecuting the war until he got the tyrants into his power. But when he was returned to Syracuse, he immediately laid down the command, and excused himself to the people from any farther service, as he had brought their affairs to a happy conclusion.

---

[55] This was the proud boast of Pericles on his death-bed, but it must be confined to his domestic administration; as it could never be predicated with justice, in an unlimited sense, of the author of the Peloponnesian war.*

[56] Plutarch here hints at an opinion, which was very prevalent among the Pagans, that if any person was signally favoured with success, some misfortune would inevitably happen to counterbalance it. This they imputed to the envy of a malignant dæmon.

That he bore his misfortune without repining, is not to be wondered at; but it was really admirable to observe the honour and respect, which the Syracusans paid him when blind. They not only visited him constantly themselves, but brought all strangers who spent some time among them to his house in the town, or to that in the country, that they too might have the pleasure of seeing the deliverer of Syracuse. And it was their joy and pride, that he chose to spend his days with them, and despised the splendid reception which Greece was prepared to give him, on account of his eminent successes. Among the many votes passed, and things contrived for his honour, one of the most striking was their decree; "That, whenever they should be at war "with a foreign nation, they would employ a Corin- "thian general." Their method of proceeding also, in their assemblies, had the same object. For they decided smaller matters by themselves, but consulted him in the more important cases. Upon these occasions, he was conveyed in a litter through the market-place to the theatre; and when he was carried in, the people saluted him with one voice, as he sat. He returned the civility, and having paused a while to allow time for their acclamations, took cognisance of the affair, and delivered his opinion. The assembly gave their sanction to it, and then his servants carried the litter back through the theatre; and the people having accompanied him with loud applauses, despatched the rest of the public business by themselves.

With so much respect and kindness was the old age of Timoleon cherished, as that of a common father! and at last he died of a slight illness, co-operating with length of years[57]. Some time being granted to the Syracusans to prepare for his funeral, and for the neighbouring inhabitants and strangers to assemble, the whole was conducted with the utmost magnificence. The bier sumptuously adorned was carried by young men, selected by the people, over the ground where the palace and castle of the tyrants had stood prior to their demolition. It was followed by many thousands of men and women, in procession not unlike that of a public festival, crowned with garlands and clothed in white. The lamentations and tears, mingled with the praises of the deceased, showed that the honour now paid him was not a matter of course, or mere compliance with a duty enjoined, but the testimony of real sorrow and sincere affection. At last the bier being placed upon the funeral pile, Demetrius, who had the loudest voice of all their heralds, was directed to make proclamation as follows: "The people of Syracuse inter Timoleon "the Corinthian, the son of Timodemus, at the "expense of two hundred minæ: they honour him "moreover with annual games for ever, to be cele-"brated with performances in music, horse-racing, "and wrestling; as the man who destroyed tyrants, "subdued barbarians, repeopled great cities which "lay desolate, and restored to the Sicilians their "laws."

The body was interred and a monument erected for him in the market-place, which they afterward surrounded with porticoes and other buildings suitable to the purpose, and then made it a place of exercise for their youth, under the name of Timoleonteum. And they themselves continued to make use of the form of government and the laws[58] established by him, which insured their happiness for a long course of years[59].

---

[57] He died Ol. cx. 4., B. C. 337., after having governed Sicily eight years. (Diod. Sic. xvi. 90.)*

[58] Of their laws, which had originally been framed by Diocles, he left some—those, in particular, relative to wills and contracts—unaltered; but such of their civil regulations, as had been changed

---

or subverted by the tyrants, he corrected or restored. In this department, he availed himself of the assistance of Cephalus. (Diod. Sic. xvi. 82.)*

[59] This prosperity was interrupted, about thirty years afterward, by the cruelties of Agathocles, who made himself tyrant of Syracuse. (Id. xix. 7., &c.)

THE

LIFE

OF

PAULUS ÆMILIUS[1].

SUMMARY.

Plutarch's motives in writing the Lives of illustrious men. Noble extraction of Paulus Æmilius. His birth, first offices, and exploits. His marriages; war in Liguria, and taste for the sciences. War with Perseus, king of Macedon. Origin of the Roman war with that country. Paulus Æmilius is elected consul a second time, and appointed to the management of the Macedonian war. He harangues the people, and sets off. Perseus' avarice; and Æmilius' judicious conduct. Different opinions about springs and fountains. Æmilius enters Macedon by mount Olympus. Height of that mountain. Scipio crosses it. Perseus' consternation; and the prudent measures of Æmilius. Eclipse of the moon. Plan of the battle. Perseus retreats. Vigorous resistance of the Macedonian phalanx; which, however, is at last broken. Æmilius gains a complete victory: is alarmed for his son. Perseus flies, and carries off his treasures to Samothrace. Æmilius in two days takes possession of the whole of Macedon. Despatch with which the intelligence is conveyed to Rome. Other instances of the speedy circulation of news. Perseus is taken, and kindly treated by Æmilius. His abject behaviour. Æmilius' speech to his soldiers upon the vicissitudes of human affairs. He travels in Greece, and introduces there many judicious regulations. His great satisfaction in that country. He passes into Epirus; and returns to Italy. Servius Galba endeavours to deprive him of the honour of a triumph. Servilius addresses the people in his favour. A triumph is decreed to him. It's extraordinary magnificence. Perseus is led *up in it, with his children. Æmilius' personal splendour. He loses his two sons; but supports his misfortune with great magnanimity. Death of Perseus, and fate of his children. Taxes abolished at Rome. Difference of Æmilius' conduct from that of his son Scipio. He is elected censor: dies. Honours paid him. He leaves behind him very inconsiderable property.*

WHEN I first applied myself to the writing of these Lives, it was for the sake of others: but I pursue, and persevere in, that study for my own; availing myself of history, as of a mirror[2], from which I learn to adjust and regulate my conduct. For it is like living and conversing with these illustrious men, when I invite as it were and receive them, one after another, under my roof when I consider

> How great and wonderful they were[3],

and select from their actions the most memorable and glorious:

---

[1] This Life is by the modern editors of Amyot, and by M. Ricard, judiciously made to precede that of Timoleon as the preface clearly indicates it ought to be; in opposition to most of the editors of Plutarch, who seem to have thought, without sufficient foundation, that the Greek should always go before his Roman parallel.*

[2] So Terence,

> *Denique*
> *Inspicere, tanquam in speculum, in vitas omnium*
> *Jubeo, atque ex aliis sumere exemplum sibi.* (Adelph. iii, 4.)

And Livy,

> *Hoc illud est præcipuè in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri: inde tibi, tuæque reip., quod imitere capias; inde fœdum inceptu, fœdum exitu, quod vites.* (Præf.)*

[3] ὅσσος ἔην οἷός τε——Hom. Il. xxiv. 629., where the phrase is applied to Priam's admiration of Achilles. These allusions at once prove the fulness of Plutarch's mind, and set off his compositions.*

What greater bliss! What medicine, of our manners
More powerfully corrective!

Democritus has a position in his philosophy[4], utterly false indeed and leading to endless superstitions, that there are phantasms or images continually floating in the air, some propitious and some unlucky; and advises us to pray, that such may strike upon our senses as are agreeable to and perfective of our nature, and not such as have a tendency to vice and error. For my part, instead of this, I fill my mind with the sublime images of the best and greatest men, by attention to history and biography; and if I contract any blemish, any ill custom or ungenerous feeling from other company in which I am unavoidably engaged, I correct and expel them, by calmly and dispassionately turning my thoughts to these excellent examples. For the same purpose, I now put into your[5] hands the Life of Timoleon the Corinthian and that of Æmilius Paulus, men celebrated not only for their pursuits, but for their virtues; insomuch that they have left room to doubt, whether their great achievements were not more owing to their good fortune, than to their prudence.

Most writers agree, that the Æmilian family was one of the most ancient among the Roman nobility: and it is asserted that the founder of it, who also left it his surname, was Mamercus[6] the son of Pythagoras the philosopher[7], who for the peculiar charms and gracefulness of his elocution was called Æmilius[8]; such at least is the opinion of those, who say that Numa was educated under Pythagoras.

---

[4] Democritus held that visible objects produced their image in the ambient air, which image produced a second, and the second a third still less than the former, and so on till the last produced it's counterpart in the eye. This he supposed to be the process of the act of vision, and called ὁραν καὶ' ειδωλων εμπτωσεις. But he went on to what is infinitely more absurd. He maintained that thought was formed, accordingly as those images struck upon the imagination; that of these there were some good, and some evil; that the good produced virtuous thoughts in us, and the evil the contrary. (L.) Plutarch, however, has made a fine use of this whimsical theory. Lucretius has amplified the notion of images *(simulacra)* in the beginning of his fourth book, ver. 31., &c. For an account of Democritus, see Diog. Laërt. ix. 34.*

[5] Viz. those of Sessius Senecio. See not. (3.) at the beginning of the Life of Theseus.*

Those of this family, who distinguished themselves[9], found their attachment to virtue generally blessed with success. And notwithstanding the ill fortune of Lucius Paulus at Cannæ, he displayed upon that occasion both his prudence and his valour. For when he could not dissuade his collegue from fighting, he joined him in the combat, though much against his will, but did not partake with him in his flight: on the contrary, when he who had plunged them into danger deserted the field, Paulus stood his ground, and fell bravely amidst the enemy with his sword in his hand[10].

This Paulus had a daughter named Æmilia, who was married to Scipio the Great, and a son called Paulus, whose history I am now writing.

At the time, in which he made his appearance in the world, Rome abounded with men celebrated for their virtues and other excellent accomplishments[11]; and even among these Æmilius made a distinguished figure, without having pursued the same studies, or set out in the same track, with the young nobility of that age. For he did not exercise himself in pleading causes, neither could he stoop to salute, and solicit, and caress the people, which was the method adopted by most of the candidates for popularity. Not that he had been denied talents from nature to acquit himself well in either of these respects, but he reckoned the honour that flows from bravery, justice, and probity, preferable to both; and in these virtues he soon surpassed all the young men of his time.

---

[6] See the Life of Numa, Vol. I.

[7] He is called Pythagoras the philosopher, to distinguish him from Pythagoras the wrestler.

[8] From the Greek αιμυλος.*

[9] From Lucius Æmilius, who was consul A. U. C. 270. and overcame the Volsci, to Lucius Paulus, who was father to Paulus Æmilius and fell at Cannæ, A. U. C. 538., there were many of those Æmilii renowned for their victories and triumphs.

[10] See the Life of Fabius Maximus, p. 89.

[11] In that period we find the Sempronii, the Albini, the Fabii Maximi, the Marcelli, the Scipiones, the Fulvii, the Sulpitii, the Cethegi, the Metelli, &c. &c.!!

The first of the high offices of state, for which he was a candidate, was that of Ædile; and he carried it against twelve competitors, who (we are told) were all subsequently consuls. And when he was appointed one of the priests called Augurs, whom the Romans employ in the inspection and care of divination by the flight of birds and by prodigies in the air, he studied so attentively the usages of his country, and acquainted himself so perfectly with the ancient ceremonies of religion, that what before was only considered as an honour, and courted on account of the authority annexed to it[12], appeared in his hands to be one of the principal arts. Thus he confirmed the definition, which is given by some philosophers, "That religion is the science of worshipping the gods[13]." He did every thing with skill and application; he laid aside all other concerns while he attended to this, and made not the least omission or innovation; but disputed with his collegues about the minutest article, and insisted that though the Deity might be deemed merciful, and willing to overlook some neglect, yet it was dangerous for the state to connive at and pass by such things. For no man ever began his attempts against government with an enormous crime[14], and relaxing in the smallest matters breaks down the fences of the greatest.

---

[12] Under pretence that the auspices were favourable or otherwise, the Augurs had it in their power to promote or obstruct any public affair whatever. (Cic. de Legg. ii. 12.) Of this college most of the patrician youth, who wished to take a part in state-affairs, were admitted members.

[13] See Plato's Euthyphron.*

[14] Thus *nemo repentè fuit turpissimus*, in Plutarch's opinion (it appears), was as true of political, as of moral turpitude.*

Neither was he less exact in requiring, and observing, the military discipline of his country. He did not study to be popular in command, nor endeavour like the generality to make one commission the foundation for another, by humouring and indulging the soldiery[15]: but, as a priest instructs the initiated with care in the sacred ceremonies, so he explained to those who were under him the rules and customs of war; and being inexorable, at the same time, to those who transgressed them, he re-established his country in it's former glory. With him indeed the beating of an enemy was a matter of much less account, than the bringing of his countrymen to strict discipline; the first seeming to be the necessary consequence of the latter.

During the war, in which the Romans were engaged with Antiochus the Great[16] in the east, and in which their most experienced officers were employed, another broke out in the west. There was a general revolt in Spain[17]; and thither Æmilius was sent, not with six lictors only like other prætors, but with twice the number, which seemed to raise his dignity to an equality with the consular. He beat the barbarians in two pitched battles[18], and killed thirty thousand of them: which success appears to have been owing to his generalship in choosing his ground, and attacking the enemy while they were crossing a river; for, by these means, his army gained an easy victory. He made himself master of two hundred and fifty cities, which voluntarily opened their gates to him: and having established peace throughout the province, and secured it's allegiance, he returned to Rome not a drachma richer than he went out. He never indeed was desirous to enrich himself, but lived in a generous manner upon his own estate; which however was so far from being large, that after his death it was hardly sufficient to answer his wife's dowry.

---

[15] The Roman soldiers were at the same time citizens, who had votes for all the great civil and military employments.

[16] The war with Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, began about A. U. C. 562., twenty-four years after the battle of Cannæ. The consul Glabrio was employed in it, and after him the two Scipios; the elder of whom was content to serve as lieutenant under his brother. (Liv. xxxvii. 1.)

[17] Spain, after having shaken off the Roman yoke during the Punic wars, had been recovered by Scipio Nasica.

[18] Livy (ib. 57.) speaks only of one successful battle, in which Paulus Æmilius forced the entrenchments of the Spaniards, killed eighteen thousand of them, and made three hundred prisoners.

His first wife was Papiria, the daughter of Papirius Maso, a man of consular dignity. After he had lived with her a long time in wedlock, he divorced her, though she had brought him very fine children; for she was mother to the illustrious Scipio, and to Fabius Maximus. The reason of this separation history does not record; but with respect to divorces in general, the account which a certain Roman, who put away his wife, gave of his own case seems to have been a just one. When his friends remonstrated, and asked him, "Was she not "chaste? Was she not fair? Was she not fruitful?" He held out his shoe, and said, "Is it not handsome? "Is it not new? Yet none knows where it pinches, "but he that wears it." It is certain, that men usually repudiate their wives for great and visible faults; yet sometimes also a peevishness of temper or incongruity of manners, small and frequent distastes though not discerned by the world, produce the most incurable aversions in a married life[19].

---

[19] M. Ricard, with some others, thinks it not improbable that the author of this observation was Paulus Æmilius himself. The very ingenious Dr. Robertson mentions this frequency of divorces, as one of the necessary reasons for introducing the Christian religion at that precise period of time, when it was published to the world. 'Divorces on very slight pretences were permitted both by the Greek and Roman legislators. And, though the pure manners of those republics restrained for some time the operation of such a pernicious institution, though the virtue of private persons seldom abused the indulgence that the legislator allowed them: yet no sooner had the establishment of arbitrary power and the progress of luxury vitiated the taste of men, than the law with regard to divorces was found to be among the worst corruptions that prevailed in that abandoned age. The facility of separations rendered

Æmilius, thus separated from Papiria, married a second wife, by whom he had also two sons. These he brought up in his own house; the sons of Papiria being adopted into the greatest and most noble families in Rome, the elder[20] by the Fabius Maximus who was five times consul, and the younger by his cousin-german the son of Scipio Africanus, who gave him the name of Scipio. One of his daughters was married to the son of Cato, and the other to Ælius Tubero a man of superior integrity, and who of all the Romans knew best how to bear poverty. There were not fewer than sixteen of the Ælian family and name, who had only a small house and one farm among them[21]; and in this house they all lived, with their wives and many children. Here dwelt the daughter of Æmilius, who had been twice consul, and had triumphed twice; not ashamed of her husband's poverty, but admiring that virtue which kept him poor. Very different is the behaviour of brothers, and other near relations in these days; who, if their possessions be not separated by large tracts of land, rivers, and fortresses, are perpetually at

---

married persons careless of practising or obtaining those virtues, which render domestic life easy and delightful. The education of their children, as the parents were not mutually endeared or inseparably connected, was generally disregarded; each parent considering it but a partial care, which might with equal justice devolve on the other. Marriage, instead of restraining, added to the violence of irregular desire, and under a legal title became the vilest and most shameless prostitution. From all these causes the marriage-state fell into disreputation and contempt, and it became necessary to force men by penal laws into a society, where they expected no secure or lasting happiness. Among the Romans domestic corruption grew of a sudden to an incredible height. And perhaps, in the history of mankind, we can find no parallel to the undisguised impurity and licentiousness of that age. It was in good time therefore, &c. &c.'

[20] Who took the name of Q. Fabius Æmilianus, and was father to the celebrated orator Q. Fabius. His brother likewise, the celebrated Africanus Minor, or the second, who destroyed Carthage A. U. C. 608., took the name of Æmilianus.*

[21] See Val. Max. (iv. 4.) who adds, *minùs multos cultores desiderans, quam dominos habebat.**

variance about them. So much instruction does history suggest to the consideration of those, who are willing to profit by it!

When Æmilius was created consul[22], he went upon an expedition against the Ligurians, whose country lies at the foot of the Alps, and who are also by some called 'Ligustines:' a bold and martial people, who by their vicinity to the Romans had learned from them the art of war. For they dwelt in the extremities of Italy, bordering upon that part of the Alps which is washed by the Tuscan sea, just opposite to Africa, and were mixed with the Gauls and Spaniards who inhabited the coast. At that time they had likewise some strength at sea, and their corsairs plundered and destroyed the merchant-ships as far as the pillars of Hercules. They had an army of forty thousand men to receive Æmilius, who came but with eight thousand at the most. He engaged them however, though five times his number, entirely routed them, and having shut them up within their walled towns, offered them reasonable and moderate terms. For the Romans did not choose utterly to cut off the people of Liguria, whom they considered as a bulwark against the Gauls, a people always hovering over Italy. The Ligurians, confiding in Æmilius, delivered up their ships and their towns. He only rased the fortifications, and then re-delivered to them the cities: but he carried off their shipping, not leaving them a vessel bigger than those with three banks of oars; and he set at liberty a number of prisoners, as well Romans as strangers, whom they had captured both at sea and land[23].

Such were the memorable actions of his first consulship. After which, he often expressed his desire of being appointed again to the same high office, and even stood candidate for it; but, meeting with a repulse, he solicited it no more. Instead of that, he applied himself to the discharge of his function as augur, and to the education of his sons; not in such arts alone as had been taught in Rome, and those which he had himself acquired, but also in the politer arts of Greece. For this purpose he not only kept masters who could teach them grammar, logic, and rhetoric, but sculpture also and painting; together with such as were skilled in breaking and training horses and dogs, and were to instruct them in riding and hunting. When no public affairs prevented him, he himself always attended their studies and exercises. In short, he was the most indulgent parent in Rome.

---

[22] It was in the year following, that he went against the Ligurians. (Liv. xl. 25.)

[23] Æmilius' conduct upon this occasion, as it appears from Liv. xl. 25—28., deserved an ampler detail.*

As to public affairs, the Romans were then engaged in a war with Perseus[24], king of Macedon; and to the incapacity or the cowardice of their generals[25] they imputed it, that the advantage was on the enemy's side. For they, who had forced Antiochus the Great to quit the rest of Asia[26], driven him beyond mount Taurus, confined him to Syria, and made him deem himself happy in purchasing his peace with fifteen thousand talents[27]; who had lately vanquished king Philip in Thessaly[28], and delivered the Greeks from the Macedonian yoke; in short, who had subdued Annibal, a chieftain superior to all kings both in valour and power—thought it an intolerable thing to be obliged to contend for a long time with Perseus upon equal terms, as if they were competently matched by one, who only brought into the field the poor remains of his father's routed forces. Here, however, the Romans were deceived; for they knew not that Philip, after his defeat, had raised a much more numerous and better disciplined army, than he had before. This it may not be amiss to explain in a few words, from the very beginning. Antigonus[29], the most powerful among the generals and successors of Alexander, having gained for himself and his descendents the title of king, had a son named Demetrius, who was father to Antigonus surnamed Gonatas. Gonatas had a son named Demetrius, who after a short reign left a young son called Philip. The Macedonian nobility, dreading the confusion often consequent upon a minority, set up Antigonus, cousin* to the deceased king, and gave him his widow, the mother of Philip, to wife. At first they made him only regent and general, but afterward finding that he was a moderate and public-spirited man, they declared him king. He it was that had the name of Doson[30], because he was always promising, but never performed what he promised. After him, Philip mounted the throne, and though yet but a youth soon showed himself equal to the greatest of kings; so that it was believed, he would restore the crown of Macedon to it's ancient dignity, and be the only man capable of stopping the progress of the Roman power, which was now extending itself over the whole world. Being beaten however at Scotusa[31] by Titus Flaminius, his courage for the present sunk; and, engaging to receive such terms as the Romans should impose, he was glad to come off with a moderate fine. But, recollecting himself afterward, he could not brook the dishonour. To reign by the courtesy of the Romans appeared to him more suitable to a slave, who minds nothing but his pleasures, than to a man who has any dignity of sentiment; and he therefore turned his thoughts to war, but made his preparations with the utmost privacy and caution. For suffering the towns that were near the great roads and by the sea to run to decay, and to become half desolate, in order that he might be held in contempt by the enemy, he collected an immense force in the higher provinces; and filling the inland places, the cities and castles, with arms, money, and men fit for service, without making any parade of war, he had his troops (like so many wrestlers, trained and exercised in secret) always in readiness for it. For he had in his arsenal arms for thirty thousand men, in his garrisons eight millions of measures of wheat, and money in his coffers to defray the charge of maintaining ten thousand mercenaries for ten years, to defend his country. But he had not the satisfaction of carrying these designs into execution; for he died of grief and a broken heart, upon discovering that he had unjustly put Demetrius his more worthy son to death[32], in consequence of an accusation preferred by his other son Perseus.

---

[24] This second Macedonian war with Perseus began A. U. C. 583., B. C. 171.

[25] Those generals were P. Licinius Crassus, after him A. Hostilius Mancinus, and then Q. Martius Philippus, who dragged the war heavily on during the three years of their consulship.

[26] Seventeen years before.

[27] Livy says twelve thousand, which were to be paid in twelve years, by instalments of a thousand talents a year. (xxxviii. 38.)

[28] This service was performed by T. Q. Flaminius, who defeated Philip in Thessaly, killed eight thousand of his men upon the spot, took five thousand prisoners, and after his victory caused proclamation to be made by a herald at the Isthmian games that Greece was free. See his Life.

---

[29] This Antigonus killed Eumenes, and took Babylon from Seleucus; and when his son Demetrius had overthrown Ptolemy's fleet at Cyprus, first (of all Alexander's successors) presumed to wear a diadem, and assumed the title of king.

Philip, of the race of the Temenidæ

Antigonus I. m. Stratonice — Demetrius

Demetrius I. (Poliorcetes) m. 1. Phila

Antigonus II. (Gonatas)

Demetrius II. — Alcyoneus (natural child)

Philip — Antigonus III. (Doson) — Echecrates

Perseus, last king of Macedon — Demetrius

Philip — Alexander — a daughter, who all died at Rome.

See the Life of Demetrius, Vol. V. not. (63.)

* Or rather nephew.

---

[30] Doson signifies 'will-give.'

[31] For an account of this engagement, see the Life of Flaminius.

Perseus, who survived him, inherited with the crown his father's hostility to Rome; but he was not equal to such a burthen, on account of the littleness of his capacity and the meanness of his manners; avarice being the principal of the many passions, which reigned in his distempered heart. It is even said, that he was not Philip's son; but that the wife of that prince took him, as soon as he was born, from his mother (a sempstress of Argos, named Gnathænia[33]) and imposed him upon her husband as her own. And the chief reason of his compassing the death of Demetrius seemed to have been his fear that the royal house, having a lawful heir, might prove him to be supposititious. But though he was of such an abject and ungenerous disposition, yet elated with the prosperous situation of his affairs, he engaged in war with the Romans, and long maintained the conflict; repulsing several of their fleets and armies commanded by men of consular dignity, and even beating some of them. Publius Licinius, who first invaded Macedon, he defeated in an engagement of the cavalry[34], killed two thousand five hundred of his best men, and took six hundred prisoners. He surprised the Roman fleet which lay at anchor off Oreum[35], took twenty of their store-ships, sunk the rest that were loaded with wheat, and made himself master besides of four galleys, which had each five benches of oars. By another successful battle likewise he drove back the consul Hostilius, who was attempting to enter his kingdom by Elimia; and when the same general was stealing in by the way of Thessaly, he presented himself before him, but the Roman did not choose to stand the encounter. And as if this war alone did not sufficiently employ him, or the Romans singly were not an enemy respectable enough, he went upon an expedition against the Dardanians, in which he cut in pieces ten thousand of them, and carried off much booty. At the same time, he privately solicited the Gauls who dwell near the Danube, and are called Bastarnæ. These were a warlike people, and strong in cavalry. He tried the Illyrians also, hoping to bring them to join him by means of Gentius their king; and it was reported that the barbarians had taken his money, under promise of making an inroad into Italy by the lower Gaul, along the coast of the Adriatic[36].

---

[32] This story is finely embellished in Dr. Young's tragedy of 'the Brothers;' for a great part of which, however, that author was indebted (it appears) to a French tragedy, called '*Persée et Demetrius*.'*

[33] Or Gnathænium (see the Life of Aratus, near the conclusion, Vol. VI.) a termination not unusual in the names of ancient courtesans. See also the Life of Lycurgus, Vol. I.*

[34] Livy has given us a description of this action, at the end of his forty-second book. Perseus offered peace to those, whom he had beaten, upon as easy conditions as if he himself had been overthrown, but the Romans refused it: they made it a rule, indeed, never to make peace when defeated. (L.) *Ita tunc mos erat, in adversis vultum secundæ fortunæ gerere, moderari animos in secundis.* (ib. 62.) *Ils ne firent jamais la paix que vainqueurs*, says Montesq. Grand. et Décad. &c. The rule proved a wise one for that people, but can never be universally adopted. Ει δε και δυνατον εν ενιοις καιροις, says Polybius very judiciously upon the occasion, εικοτως αν τις επαπορησειεν.*

When this intelligence was brought to Rome, the people thought proper to lay aside all regard to interest and solicitation in the choice of their generals, and to call to the command a person of understanding, fit for the direction of great affairs. Such was Paulus Æmilius, a man advanced in years indeed (for he was about threescore) but still in his full strength, and surrounded with young sons and sons-in-law, and a number of other considerable relations and friends, who all persuaded him to listen to the people calling him to the consulship. At first he received the offer of the citizens very coldly, though they went so far as to court and even to entreat him, for he was now no longer ambitious of that honour: but as they daily attended at his gate, and loudly summoned him to make his appearance in the Forum, he was at length prevailed upon. When he put himself among the candidates, he looked less like a man who sued for the consulship, than as one who brought success along with him[37]: and, when at the request of the citizens he went down into the Campus Martius, they all received him with so entire a confidence and such a cordial regard, that upon their creating him consul the second time, they would not suffer the lots to be cast for the provinces[38] as usual, but immediately voted him the direction of the war in Macedon. It is said that after the people had appointed him commander-in-chief against Perseus, and conducted him home in a very splendid manner, he found his daughter Tertia, who was yet but a child, in tears. Upon this he took her in his arms, and asked her, "Why "she wept?" The girl embracing and kissing him, said; "Don't you know then, father, that Perseus "is dead?" meaning a little dog of that name, which she had brought up. To which Æmilius replied, "'Tis a lucky incident, child; I accept the omen." This particular is related by Cicero, in his Treatise on Divination[39].

---

[35] In Eubœa.

[36] See Polybius, a contemporary author, who relates what passed in the embassy sent by Perseus.* He practised likewise with Eumenes king of Bithynia, and caused representations to be made to Antiochus king of Syria, that the Romans were equally enemies to all kings: but, Eumenes demanding fifteen hundred talents, a stop was put to the negociation. The very treating, however, with Perseus occasioned an inveterate hatred between the Romans and their old friend Eumenes; but that hatred was of no service to Perseus.

It was the custom for those, who were appointed to the consulship, to make their acknowledgements to the people in a speech from the Rostrum: Æmilius, having assembled the citizens upon this occasion, told them, "That he had applied for his former "consulship, because he wanted a command; but "in this they had applied to him, because they "wanted a commander: and therefore, at present, "he did not hold himself obliged to them. If they "could have the war better directed by another, "he would readily quit the employment; but if "they placed their confidence in him, he expected "that they would not interfere with his orders, or "propagate idle reports, but provide in silence what "was necessary for the war: for, if they wished to "command their commanders, their expeditions "would be more ridiculous than ever[40]." It is not easy to express how much reverence this speech procured him from the citizens, and what high expectations it produced of the event. They rejoiced, that they had passed by the smooth-tongued candidates, and made choice of a general, who had so much freedom of speech and such dignity of manner. Thus the Romans submitted like servants to reason and virtue, in order that they might one day rule and become the masters of the world.

---

[37] See Livy xliv. 22.*

[38] Livy says the contrary. (xliv. 17.)

[39] i. 46.*

That Paulus Æmilius, when he went upon the Macedonian expedition, had a prosperous voyage and journey, and arrived with speed and safety in the camp, I impute to his good fortune; but when I consider how the war was conducted, and observe that the greatness of his courage, the excellence of his counsels, the attachment of his friends, his presence of mind and dexterity of expedients in times of danger all contributed to his success, I cannot place his glorious and distinguished actions to any account but his own. The avarice of Perseus, indeed, may possibly be considered as a fortunate circumstance for Æmilius; since it blasted and ruined the immense preparations and elevated hopes of the Macedonians, by a mean regard to money. For the Bastarnæ had come at his request, with a body of ten thousand horse[41], each of which had a foot-soldier by his side, and they all fought for hire: they were men who knew not how to till the ground, to feed cattle, or to navigate ships; but their sole profession and employment was to fight, and to conquer. When these pitched their tents in Medica[42] and mingled with the king's forces, who beheld them tall in their persons, ready beyond expression at their exercises, lofty and full of menaces against the enemy, the Macedonians were inspired with fresh courage, and a confident opinion that the Romans would not be able to stand against them, but be terrified both by their looks and by their strange and frightful motions.

---

[40] See this harangue somewhat differently reported in Livy. The three preceding years had supplied the Romans with too much occasion for finding fault with their generals; and it had now nearly grown into a habit with them. Æmilius, however, does not wholly renounce their jurisdiction:—'*Non sum is, qui non existimem admonendos duces esse; immò eum, qui de suâ unius sententiâ omnia gerat, superbum judico magis quàm sapientem,*' &c. (xlv. 22.)*

After Perseus had filled his people with such spirits and hopes, the barbarians demanded of him a thousand pieces of gold[43] for every officer; but the thoughts of parting with such a sum almost turned his brain, and in the narrowness of his heart he refused it, and broke off the alliance: as if he had not been the enemy of the Romans, but their steward, who was to give an exact account of his whole expences to those, against whom he was acting. At the same time[44] the example of the enemy pointed out to him better things; for, beside their other preparations, they had a hundred thousand men collected and ready for their use: and still he having to oppose so considerable a force, and an armament maintained at such an extraordinary expense, counted his gold and sealed his bags, fearing as much to touch them as if they had belonged to another. Yet he was not descended from a Lydian or Phœnician merchant, but allied[45] to Alexander and Philip, whose maxim it was to procure empire by money, and not money by empire, and who pursuing that maxim conquered the world. For it was a common saying, "That it "was not Philip, but Philip's gold, which took "the cities of Greece." As for Alexander, when he went upon the Indian expedition, and saw the Macedonians dragging after them a heavy and unwieldy load of Persian wealth, he first set fire to the royal carriages, and then persuaded the rest to do the same to theirs, that they might move forward to the war light and unencumbered: whereas Perseus, though he and his children and his kingdom overflowed with wealth, would not purchase his preservation by the expenditure of a small part of it; but was carried a wealthy captive to Rome, and showed that people, what immense sums he had saved and laid up for their use.

---

[41] Livy (xliv. 26.) has well described this horseman and his foot-soldier. He says, 'There came ten thousand horse, and as many foot who kept pace with the horse, and when any of the cavalry were unhorsed they mounted, and went into the ranks.'

The *Velites*, a kind of light-armed troops first instituted, on the suggestion of the centurion Q. Navius, during the siege of Capua in the second Punic war (Liv. xxvi. 4.), were of the same description.*

As soon as Perseus had intelligence of the approach of the Bastarnæ, he sent Antigonus to congratulate Clondicus their king. Clondicus made answer, that the Gauls could not march a step farther without money; which Perseus, in his avarice and ill-policy, refused to advance.

[42] A district of Thrace, situated between the rivers Strymon and Nessus or Nestus.*

[43] See Livy xliv. 26.*

---

[44] We agree with the editor of the old English translation, that the original here is extremely corrupted, and very difficult to be restored; and that it seems improbable, the Romans should have an army of a hundred thousand men in Macedon. See Livy xliv. 21. But the improbability lessens, if we consider that Paulus Æmilius applied upon this occasion to the allies, especially the Achæans, for what forces they could spare; and if we include those, which acted on board the Roman fleet. Æmilius indeed, just before the battle, expresses his apprehensions from the enemy's superiority of numbers; and it is true, that he had none to depend upon but the Romans, who were comparatively few. In his Grecian allies he could not place much confidence, because it was their interest, that the kingdom of Macedon should stand; and in fact, when that fell, severe tribunals were set up in Greece, and it's remaining shadow of liberty was lost.

[45] As he pretended at least.*

Nay, he not only deceived and sent away the Gauls, but also imposed upon Gentius king of the Illyrians, whom he had persuaded to join him in the war by a subsidy of three hundred talents. He even went so far, as to order the money to be counted before that prince's envoys, and suffered them to put their seal upon it. Gentius, thinking his demands complied with, in violation of the laws of honour and justice, seized and imprisoned the Roman embassadors who were then at his court. Perseus now concluded that there was no need of money to draw his ally into the war, since he had unavoidably plunged himself into it by an open instance of violence, and an inexcusable act of hostility: and therefore he defrauded the unhappy man of the three hundred talents, and without the least concern beheld him, his wife, and his children shortly afterward dragged from his kingdom (as out of their nest) by the prætor Lucius Anicius, who was sent against him at the head of an army[46].

Æmilius, advancing against such an adversary as Perseus, despised indeed the man, yet could not but admire his preparations and his strength. For he had four thousand horse, and nearly forty thousand foot who composed the Phalanx: and being encamped by the sea-side at the foot of mount Olympus, in a place perfectly inaccessible and strengthened on every part with fortifications of wood, he lay free from all apprehensions, persuaded that he should wear out the consul by protracting the time, and exhausting his treasures. But Æmilius, always vigilant and attentive, weighed every expedient and method of attack: and perceiving that the soldiers through want of discipline in time past were impatient of delay, and ready to dictate to their general things impossible to be executed, he reproved them with the utmost severity; ordering them not to intermeddle or attend to any thing but their own persons and their arms, that they might be in readiness to use their swords as became Romans, when their commander should give them an opportunity. He ordered also the sentinels to keep watch without their pikes[47], that they might guard the better against sleep, when they were sensible that they had nothing to defend themselves with against the enemy, who might attack them in the night.

---

[46] See Livy xliv. 30, 31. The expedition only lasted thirty days, and the news of the event reached Rome, before intelligence of the undertaking had transpired. From this Gentius the herb Gentian had it's name, as he first discovered it's useful bitterness, Plin. H. N. xxvii. 17. For the clear understanding of this whole passage, the reader should consult Livy, xliv. 17., and Polyb. Legat. 77.*

But his men complained the most of want of water; for only a little, and that but indifferent, flowed or rather came drop by drop from some springs near the sea. In this extremity Æmilius, seeing before him mount Olympus very high and covered with trees, conjectured from their verdure that there must be springs in it, which would discharge themselves at the bottom, and therefore caused several pits and wells to be dug at the foot of it *. These were soon filled with clear water, which ran into them with the greater force and rapidity, because it had been previously confined.

Some however deny, that there are any hidden sources constantly provided with water in the places from which it flows, neither will they allow the discharge to be owing to the opening of a vein; but assert, that the water is formed instantaneously from the condensation of vapours, and that by the coldness and pressure of the earth a moist vapour is rendered fluid. For as the breasts of women are not, like vessels, stored with milk always ready to flow, but prepare and change the nutriment which is in them into milk; so the cold and springy places of the ground have not a quantity of water hid within them, which as from reservoirs perpetually full can suffice to supply large streams and rivers; but, by compressing and condensing the vapours and the air, convert them into water. And such places being opened afford that element freely, just as the breasts of women supply milk from their being sucked, by compressing and liquefying the vapour; whereas the earth, which remains idle and undug, cannot produce any water, because it wants that motion which alone is the true cause of it.

---

[47] Livy, who gives us his harangue upon the occasion (xliv. 34.), says, 'without their shields;' the reason of which was, that the Roman shields being long, they might rest their heads upon them and sleep standing. Æmilius, however, made one order in favour of the soldiers upon guard; for he directed them to be relieved at noon, whereas before they used to be upon duty the whole day.

* See, for a similar instance of successful sagacity, the Life of Pompey IV. 165.*

But those, who teach this doctrine, give occasion to the sceptical to observe that by parity of reason there is no blood in animals, but that the wound produces it by a change in the flesh and spirits, which that impression renders fluid. It is likewise refuted by those who, digging deep in the earth to undermine some fortification or to search for metals, meet with deep rivers, not collected by little and little (which would be the case, if they were produced at the instant the earth was opened) but rushing upon them at once in great abundance. And it often happens, upon the breaking of a huge rock, that a quantity of water suddenly gushes out[48], and as suddenly ceases. So much upon this subject (of springs).

Æmilius sat still for some days, and it is said that there never were two large armies so near each other, which remained so quiet. But exploring and weighing every thing, he got information[49] that there was only one way left unguarded, which lay through Perrhæbia by Pythium and Petra; and conceiving stronger hope from the defenceless condition of the place, than fear from it's rugged and difficult appearance, he ordered the matter to be discussed in council.

---

[48] A singular illustration of this, it is said, occurred a few years ago to some workmen, who were digging a well for earl Spencer at Wimbledon in Surrey. Upon piercing the last stratum of stone, the water gushed out with great vehemence, and instantly rose several feet. See this topic more amply discussed by Sen. Quæst. Nat., and in the Encyclop. Méthodique, Art. *Géographie Physique* by M. Demarest, from whom M. Ricard abstracts a long note upon the subject.*

Scipio surnamed Nasica, son-in-law of Scipio Africanus, who was subsequently a leading man in the senate, was the first that offered to head the troops in taking this circuit to come at the enemy. And after him Fabius Maximus, the eldest son of Æmilius, though he was yet but a youth, expressed his readiness to join in the enterprise. Æmilius, delighted with this circumstance, gave them a detachment; not so large indeed as Polybius records, but to the amount mentioned by Nasica in a short letter, in which he describes this action to a certain king[50]. They had three thousand Italians, who were not Romans, and five thousand men besides, who composed the left wing. To these Nasica added a hundred and twenty horse, and two hundred Thracians and Cretans intermixed, who were of the troops of Harpalus.

With this detachment he began to march toward the sea, and encamped at Heracleum[51], as if he intended to sail round and fall upon the enemy's camp behind; but, when his soldiers had supped and night came on, he explained to the officers his real design, and directed them to follow a different route. Pursuing this without loss of time, he arrived at Pythium, where he ordered his men to take some rest. At this place Olympus is ten furlongs and ninety-six feet in height, as it is signified in the inscription[52] made by Xenagoras the son of Eumelus, the man who measured it. The geometers indeed affirm, that there is no mountain in the world more than ten furlongs high, nor any sea more than that in depth; yet it appears, that Xenagoras took the height not in a careless manner, but regularly and with proper instruments.

---

[49] From two merchants of Perrhæbia, a province of Thessaly, as Livy (xliv. 35.) informs us; who however adds, that it was not 'left unguarded.' Pythium, or Pythoum, was a city of Macedon: and Petra, a fortress in the same country.*

[50] Neither the account of Polybius, nor the letter of Nasica, are now extant.*

[51] The consul gave out that they were to go on board the fleet, which under the command of Octavius the prætor had been ordered to lie off the coast, for the ostensible purpose of ravaging the maritime parts of Macedon, but in reality to draw Perseus from his camp. (Liv. xliv. 35.) (L.)

This Heracleum, a name belonging to upward of forty cities in different parts of the ancient world, was situated in Lyncestis a province of Macedon, not far from the W. coast of the bay of Therma.*

There Nasica passed the night. Perseus, on his side, seeing Æmilius lie quiet in his camp, had not the least thought of the danger which threatened him; but a Cretan deserter, who had slipped from Scipio by the way, came and informed him of the circuit which the Romans were taking in order to surprise him. This intelligence threw him into great confusion, but he did not remove his camp; he only despatched ten thousand foreign mercenaries and two thousand Macedonians under Milo, and gave them orders to possess themselves of the heights with all possible expedition. Polybius states, that the Romans fell upon them while they were asleep, but Nasica informs us, there was a sharp and dangerous conflict for the heights; that he himself killed a Thracian mercenary, who engaged him, by piercing him through the breast with his spear; and that the enemy being routed, and Milo put to a shameful flight without his arms and in his under-garment only, he pursued them without any sort of hazard, and led his party down into the plain. Perseus terrified at this disaster, and disappointed in his hopes, decamped and retired. Yet he was under a necessity of stopping before Pydna, and risking a battle, unless he had chosen to split his army into garrisons for his towns[53], and there expect the enemy; who, when once entered into his country, could not be driven out without much slaughter and bloodshed.

---

[52] A numerical inscription of six lines, in which the only notable want of precision consists in a jumble of hexameters and pentameters, is given in the original, and preserved in some translations, but judiciously omitted by Langhorne. Plutarch in adding, from the geometers, that there is no mountain in the world more than ten furlongs high, is inaccurate. For a list of the loftiest see a paper, accompanied by an ingenious plate, in the Monthly Magazine 1798, II. 107. M. Ricard specifies, among others, the Puy de Dome, Le Plomb de Cantal, and le Puy de Saincy du Mont d'Or in the Pyrenees, de Buet and Mont Blanc in the Alps, the Pike of Teneriffe, and Chimboraço (the highest in the world) in the Andes or Cordilleras in S. America. And as to the depth of the sea, it is determined by La Place from what he denominates, 'the oscillations of the second class,' which depend chiefly on the rotation of the earth, and are the principal cause of the difference of the two tides in the same day, to average about four leagues!*

His friends represented to him, that his army was still superior in numbers; and that they would fight with the utmost resolution in defence of their wives and children, and in sight of their king, who was a partner in their danger. Encouraged by this representation, he fixed his camp there; prepared for battle, viewed the country, and assigned to each officer his post, as intending to meet the Romans when they came off their march. The field where he encamped was fit for the phalanx, which required plain and even ground to act in: near it was a chain of little hills, proper for the light-armed troops to retreat to, and from which they might wheel round and renew the attack; and through the middle ran the rivers Æson and Leucus, which though not very deep, because it was now the latter end of summer, were likely to give the Romans some trouble.

---

[53] His most judicious friends advised him to garrison his strongest cities with his best troops, and to protract the war; experience having proved, that the Macedonians were better able to defend cities, than the Romans were to take them: but this opinion the king rejected, from the cowardly idea, that perhaps the town, which he chose for his residence, might be the first besieged.

Æmilius, having joined Nasica, marched in good order against the enemy. But when he saw the disposition and number of their forces, he was astonished, and stood still to consider what was proper to be done. Upon this the young officers eager for the engagement, and particularly Nasica flushed with his success at mount Olympus, pressed up to him, and entreated him to lead them forward without delay. Æmilius only smiled, and said; "My "friend, if I were of your age, I should certainly do "so: but the many victories which I have gained, "have made me observe the errors of the vanquished, and forbid me to give battle immediately "after a march, to an army well drawn up and "every way prepared[54]."

He then ordered the foremost ranks, who were in sight of the enemy, to present a front, as if they were ready to engage, and the rear in the mean time to mark out a camp and throw up intrenchments; after which he made the battalions wheel off by degrees, beginning with those next the soldiers at work, so that their disposition was insensibly changed, and his whole army encamped without noise.

When they had supped and were thinking of nothing but going to rest, on a sudden the moon, which was then at full and very high, began to be darkened, and, after changing into various colours, was at last totally eclipsed[55]. The Romans, according to their custom, made a great noise by striking upon vessels of brass, and held up lighted faggots and torches in the air, in order to recall her light; but the Macedonians did no such thing: horror and astonishment seized their whole camp, and a whisper passed among the multitude, that this appearance portended the fall of the king. As for Æmilius, he was not entirely unacquainted with this matter; he had heard of the ecliptic inequalities, which bring the moon at certain periods into the shadow of the earth, and darken her till she has passed that quarter of obscurity, and receives light from the sun again. Nevertheless, as he was wont to ascribe most events to the Deity, and was a religious observer of sacrifices and of the art of divination, he offered up to the moon eleven heifers, as soon as he saw her regain her former lustre. At break of day also he sacrificed oxen to Hercules, to the number of twenty, without any auspicious sign; but in the twenty-first the desired tokens appeared, and he announced victory to his troops, provided they stood upon the defensive [56]. At the same time he vowed a hecatomb and solemn games in honour of that god, and then commanded the officers to marshal the army in order of battle: waiting however till the sun should decline, and get round to the west, lest if they came to action in the morning, it should dazzle the eyes of his soldiers, he sat down the mean while in his tent, which was open to the field and to the enemy's camp.

---

[54] See Nasica's speech, and Æmilius' two replies (one given immediately, and one the next day) as well as other particulars of the action, in Liv. xliv. 36—38.*

[55] Livy informs us, that Sulpitius Gallus one of the Roman tribunes foretold this eclipse: first to the consul, and then with his leave to the army: and thus that terror, which eclipses were wont to breed in ignorant minds, was entirely taken off, and the soldiers more and more disposed to confide in officers of so much wisdom and general knowledge. *Romanis militibus Galli sapientia propè divina videri.* (ib.)

Some say, that toward evening he availed himself of an artifice, to make the enemy begin the fight. It seems he turned a horse loose without a bridle, and sent out some Romans to catch him, who were attacked while they were pursuing him, and so the engagement began. Others say that the Thracians, commanded by one Alexander, attacked a Roman convoy: that seven hundred Ligurians making up to it's assistance, a sharp skirmish ensued; and that, larger reinforcements being sent to both parties, at last the main bodies came into action. Æmilius like a wise pilot, foreseeing by the agitation of both armies the violence of the impending storm, came out of his tent, passed through the ranks, and encouraged his men. In the mean time Nasica, who had rode up to the place where the skirmish began, saw the whole of the enemy's army advancing to the charge.

---

[56] Here we see Æmilius availed himself of augury, to bring his troops the more readily to comply with what he knew was most prudent. He was sensible of their impetuosity, but he was sensible at the same time that coolness and calm valour were more necessary to be exerted against the Macedonian phalanx, which was not inferior in courage and discipline to the Romans; and therefore he told them, that the gods enjoined them to stand upon the defensive, if they desired to be victorious. Another reason why Æmilius deferred the fight was, as Plutarch states, because the morning sun was full in 'the eyes of his soldiers.'

First of all marched the Thracians, whose very aspect struck the beholders with terror. They were men of a prodigious size; their shields were white and glistering; their vests were black, their legs armed with greaves; and as they moved, their long pikes heavy-shod with iron shook on their right shoulders. Next came the mercenaries, variously armed, according to the manner of their respective countries: with these were mixed the Pæonians. In the third place advanced the battalions of Macedon, the flower of it's youth and the bravest of it's sons: their new purple vests and gilded arms making a most splendid appearance. As these took their post, the Chalcaspides moved out of the camp; the fields gleamed with the polished steel and the brazen shields which they bore, and the mountains re-echoed to their cheers. In this order they marched forward, and that with so much boldness and speed, that the first of their slain[57] fell only two furlongs from the Roman *fosse*.

---

[57] The light-armed. It is to be regretted that this imperfect statement of the Macedonian order of battle cannot be corrected

As soon as the attack began, Æmilius advanced to the first ranks, and found that the foremost of the Macedonians had struck the heads of their pikes into the shields of the Romans, so that it was impossible for his men to reach their adversaries with their swords. And when he saw the rest of the Macedonians take their bucklers from their shoulders, join them close together, and with one motion present their pikes against his legions, the strength of such a rampart and the formidable appearance of such a front struck him with terror and amazement. He never indeed beheld a more dreadful spectacle, and he frequently afterward mentioned the impression which it made upon him. He took care however to show a pleasant and cheerful countenance to his men, and even rode about without either helmet or breast-plate. But the king of Macedon (as Polybius informs us) as soon as the engagement commenced, gave way to his fears, and withdrew into the town [58] under pretence of sacrificing to Hercules; a deity who accepts not the timid offerings of cowards, nor favours any unjust vows. And surely it is unjust, that the man who never shoots should bear away the prize; that he, who deserts his post, should conquer; that he, who is despicably indolent, should be indulged with success; or that a bad man should be happy. But the god attended to the prayers of Æmilius; for he solicited military strength and victory with his sword in his hand, and fought while he implored the divine aid. Yet one Posidonius [59], who

---

either from Polybius, whose account of it is lost; or from Livy, whose xlivth book, where it is still unmutilated, differs widely from Plutarch. (See ib. 41.)*

[58] Pydna (says Livy ib. 42.) a city in Pieria, a Macedonian province near the head of the bay of Therma. The Pella, to which he subsequently fled, was a little farther to the N., and chiefly distinguished as the birth-place of Alexander the Great.*

[59] This could not be Posidonius of Apamea, who wrote a continuation of Polybius' history; for he went to Rome during the consulship of Marcellus, a hundred and eighteen years after this battle. Plutarch, indeed, seems to have taken him either for a

says he lived in those times and was present at that action, in the History of Perseus (which he wrote in several books) affirms, that it was not out of cowardice, nor under pretence of offering sacrifice that he quitted the field, but because the day before the fight he had received a hurt on his leg from the kick of a horse; that when the battle came on, though very much indisposed and dissuaded by his friends, he commanded one of his horses to be brought, mounted him, and charged without a breast-plate at the head of the phalanx; and that amidst the shower of missive weapons of all kinds, he was struck with a javelin of iron; not indeed with the point, but with it's shaft glancing in such a manner upon his left side as not only to rend his clothes, but to give him a bruise in the flesh, the mark of which remained a long time. This is what Posidonius alleges in Perseus' defence.

The Romans, who engaged the phalanx, being unable to break it, Salius a Pelignian officer snatched the ensign of his company, and threw it among the enemy. Upon which, the Pelignians rushing forward to recover it (for the Italians look upon it as a great crime and disgrace to abandon their standard) a dreadful conflict and slaughter on both sides ensued. The Romans attempted to cut the pikes of the Macedonians asunder with their swords, to beat them back with their shields, or to put them by with their hands: but the Macedonians, holding them steady with both hands, pierced their adversaries through their armour, as neither shield nor corslet was proof against the pike[60]. The Pelignians and Marrucinians[61], who without any sort of

---

counterfeit, or for a writer of no account, when he calls him 'one Posidonius, who says he lived in those times.'

[60] This shows the advantage, which the pike has over the broadsword; and the bayonet is still better, because it gives the soldier the free use of his musket, without being encumbered with an additional weapon, and when fixed to the musket supplies the place of a pike.

[61] Of these Italian nations the first, who lived in the neighbour-

discretion or rather with a brutal fury had exposed themselves to wounds, and run upon certain death, were thrown down headlong. The first line thus cut in pieces, those who were behind were forced to give way, and though they did not fly, yet they retreated toward mount Olocrus. Æmilius seeing this, as Posidonius relates, rent his clothes. He was reduced almost to despair, to find that part of his men had retired, and that the rest declined the combat with a phalanx which, on account of the pikes defending it on all sides like a rampart, appeared impenetrable and invincible. But the unevenness of the ground and the large extent of the front not permitting their bucklers to be joined through the whole, he observed several interstices and openings in the Macedonian line (as it happens in large armies, according to the different efforts of the combatants) in one part pressing forward, and in another forced to give back. For this reason he divided his troops, with all possible expedition, into platoons, which he ordered to throw themselves into the void spaces of the enemy's front[62]; and so not to engage with the whole at once, but to make many impressions at the same time in different parts. These orders being given by Æmilius to the officers, and by the officers to the soldiers, they immediately made their way between the pikes, wherever there was an opening; which was no sooner done, than some took the enemy in flank, where they were quite exposed, while others by a circuit attacked them in the rear; thus was the phalanx soon broken, and it's strength which depended upon one united effort was no more. When they came to fight man with man and party with

---

hood of the Marsi, were originally descended from the Sabines (Ov. Fast. iii. 95.) The latter inhabited a district situated on the Adriatic.*

[62] This gained the Romans the victory. '*In medio secunda legi immissa dissipavit phalangem; neque ulla evidentior causa victoriæ quàm quòd multa passim prælia erant, quæ fluctuantem turbârun primò, dein disjecerunt phalangem,*' &c. (Liv. xliv. 41.)*

party, the Macedonians had only short swords to strike the long shields of the Romans that reached from head to foot, and slight bucklers to oppose to the Roman swords, which from their weight and the force with which they were managed pierced through all their armour to the bodies; so that they maintained their ground with difficulty, and in the end were entirely routed.

It was here, however, that the most strenuous efforts were made on both sides; and here Marcus the son of Cato and son-in-law of Æmilius, after surprising acts of valour unfortunately lost his sword. As he was a youth who had received all the advantages of education, and who owed to so illustrious a father extraordinary instances of virtue, he was persuaded that he had better die, than leave such a spoil in the hands of his enemies. He therefore flew through the ranks, and wherever he happened to see any of his friends or acquaintance, told them his misfortune and implored their assistance. A number of brave young men were thus collected, who following their leader with equal ardour quickly traversed their own army, and fell upon the Macedonians. After a sharp conflict and dreadful carnage, the enemy was driven back, and the ground being left vacant, the Romans sought for the sword, which with much difficulty was found under a heap of arms and dead bodies. Transported with this success, they charged those who remained unbroken, with still greater eagerness and shouts of triumph. The three thousand Macedonians, who were all select men, kept their station and maintained the fight, but at last were entirely cut off. The rest fled; and terrible, indeed, was the slaughter. The field and the sides of the hills were covered with the dead, and the river Leucus, which the Romans crossed the day after the battle, was even then mixed with blood. For it is said, that about twenty-five thousand were killed on the Macedonian side: whereas the Romans, according to Posidonius, lost but one hundred; and, according to Nasica, only fourscore[63].

This great battle was soon decided, for it began at the ninth hour[64], and victory declared herself before the tenth. The remainder of the day was employed in the pursuit, which was continued for the space of a hundred and twenty furlongs, so that it was not far in the night when they returned. The servants went with torches to meet their masters, and conducted them with shouts of joy to their tents, which they had illuminated and adorned with crowns of ivy and laurel[65].

But the general himself was overwhelmed with grief. For of his two sons then serving under him, the youngest, whom he most loved, and who of all the brothers was most happily formed for virtue, was not to be found. As he was naturally brave and ambitious of honour, and withal very young[66], he concluded that his inexperience had engaged him too far in the hottest of the battle, and that he was certainly killed. The whole army sympathised in his suspense and distress; and leaving their supper, ran with torches, some to the general's tent, and some out of the trenches to seek him among the first of the slain. A profound melancholy reigned in the camp, while the field resounded with the cries of persons calling out, 'Scipio.' For so admirably had nature tempered him, that he was very early marked out by the world, as one beyond the rest of the youth likely to excel in the arts both of war and of civil government.

---

[63] Utterly impossible! if the circumstances of the fight are considered: but Livy's account is dreadfully mutilated.

[64] i. e. three in the afternoon.

[65] The laurel was sacred to Apollo, and the ivy to Bacchus. Bacchus, who is sometimes supposed to be the same with Hercules, was a warrior, and we read of his expedition into India. But the Roman custom, of adorning the tents of the victors with ivy, might arise from a more simple cause; Cæsar says, that in Pompey's camp he found the tent of Lentulus and some others covered with ivy: so sure had they made themselves of the victory. *L. etiam Lentuli et nonnulliorum tabernacula protecta ederâ.* (B. C. iii. 96.)

[66] He was at that time in his seventeenth year.

It was now very late, and he was almost given up, when he returned from the pursuit with two or three friends, covered with the fresh blood of the foe, like a spirited young hound carried too far by the charms of the chace. This is that Scipio, who subsequently destroyed Carthage and Numantia, and was incomparably the first, both in virtue and power, of the Romans of his time. Thus Fortune did not choose at present to make Æmilius pay for the favour which she showed him, but deferred it to another opportunity; and, therefore, he enjoyed this victory with unqualified satisfaction.

As for Perseus, he fled from Pydna to Pella with his cavalry, which had suffered no loss. When the foot overtook them, they reproached them as cowards and traitors, pulled them off their horses, and wounded several of them; so that the king, dreading the consequences of the tumult, turned his horse out of the common road, and lest he should be known, wrapped up his purple robe and placed it before him: he also took off his diadem, and carried it in his hand; and, that he might converse the more conveniently with his friends, alighted from his horse and led him. But they all slunk away from him by degrees; one under pretence of tying his shoe, another of watering his horse, and a third of being himself thirsty: not that they were so much afraid of the enemy, as of the cruelty of Perseus; who, exasperated with his misfortunes, sought to lay the blame of his miscarriage upon any body rather than himself. He entered Pella in the night, where he killed with his poignard Euctus and Eudæus two of his treasurers; who when they waited upon him, found fault with some of his proceedings and provoked him by an unseasonable liberty of admonition. Upon which, every body forsook him, but Evander the Cretan, Archedamus the Ætolian, and Neon the Bœotian: neither did any of his soldiers follow him except the Cretans, who were attached not to his person but to his money, as bees are to the honeycomb. For he carried much treasure along with him, and suffered them to take out of it cups and bowls, and other vessels of gold and silver[67], to the value of fifty talents. But when he came to Amphipolis and thence to Alepsus[68], his fears a little abating, he sunk again into his old and inborn distemper of avarice; lamented to his friends, that he had inadvertently given up to the Cretans some of the gold plate of Alexander the Great; and applied to those who had it, and even entreated them with tears to return it to him for the value in money. Those, who knew him well, easily discovered that he was 'playing the Cretan with the Cretans[69];' but such as were prevailed upon to give up the plate, lost all, for he never paid the money. Thus he got thirty talents from his friends, which were soon afterward to come into the hands of his enemies, and with these he sailed to Samothrace, where he took refuge at the altar of Castor and Pollux[70].

The Macedonians have always had the character of being lovers of their kings[71]; but now, as if the chief bulwark of their constitution were broken down and all were fallen with it, they submitted to Æmilius, and in two days he was master of the whole of Macedon. This seems to give some countenance to those, who impute these events to Fortune. A prodigy, which happened at Amphipolis, testified also the favour of the gods. The consul was offering sacrifice there, and the sacred ceremonies were begun, when a flash of lightning fell upon the altar, and at once consumed and consecrated the victim. But the share which fame had in this affair exceeds both that prodigy, and what is recorded likewise of his good fortune. For on the fourth day after Perseus was beaten at Pydna, as the people were at the equestrian games in Rome, a report was suddenly spread in the first seats of the theatre[72], that Æmilius had gained a great battle over Perseus, and overturned the kingdom of Macedon. The intelligence was made public in a moment, the multitude clapped their hands and uttered loud acclamations, and it passed current that day in the city. Afterward, when it appeared that it had no good foundation, the story dropped for the present and died away; but, when within a few days it was confirmed beyond dispute[73], they could not but feel surprise at the report which had been it's harbinger, and the fiction which had turned to truth.

---

[67] He was afraid to give it them, lest the Macedonians out of spite should seize all the rest. See Livy, ib. 45.

[68] One MS. has it 'Galepsus,' probably upon the authority of Livy, ib.

[69] It was an ancient proverb, 'The Cretans are always liars.' St. Paul (Tit. i. 12.) has quoted it from Callimach. (L.) Hymn. in Jov. 8., or Epimenides of Cnossus. As a proverb, indeed it would naturally be in many mouths. (See a learned note by Wolfius in loc.) In the present instance, by having professed for Perseus' person an attachment, which they only felt for his money, they fully justified the national character. This phrase is again quoted in a subsequent part of the work.*

[70] He carried with him two thousand talents.

[71] When Perseus was at Amphipolis, being afraid that the inhabitants would deliver him up to the Romans, he came out with Philip, the only child he had with him, and having mounted the tribunal began to speak; but his tears flowed so fast, that after several trials he found it impracticable to proceed. Upon which, he requested Evander to supply his place; but the people who hated him refused to hear him, crying out, 'Be gone, be gone; we are

In like manner it is said, that an account of the

---

resolved not to expose ourselves, our wives, and our children for your sakes. Fly therefore, and leave us to make the best terms we can with the conquerors.' Evander had been the principal actor in the assassination of Eumenes, and was subsequently despatched in Samothrace by order of Perseus, who was afraid that he would otherwise accuse him as the author of that murther.

[72] Val. Max. (I. viii. 1.) informs us, that it was raised by one P. Vatinius, who quoted two young men on white horses (Castor and Pollux, of course) as his authority.*

[73] It was confirmed by the arrival of Q. Fabius Maximus the son of Æmilius, L. Lentulus, and Q. Metellus, who had been sent express by Æmilius, and reached Rome the twentieth day after the action. (See Liv. xlv. 1.)

battle of the Italians near the river Sagra[74] was carried into Peloponnesus on the same day, upon which it was fought; and of the defeat of the Persians at Mycale, with equal expedition, to Platææ: and that very soon after the victory which the Romans gained over the Tarquins, and the people of Latium who fought under their banners, two young men of uncommon size and beauty, who were conjectured to be Castor and Pollux, arrived at Rome from the army with the news of it[75]. The first man they met, by the fountain in the market-place, as they were refreshing their horses which foamed with sweat, expressed his surprise at their account of the victory: upon which they are said to have smiled, and to have stroked his beard; and that, immediately changing from black to yellow, conciliated credit to his report, and procured him the surname of Ænobarbus[76], or 'Yellow-beard.'

All these stories are confirmed by that, which happened in our own times. For, when Lucius Antonius rebelled against Domitian, Rome was much alarmed and expected a bloody war in Germany; but on a sudden and of their own proper motion the people raised a report, and spread it over the city, that Antonius was vanquished and slain, that his army was cut in pieces, and that not a single man had escaped[77]. Such a currency had the rumour, and such was the credit given to it, that many of the magistrates offered sacrifices upon the occasion. But when the author of it was sought for, they were referred from one to another, all their inquiries were eluded, and at last the story, absorbed in the immense crowd (as in a vast ocean) appearing to have no solid foundation, completely vanished. But, as Domitian was marching his forces to chastise the rebels, messengers and letters met him upon the road, which brought an account of the victory. They then found that it was won on the same day, upon which the report had been propagated, though the field of battle was more than twenty thousand furlongs from Rome. This is a fact, with which no one can be unacquainted.

---

[74] In Magna Græcia, not far from Rhegium. See Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii. 2., Justin. xx. 3., &c.*

[75] See the Life of Coriolanus, p. 177.*

[76] His name was Lucius Domitius, and from him descended the emperor Nero. Suetonius, in his Life of that emperor, relates the same story, which is preserved likewise by Livy (xlv. 1.) and Dion. Halic. (vi.) Castor and Pollux were considered as very friendly to the Romans. This præ-natural communication of intelligence Grotius seems to impute to dæmons or genii: for, when God makes the prophet Ezekiel behold the king of Babylon laying siege to Jerusalem, he observes, '*Facilè Deo fuit res, quæ tam longè gerebantur, sub ipsum tempus prophetæ ostendere, cùm id etiam dæmones, Deo sinente, fecerint; sicut Cornelio sacerdoti in vinetis agenti ostensa fuit tota series Pharsalici prælii, teste Lucano et Gellio, Apollonio verò Tyanæo cædes Domitiani.*' (in loc.)*

But, to return to the story of Perseus: Cnæus Octavius, who was joined in command with Æmilius, came with his fleet to Samothrace; where, out of reverence to the gods[78], he permitted Perseus to enjoy the protection of the asylum, but watched the coasts and guarded against his escape. Perseus however found means privately to engage one Orandes, a Cretan, to take him and his treasure into his vessel and carry them off. He like a true Cretan took on board the treasure, and advised Perseus to come in the night with his wife and children and necessary attendants, to the port called Demetrium; but, before this, he had set sail. Miserable was the condition of Perseus, compelled as he was to escape through a narrow window, and to let himself down by the wall with his wife and children, who had little experienced such scrambling fatigue: but still more pitiable were his groans when, as he wandered by the shore, he was informed that Orandes had been seen a good way off at sea. By this time it was day, and destitute of all other hope he fled back to the wall[79]. He was not indeed undiscovered, but he reached the place of refuge, with his wife, before the Romans could take measures to prevent it. His children he put into the hands of Ion, who had been his minion, but was now his betrayer, for he delivered them up to the Romans; and thus, by the strongest necessity with which nature can be bound, obliged him to yield himself, as beasts do when their young are taken, to those who had his offspring in their power.

---

[77] The report was, perhaps, originally founded on the circumstance recorded by Suet. (Domit. vi.), who states that, on the very day of the battle, '*Statuam Domitiani Romæ insignis aquila circumplexa pennis clangores lætissimos edidit.*'

The revolt in question took place in Upper Germany, A. D. 92.*

[78] The gods of Samothrace were dreaded by all nations. The pagans carried their prejudices so far in favour of those pretended deities, that they were struck with awe upon the bare mention of their names. Of all the oaths, which were in use among the ancients, that by those names was deemed the most sacred and inviolable. Such indeed as were found not to have observed it were regarded as the curse of mankind, and persons devoted to destruction. Diod. Sic. (v.) informs us, that these gods were always present, and never failed to assist those who were initiated and called upon them in any sudden and unexpected danger; and that none ever duly performed their ceremonies, without being amply rewarded for their piety. No wonder, then, if the places of refuge in this island were highly revered. Beside the temple of Castor and Pollux, to which Perseus had fled, there was also a wood esteemed such, where those who were admitted to the holy rites of the Cabiri used to meet.

He had the highest confidence in Nasica, and for him he inquired; but as he was not there, he bewailed his fate, and sensible of the necessity of his situation, surrendered himself to Octavius. It then appeared more plainly than ever, that he laboured under a more despicable disease than avarice itself, I mean the fear of death; and this deprived him even of pity, the only consolation of which fortune does not rob the distressed. For when he desired to be conducted to Æmilius[80], the consul rose from his seat, and accompanied by his friends went to receive him with tears in his eyes, as a great man unhappily fallen through the displeasure of the gods. But Perseus behaved in the vilest manner; he bowed down with his face to the earth, and embraced his knees[81]: his expressions indeed were so mean, and his entreaties so abject, that Æmilius could not endure them; but, regarding him with an eye of regret and indignation, "Why dost thou, wretched man!" said he, "acquit fortune of what might seem her "principal crime by a behaviour, which makes it "appear that thou deservest her frowns; and that "thou art not only now, but hast been long, un"worthy the protection of that goddess? Why dost "thou tarnish my laurels, and detract from my "achievements, by showing thyself a mean adver"sary and unfit to cope with a Roman? Courage "in the unfortunate is highly revered, even by an "enemy; and cowardice, though it meets with "success, is ever held by the Romans in con"tempt[82]."

---

[79] Livy says, he hid himself in an obscure corner of the temple of Castor and Pollux (xlv. 6.)*

[80] Then at Amphipolis. Octavius, as soon as he had the king in his power, put him on board the admiral-galley, and having embarked also all his treasure which was left, immediately weighed

Notwithstanding this severe rebuke, he raised him up, gave him his hand, and delivered him into the

---

and stood for Amphipolis. An express was despatched thence to acquaint Æmilius with what had happened, who sent Tubero his son-in-law and several other persons of distinction to meet Perseus. He likewise ordered sacrifices to be offered, and made the same rejoicings as if a new victory had been obtained. The whole camp ran out to see the royal prisoner, who covered with a mourning-cloke, walked alone to the tent of Æmilius.

[81] This both Livy, ib., and Val. Max. (v. i. 8.) deny, for the credit of their hero Æmilius, who (they say) sustained him, when in the act of throwing himself prostrate.*

[82] See Livy's account of this interview, and Æmilius' moral harangue upon the occasion (xlv. 8.) That historian does not with Plutarch stoically denominate Perseus' fall νεμεσητον, but leaves it dubious, by his '*errore humano, seu casu, seu necessitate*,' whether we are to rank Æmilius among the Academics, the Epicureans, or the followers of Zeno. Livy's detail of the consul's speech, his addressing his captive in Greek, and Perseus' obstinate silence and tears, is the most circumstantial, natural, and appropriate. His subsequent harangue to his followers, however, is given by that writer much more briefly.*

custody of Tubero. Then taking his sons, his sons-in-law, and the principal officers, particularly such as were the youngest, back with him into his tent, he sat a long time silent to the astonishment of the whole company. At last, he began to speak of the vicissitudes of fortune, and of human affairs: "Is it "fit then (said he) that a mortal should be elated "by prosperity, and plume himself upon the over-"turning of a city, or a kingdom? Should we not "rather attend to the instructions of fortune, who "by such visible marks of her instability, and of "the weakness of human power, teaches every one "that goes to war to expect from her nothing solid "and permanent? What time for confidence can "there be to man, when in the very instant of vic-"tory he must necessarily dread the power of for-"tune; and the very joy of success must be mingled "with anxiety, in him that reflects upon the course "of unsparing fate, which humbles to-day one man, "and to-morrow another? When one short hour "has been sufficient to overthrow the house of "Alexander, who arrived at such a pitch of glory, "and extended his empire over great part of the "world; when you see princes, lately at the head "of immense armies, receive their provisions for "the day from the hands of their enemies; shall "you dare to flatter yourselves, that fortune has "firmly settled your prosperity, or that it is proof "against the attacks of time? Shall you not rather, "my young friends, quit this elation of heart and "the vain raptures of victory, and humble your-"selves in the thought of what may happen here-"after, in the strong expectation that the gods will "send some misfortune to counterbalance the pre-"sent success?" Æmilius, we are told, having said a great deal to this purpose, dismissed the young men seasonably chastised by this grave discourse, and restrained in their natural inclination to arrogance.

When this was done, he distributed his army in quarters, while he went to take a view of Greece[83]. This progress was attended both with honour to himself, and advantage to the Greeks; for he redressed the people's grievances, reformed their civil government, and gave them gratuities, to some wheat and to others oil, out of the royal stores; in which such vast quantities are said to have been found, that the number of those who asked and received was too small to exhaust the whole. Finding a great square pedestal of white marble at Delphi, designed for a golden statue of Perseus, he ordered his own to be put upon it[84]; observing it was but just, that the conquered should give place to the conqueror. At Olympia, we are told, he uttered the celebrated saying, "This Jupiter of Phidias[85] is the very Jupiter of Homer."

Upon the arrival of the ten commissioners[86] from

---

[83] Having previously despatched his son Q. Maximus on his return from Rome, and L. Posthumius to reduce some places which still held out, and left the command of his forces to C. Sulpitius Gallus. (Liv. ib. 27.)*

[84] This was not quite so consistent with his humiliating discourse upon the vicissitudes of fortune.

[85] This colossal statue, the great ornament of the magnificent temple consecrated to Jupiter Olympius (see Pausan. v. 11.), was of ivory; and, as Livy states (xlv. 28.), awed even Æmilius by it's majesty, as if he had been in the very presence of the Deity. What a compliment then does this expression convey to the poet (Il. i. 528—530.), as well as to the sculptor; and how well does it justify the assertion, that Homer alone 'saw and portrayed the forms of the gods!' But if his nod in Homer produce such terrible effects, how much more dreadful is his glance, as described by Habakkuk, iii. 6. &c. and how infinitely superior is the prophet to the poet!!*

[86] These ten legates were all men of consular dignity, who came to assist Æmilius in settling a new form of government.

For their names and instructions, see Liv. xlv. 17, 18. Among the latter should particularly be noted the regulations relative to the letting to farm of the public mines and the royal demesnes, which was wholly suppressed: '*nam neque sine publicano exerceri posse; et, ubi publicanus est, ibi aut jus publicum vanum, aut libertatem sociis nullam esse.*' Similar objections have been made to the old French system of farmers-general, and to our now-necessary excise.*

The Macedonians were not much charmed with the promise of liberty, because they could not well comprehend what that liberty

Rome for settling the affairs of Macedon, he declared the lands and cities of the Macedonians free, and ordered that they should be governed by their own laws; only reserving a tribute to the Romans of a hundred talents, which was not half of what their kings had imposed.

After this he exhibited various games and spectacles, offered sacrifices to the gods, and made great entertainments; for all which he found an abundant supply in the royal treasures. And he showed so accurate a discernment in the ordering, placing, and saluting of his guests, and in distinguishing what degree of civility was due to every man's rank and quality, that the Greeks were amazed at his knowledge of matters of mere politeness, and that amidst his heroic actions even trifles did not escape his attention, but were conducted with the utmost decorum. That which afforded him the highest satisfaction was that, notwithstanding the magnificence and variety of his preparations, he himself gave the greatest pleasure to those whom he entertained. And to such as expressed their admiration of his management upon these occasions he observed, "That it required the same genius to draw up an army, "and to order an entertainment[87], so that the one "might be most formidable to the enemy, and the "other most agreeable to the company."

Among his other good qualities, his disinterestedness and magnanimity stood foremost in the esteem of the world. For he would not so much as look upon the immense quantity of silver and gold col-

---

was, especially as coupled with a tribute of a hundred talents! They saw evident contradictions in the decree; which, though it spoke of leaving them under their own laws, imposed many new ones, and threatened more. What most disturbed them was a division of their kingdom, by which their national union was dissolved.

[87] See Liv. xlv. 32., from whom it appears that the admiration chiefly attached to the *prudentia in dandis spectaculis, ad quæ rudes tum Romani erant.**

To these two particulars, of drawing up an army and ordering an entertainment, Henry the IVth of France added—making love.

lected out of the royal palaces, but delivered it to the quæstors to be carried into the public treasury. He reserved only the books of the king's library for his sons, who were men of letters; and in distributing rewards to those, who had distinguished themselves in the battle, he gave a silver cup of five pounds weight to his son-in-law Ælius Tubero. This is that Tubero who, as we have already mentioned, was one of the sixteen relations that lived together, and were all supported by one small farm: and this piece of plate, acquired by virtue and honour, is said to have been the first that was in the family of the Ælians, neither they nor their wives having previously used any vessels of silver or gold.

After he had made every proper regulation[88], taken his leave of the Greeks, and exhorted the Macedonians to remember the liberty which the Romans had bestowed upon them[89], and to preserve it by good laws and general harmony, he marched into Epirus. The senate had made a decree, that the soldiers who had fought under him against Perseus should have the spoils of the cities of Epirus. In order therefore that they might fall upon them unexpectedly, he sent for ten of the principal inhabitants of each city, and fixed a day for them to bring in whatever silver and gold could be found in their houses and temples. With each of these he sent a centurion and a guard of soldiers, under pretence of searching for and receiving the precious metal, and as for this purpose only. But when the day came, they rushed upon all the inhabitants, and began to seize and plunder them. Thus in one hour an hundred and fifty thousand persons were made slaves, and seventy cities sacked. Yet, from this general ruin and desolation, each soldier had no more than eleven drachmas to his share. So that all men shuddered at the winding up of the war, when they reflected upon the horror of such a complete destruction, for the sake of such a petty dividend of advantage!

---

[88] At the close of these proceedings, Andronicus the Ætolian and Neon the Bœotian, because they had always been friends to Perseus, and had not even now deserted him, were condemned and lost their heads. So unjust, amidst all the specious appearances of justice, were the conquerors!

[89] This boasted favour of the Romans to the people of Macedon was certainly nothing extraordinary. Their country being now divided into four districts, it was declared unlawful for any person to intermarry, to carry on any trade, or to deal in land with any one, who was not an inhabitant of his own district. They were prohibited from importing salt, or selling ship-timber to the barbarian nations. All the nobility, and their children exceeding the age of fifteen, were commanded immediately to transport themselves into Italy: and the supreme power in Macedon was vested in certain Roman senators.

Æmilius having executed this commission, so contrary to his mildness and humanity, went down to Oricum[90], where he embarked his forces and passed over into Italy. He sailed up the Tiber in the king's galley, which had sixteen ranks of oars, and was richly adorned with arms taken from the enemy and with cloth of scarlet and purple; and the banks of the river being covered with multitudes, who came to see the ship as it advanced slowly against the stream, the Romans in some measure anticipated his triumph.

But the soldiers, who looked with longing eyes on the wealth of Perseus, when they found their expectations disappointed, indulged a secret resentment and were ill-affected to Æmilius. In public, however, they assigned another cause. They alleged that he had been severe and imperious in command, and therefore they did not meet his wishes for a triumph. Servius Galba, who had served under him as a tribune, and who bore him a personal enmity, observing this pulled off the mask, and declared that no triumph ought to be allowed him. Having spread several calumnies against him among the soldiery, and sharpened the resentment which they had already conceived, Galba requested another day of the tribunes of the people; because the remaining four hours of the one then passing, he said, were insufficient for the intended impeachment. But as the tribunes ordered him to speak then, if he had any thing to say, he began a long harangue full of injurious and false allegations, and spun it out to the end of the day. When it was dark, the tribunes dismissed the assembly. The soldiers, now more insolent than ever, thronged about Galba; and, animating each other, before it was light took their stand again in the Capitol, where the tribunes had ordered the assembly to be held.

---

[90] A sea-port town in Macedon.*

As soon as day appeared, it was put to the vote, and the first tribe gave it against the triumph[91]. When this was communicated to the rest of the assembly and the senate, the commonalty expressed deep concern at the injury done to Æmilius, but their words had no effect. The principal senators, however, insisted that it was an insufferable attempt; and encouraged each other to repress the bold and licentious spirit of the soldiers, who would in time stick at no instance of injustice and violence[92], if something were not done to prevent their depriving Paulus Æmilius of the honours of his victory. They pushed therefore through the crowd, and coming up in a body demanded that the tribunes should put a stop to the suffrages, until they had delivered what they had to say to the people. The poll being accordingly stopped and silence obtained, Marcus Servilius a man of consular dignity, who had killed three and twenty enemies in single combat, stood up and spoke as follows: "I am "now sensible, more than ever, how illustrious a "general Paulus Æmilius is, when with an army "so mutinous and disorderly he has performed such

---

[91] And yet a triumph was decreed, without any hesitation, to his inferior officers Anicius and Octavius. For this inconsistency Livy assigns but too valid a reason: '*Intacta invidiâ media sunt, ad summa fermè tendit.*' (xlv. 35.)*

[92] This was sadly verified in the times of the Roman emperors.

"great and honourable achievements: but I am "surprised at the inconsistency of the Roman people, if after rejoicing in triumphs over the Illyrians "and Ligurians[93], they envy themselves the pleasure of seeing the king of Macedon brought alive, "and all the glory of Alexander and Philip led "captive by the Roman arms. For is it not most "extraordinary that you, who upon a slight rumour "of the victory brought hither some time ago "offered sacrifices, and made your requests to the "gods, that you might soon see that account verified; now when the consul is returned with a real "victory, should rob those gods of their due honour "and yourselves of the satisfaction, as if you were "afraid to behold the greatness of the conquest, or "were willing to spare the king? though, in fact, "it would be much better to refuse the triumph "out of mercy to him, than envy to your general. "But to such an excess is your malignity arrived, "that a man who never received a wound, a man "made sleek by ease and luxury and fattened in "the shade, dares discourse about the conduct of "the war and the right to a triumph, to you who "at the expense of so much blood have learned "how to judge of the valour or misbehaviour of "your commanders[94]."

At the same time baring his breast, he showed an incredible number of scars upon it, and then turning his back, uncovered some parts which it is reckoned indecent to expose; and addressing himself to

---

[93] Instead of Λιβυων, 'Lybians' (the common reading in the Greek), we should undoubtedly, with the small alteration of one letter, read Λιγυων, 'Ligurians.' For the Ligurians had been conquered by Æmilius.

[94] Compare Livy, xlv. 37—39. The exposure, mentioned below, which it would almost seem Plutarch considered as intentional (in order, perhaps, to show that he had received no wounds, from the enemy at least, *à posteriori*) that writer represents as accidental; '*adapertis fortè quæ velanda erant, tumor inguinum proximis risum movit*,' &c. 39. This passage has been mistaken by some of the annotators on Plutarch.*

Galba said, "Thou laughest at this, but I glory "in these marks before my fellow citizens: for I "got them by being on horseback, day and night, "in their service. But go on to collect the votes; "I will attend the whole business, and mark those "cowardly and ungrateful men, who had rather "have their own inclinations indulged in war, than "be properly commanded." This speech, we are told, so humbled the soldiery, and effected such an alteration in them, that the triumph was voted to Æmilius by every tribe.

It is said to have been conducted after the following manner: In every theatre (or, as they call it, Circus) where equestrian games used to be held, in the Forum and other parts of the city, which were convenient for seeing the procession, the people erected scaffolds, and on the day of the triumph were all dressed in white. The temples were set open, adorned with garlands and smoking with incense. Many lictors and other officers compelled the disorderly crowd to make way, and opened a clear passage. The triumph took up three days. On the first, which was scarcely sufficient for the show, were exhibited the images, paintings, and colossal statues taken from the enemy, and now carried in two hundred and fifty chariots. On the next, the richest and most beautiful of the Macedonian arms were brought up in an immense number of waggons. These glittered with new-furbished brass and polished steel, and though they were piled with great art and judgement, yet seemed to be thrown together promiscuously; helmets being placed upon shields, breast-plates upon greaves, Cretan targets, Thracian bucklers, and quivers of arrows huddled among the horses' bits, with the points of naked swords and long pikes appearing through on every side. All these arms were tied together with such a proper liberty, that room was left for them to clatter as they were drawn along; and the clank of them was so harsh and terrible, that they were not seen without dread, though among the spoils of the conquered. After the carriages loaded with arms walked three thousand men, who carried the silver money in seven hundred and fifty vessels, each of which contained three talents and was borne by four men. Others brought bowls, horns, goblets, and cups, all of silver, disposed in such order as would make the best show, and valuable not only for their size but the depth of the basso relievo. On the third day, early in the morning, first advanced the trumpets, not with such airs as are used in a procession of solemn entry, but with such as the Romans sound, when they animate their troops to the charge. These were followed by a hundred and twenty oxen, their horns gilded and set off with ribbons and garlands. The young men, who led these victims, were girded with belts of curious workmanship; and after them came the boys, who carried the gold and silver vessels for the sacrifice. Next went the persons that bore the gold coin[95] in vessels holding three talents each, like those which contained the silver, and which were to the number of seventy-seven. Then followed the bearers of the consecrated bowl[96], of ten talents' weight, which Æmilius had caused to be made of gold and adorned with precious stones; and those who exposed to view the cups denominated by the names of Antigonus, Seleucus, and Thericles, together with the gold plate which had been used at Perseus' table. Immediately behind was to be seen the chariot of that prince, with his armour upon it, and upon that his diadem; at a little distance were led captive his children, attended by a number of governors, masters, and preceptors, all in tears, who stretched out their hands by way of supplication to the spectators, and taught the children to do the same. There were two sons and one daughter, but all so young, that they were not much affected with the heaviness of their misfortunes. This insensibility of theirs made the change of their condition more pitiable, insomuch that Perseus passed on almost without notice: so fixed were the eyes of the Romans upon the children from pity of their fate, that many of them shed tears, and none tasted the joy of the triumph without a mixture of pain, till they were gone by[97]. Behind the children and their train walked Perseus himself, clad all in black, and wearing sandals of the fashion of his country. He had the appearance of a man overwhelmed with terror, and whose reason almost staggered under the load of his misfortunes. He was followed by a great number of friends and favourites, whose countenances were oppressed with sorrow; and who, by fixing their weeping eyes continually upon their prince, testified to the spectators

---

[95] According to Plutarch's account, there were 2,250 talents of silver, and 231 of gold coin. According to Valerius Antias, it amounted to somewhat more; but Livy thinks his computation too small, and Velleius Paterculus makes it almost twice as much. The account which Paterculus gives of it is probably right, since the money now brought from Macedon set the Romans free from all taxes for 125 years. See below, p. 332.

[96] This bowl weighed six hundred pounds, for the talent weighed sixty: it was consecrated to Jupiter.

On the subject of the Thericlean cups, mentioned below, there is much recondite learning in Bentley's Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris, III. pp. 78—92. ed. 1777, where he replies fully to an argument (among others) founded on this very passage, and rendered the more remarkable by Mr. Boyle's barbarous nominatives, Ἀντιγονίδαι and Σελευκίδαι. The sum of Dr. B.'s observations is, that Thericles, after whom cups of a certain fashion (though of different materials) were denominated Thericlean, was a Corinthian potter, contemporary with Aristophanes (as Athenæus affirms, xi.) all whose extant comedies were written and acted between Ol. lxxxviii.

---

and Ol. xcvii., the earlier date above 120 years after Phalaris' death; and therefore could not possibly form a part of that tyrant's donation to his Messenian physician, Polyclitus. They were sometimes made of the turpentine-tree (Theophr. Hist. Plant. v. 4.), and sometimes of glass, or gold. See Cic. in Verr. iv. 18. See also M. Larcher Acad. des Inscript. xliii.*

[97] The triumph ceased; tears gush'd from every eye:
The world's great victor pass'd unheeded by—

says Pope in his prologue to Addison's Cato, describing the effect produced upon the Roman mind by the introduction of the 'image' of Cato in Cæsar's triumph.*

that it was his lot which they lamented, and that they were regardless of their own. He had sent indeed to Æmilius, to desire that he might be excused from being led in triumph, and being made a public spectacle: but Æmilius, despising his cowardice and attachment to life, by way of derision it seems sent him word, “ That it had been “ in his power to prevent it, and still was, if he were “ so disposed;” hinting, that he should prefer death to disgrace. But he had not the courage to strike the blow, and the vigour of his mind being destroyed by vain hopes, he became a part of his own spoils. Next were carried four hundred coronets of gold, which the cities had sent to Æmilius along with their embassies, as compliments upon his victory. Then came the consul himself riding in a magnificent chariot, a man, exclusive of the pomp of power, worthy to be viewed with admiration; but his good mien was now set off with a purple robe interwoven with gold, and he held a branch of laurel in his right hand. The whole army likewise carried boughs of laurel, and divided into bands and companies followed the general's chariot; some singing satirical songs usual at Rome upon such occasions[98], and some chanting odes of victory and the glorious exploits of Æmilius, who was looked up to and revered by all, and whom no good man could envy.

But, perhaps there is some superior Being, whose office it is to cast a shade upon any great and eminent prosperity, and so to mingle the lot of human life, that it may never be perfectly free from calamity; but that those, as Homer says[99], may think themselves most happy, to whom fortune gives an equal share of good and evil. For Æmilius having four sons, two (namely, Scipio and Fabius, as has been mentioned above) adopted into other families, and two by his second wife, as yet but young, whom he brought up in his own house; one of these died at fourteen years of age, five days before his father's triumph, and the other at twelve, three days after it. There was not a man among the Romans, who did not sympathise with him in this affliction. All were shocked at the severity of Fortune[100], which thus scrupled not to introduce such deep distress into a house full of pleasure, of joy, and of festal sacrifices, and to mix the songs of victory and triumph with the tears and mournful dirges of death.

---

[98] Of these, as sung at Cæsar's triumph over the Gauls, Suetonius has preserved some samples, in his Life of that emperor, sect. 49.*

[99] Plutarch here refers to a passage, in the speech of Achilles to Priam (Il. xxiv. 526.), which is thus translated by Pope:

> Two urns by Jove's high throne have ever stood,
> The source of evil one, and one of good.
> From thence the cup of mortal man he fills,
> Blessings to these, to those distributes ills:

Æmilius however, rightly considering that mankind have need of courage and fortitude, not only against swords and spears but against every attack of fortune, so tempered and qualified the present emergencies, as to over-balance the evil by the good, and his private misfortunes by the public prosperity; that nothing might appear to lessen the importance,

---

To most he mingles both: the wretch, decreed
To taste the bad unmix'd, is cursed indeed.
The happiest taste not happiness sincere,
But find the cordial draught is dash'd with care.

Plato has censured it as an impiety to say, that God gives evil. God is not the author of evil. Moral evil is the result of the abuse of free agency: natural evil is the consequence of the imperfection of matter: and the Deity stands justified in his creating beings liable to both, because natural imperfection was necessary to a progressive existence, moral imperfection was necessary to virtue, and virtue was necessary to happiness. Homer's allegory, however, seems borrowed from the eastern manner of speaking: Thus in the Psalms, 'In the hand of the Lord there is a cup, and he poureth out of the same; as for the dregs thereof, all the ungodly of the earth shall drink them.' (lxxv. 8.)

[100] Or, more probably, the just and visible interposition of Providence; to punish in some measure that general havock of the human species, which the Roman pride and avarice had so recently made in Greece. For, though God is not the author of evil, it is no impeachment of his goodness to suppose, that by particular punishments he chastises particular crimes.

or tarnish the glory, of his victory. For, soon after the burial of the first of his sons, he made (as we have stated) his triumphal entry; and, upon the death of the second soon after the triumph, he assembled the people of Rome, and made a speech to them, not like a man who himself stood in need of consolation, but like one able to alleviate the grief which his fellow-citizens felt for his misfortunes:

" Though I have never," said he, " feared any " thing human, yet among things divine I have " always had a dread of Fortune, as the most faith- " less and variable of beings; and, because in the " course of this war she prospered every measure " of mine, the rather did I expect that some tem- " pest would follow so favourable a gale. For in " one day I passed the Ionian sea, from Brundusium " to Corcyra: thence in five days I reached Delphi, " and sacrificed to Apollo. Within five days more, " I took upon me the command of the army in " Macedon; and as soon as I had offered the " usual sacrifices for purifying it, I proceeded to " action, and in the space of fifteen days from that " time put a glorious period to the war. Distrust- " ing the fickle goddess on account of such a flow " of success, and being now secure and free from " all danger with respect to the enemy, I was most " apprehensive of a change of fortune in my pas- " sage home; having such a large and victorious " army to conduct, together with the spoils and " royal prisoners. Nay, when I arrived safe among " my countrymen, and beheld the city full of joy, " festivity, and gratitude, still I suspected Fortune; " knowing that she grants us no considerable favour " without some mixture of uneasiness, or infliction " of pain. Thus full of anxious thoughts for what " might happen to the commonwealth, my fears " did not quit me, till this calamity visited my " house, and I had my two promising sons, the " only heirs whom I had left myself, to bury one " after the other, on the very days sacred to triumph.

"Now therefore I am secure as to the greatest danger, and I trust and am fully persuaded that Fortune will continue kind and constant to us, since she has taken sufficient retribution for her favours of me and mine: for the man who led the triumph is as striking an instance of the weakness of human power, as he that was led captive; with this difference alone, that the sons of Perseus who were vanquished are alive, and those of Æmilius who conquered are no more[101]." Such was the generous and high-souled speech, which Æmilius made to the people, from a spirit of magnanimity perfectly honest and free from artifice.

Though he pitied the fate of Perseus, and was well inclined to serve him, yet all he could do for him was to get him removed from the common prison to a cleaner apartment and better diet. In that confinement, according to most writers, he starved himself to death. But some writers of the time say, the manner of his death was very strange and peculiar. The soldiers (they inform us) who were his keepers, being on some account provoked at him and determined to wreak their malice, when they could find no other means of effecting it, kept him from sleep; taking turns to watch him, and using such extreme diligence to keep him from rest, that at last he was quite wearied out and died[102]. Two of his sons also died: and the third, named Alexander, is said to have been distinguished for his art in turning and other small work; and, having perfectly learned to speak and write the Roman language, was employed by the magistrates as a clerk[103], in which capacity he showed himself very serviceable and ingenious.

---

[101] A speech surely, as Livy observes, in his preface to it (xlv. 40.) '*memorabilis, et Romano principe digna.*' As reported by that historian, it abundantly deserves perusal: and, toward it's conclusion in particular, must forcibly remind the reader of the eloquent pathos, with which the admirable Burke deplores the loss of his only son, in his 'Letter to the Duke of Bedford,' &c.; as well as of the simpler, but perhaps not less affecting, lamentation of Logan, the Indian, described in Morse's America, p. 18. *Paulli in domo, præter se, nemo superest,* &c. The spirit of the savage however, as might be expected, is more in harmony with that of the Roman chieftain, than that of the christian parent. In the two former, the advantages accruing to their respective countries form their consolation; the latter 'prostrate on the earth, most unfeignedly recognises the divine justice, and in some degree submits to it,' &c. But the whole passage is pathetic beyond my commendation.*

Of the acts of Æmilius, with regard to Macedon, the most acceptable to the Romans was, his bringing them so much money into the public treasury, that the people had no occasion to pay any taxes till the times of Hirtius and Pansa, who were consuls in the first war between Antony and Cæsar[104]. Æmilius had also the uncommon and peculiar happiness to be highly honoured and caressed by the people, at the same time that he remained attached to the patrician party, and did nothing to ingratiate himself with the commonalty, but uniformly acted in concert with men of the first rank in matters of government. This conduct of his was subsequently adduced, as a reproach to Scipio Africanus (the Younger) by Appius. These two, being then the most considerable men in Rome, stood for the censorship; the one having the senate and the nobility on his side, for the Appian family were always in that interest, and the other not only great in himself, but ever greatly in favour with the people. When therefore Appius saw Scipio come into the Forum attended by a crowd of mean persons, and many who had been slaves but who were able to cabal, to influence the multitude, and to carry all before them either by solicitation or clamour, he cried out, "O "Paulus Æmilius! groan, groan from beneath the "earth, to think that Æmilius the crier and Licin- "nius the rioter conduct thy son to the censorship!" It is no subject of wonder, however, that the cause of Scipio was espoused by the people, since he was continually heaping kindnesses upon them. But Æmilius, though he ranged himself on the side of the nobility, was as much beloved by the populace as the most insinuating of their demagogues. This appeared in their bestowing upon him among other honours that of the censorship[105], which is the most sacred of all offices, and which has high authority annexed to it in many respects, but particularly in the power of inquiring into the morals of the citizens. For the censors could expel from the senate any member who had acted in a manner unworthy of his station, and enroll any man of character in that body; and they could disgrace any one of the equestrian order, who had behaved licentiously, by taking away his horse. They also took account of the value of each man's estate, and registered the number of the people. The number of citizens, which Æmilius took, was three hundred and thirty-seven thousand four hundred and fifty-two. He declared Marcus Æmilius Lepidus first senator, who had already four times arrived at that dignity. He expelled only three senators, who were men of no note; and both he and his collegue Marcius Philippus behaved with equal moderation, in examining the conduct of the knights.

---

[102] This account we have from Diod. Sic. xxvi. (ap. Phot. Biblioth.) Philip is said to have died before his father, but how or where cannot be collected, because the books of Livy and Diodorus Siculus, which treat of those times, are lost.

[103] Here was a remarkable instance of the pride of the Roman senate, to have the son of a vanquished king for their clerk; while Nicomedes, the son of Prusas king of Bithynia, was educated by them with all imaginable pomp and splendour, because the father had placed him under the care of the republic.

[104] Upon the amount of these sums, which thus exonerated the people from imposts for upward of a hundred and twenty years, authors widely differ. See and compare Liv. xliv. 40., Vell. Paterc. i. 9., Plin. H. N. xxxiii. 3., &c.*

Having settled many important affairs while he bore this office, he fell into a distemper which at first appeared extremely dangerous, but in time became less threatening, though it was still troublesome and difficult to be cured. By the advice therefore of his physicians he sailed to Velia[106], where he remained a long time near the sea, in a very retired and quiet situation. In the mean time, the Romans deeply regretted his absence, and by frequent exclamations in the theatres testified their anxious desire to see him again. At last a public sacrifice coming on, which necessarily required his attendance, Æmilius seeming now sufficiently recovered returned to Rome; and offered that sacrifice, with the assistance of the other priests, amidst a prodigious multitude of people, who loudly expressed their joy for his return. Next day, he sacrificed again to the gods for his recovery. Having finished these rites, he returned home and went to bed: when suddenly before he could feel the change he fell into a delirium, in which he died the third day[107], having attained every thing regarded as essential to the happiness of man.

---

[105] He was chosen censor with Q. Marcius Philippus, four years after his second consulship. Livy, in relating the institution, has well detailed the extent, of this authoritative office (iv. 8.) It was established A. U. C. 311., A. C. 443.*

His funeral was conducted with wonderful solemnity; the cordial regard of the public did honour to his virtue, by the best and happiest obsequies. These did not consist in the pomp of gold, of ivory, or other expenses and parade of preparation; but in esteem, in love, in veneration, expressed not only by his countrymen, but by his very enemies. For as many of the Spaniards, Ligurians, and Macedonians[108], as happened to be then at Rome and were young and robust, assisted in carrying his bier;

---

[106] Plutarch here writes Elea instead of Velia, and calls it a town in Italy, to distinguish it from one of the same name in Greece.

[107] A. U. C. 594., Æt. 68.*

[108] These were some of the Macedonian nobility, who were then at Rome. Valerius Maximus (II. x. 3.) says, it was like a second triumph to Æmilius, to have those persons assist in supporting his bier, which was adorned with representations of the disasters of their country. It was more honourable, in fact, than the triumph which he had led up: because it bore witness to his humanity, and the other only to his valour.

while the aged followed it, calling Æmilius their benefactor and the preserver of their countries. For he not only, at the time when he conquered them, had gained the character of humanity; but continued likewise to do them services, and to take care of them, as if they had been his friends and relations.

The estate, which he left behind him, scarcely amounted to the sum of three hundred and seventy thousand denarii, of which he appointed his sons joint-heirs: but Scipio the younger, who had been adopted into the opulent house of Africanus, gave up his part to his brother[109]. Such is the account, which we have, of the life and character of Paulus Æmilius[110].

TIMOLEON AND PAULUS ÆMILIUS

COMPARED.

IF we consider these two great men, as history has represented them, we shall find no striking difference between them in the comparison. Both waged wars with very respectable enemies, the one with the Macedonians, the other with the Carthaginians; and both with extraordinary success. One of them conquered Macedon, and crushed the house of Antigonus, which had flourished in a succession of seven kings[111]; the other expelled tyranny from Sicily, and restored that island to it's ancient liberty. It may be remarked in favour of Æmilius, that he engaged Perseus when in his full strength, and when he had beaten the Romans; whereas Timoleon encountered Dionysius, when reduced to very desperate circumstances: but, on the other hand, it may be observed to the advantage of Timoleon, that he subdued many tyrants, and defeated an immense army of Carthaginians with such forces as he could collect; not veteran and experienced troops like those of Æmilius, but mercenaries and undisciplined men, who had been accustomed to fight only at their own pleasure. For equal exploits, with unequal means and preparations, are to be referred to the general who performs them.

---

[109] Scipio had previously distinguished himself by several noble donations to his mother and other connexions. He appears indeed to have been a most generous man, and worthy of his disinterested father. Plutarch, it should be observed, is rather at variance with himself in what he here states about Æmilius' property, as referred to his former statement on the same subject, p. 285.*

[110] A saying of his to his son Scipio is worth mentioning: 'A good general never gives battle, but when he is led to it either by the last necessity, or by a very favourable occasion.' It is recorded by Sempronius Asellio, who served as military tribune under Scipio, at the siege of Numantia.

In their employments, both paid a strict regard to justice and integrity. Æmilius was prepared from the first so to behave, by the laws and manners of his country; but Timoleon's probity was owing entirely to himself. A proof of this is, that in the time of Æmilius good order universally prevailed among the Romans, through a spirit of obedience to their laws and usages, and a reverence of their fellow-citizens: whereas not one of the Grecian generals, who commanded in Sicily, kept himself uncorrupted, except Dion; and many suspected that even he affected monarchy, and dreamed of setting up a regal authority like that in Lacedæmon. Timæus informs us, that the Syracusans sent away Gylippus[112] loaded with infamy, for his insatiable avarice and rapacity while he had the command; and many writers give accounts of the misdemeanors and breach of articles, of which Pharax the Spartan and Callippus the Athenian were guilty, in hopes of gaining the sovereignty of Sicily. What were these men, however, and upon what power did they build such hopes? Pharax was a follower of Dionysius, who was already expelled, and Callippus was an officer in the foreign troops in Dion's service. But Timoleon was sent to be general of the Syracusans, at their own earnest request; he had not an army to provide, but found one ready formed which cheerfully obeyed his orders: and yet he employed this power for no other end, than the destruction of their oppressive masters.

---

[111] Plutarch here only includes the princes regularly descended from Antigonus I., without noticing the occasional revolutions in that kingdom.*

[112] For an account of this general's knaveries, which ended in his being obliged to fly from Sparta, in order to avoid capital punishment, see the Life of Lysander, Vol. III. p. 207., and Diod. Sic. xiii. 106.*

Yet again, it is worthy of our admiration in Æmilius, that though he subdued so opulent a kingdom, he did not add a single drachma to his own substance. He would not touch, nor even look upon the money himself, though he gave many liberal gifts to others. I do not, however, blame Timoleon for having accepted a handsome house and lands: for it is no disgrace to have accepted something out of so much, though to have accepted nothing would have been better. That is the most consummate virtue, which shows itself to be above pecuniary considerations, even when it has the best claim to them.

As some bodies are able to bear heat, and others cold, but those are the strongest which are equally fit to endure either; so the vigour and firmness of those minds are the greatest, which are neither elated by prosperity nor broken by adversity. And, in this respect, Æmilius appears to have been superior; for in the grievous and severe misfortune of the loss of his sons he maintained the same steadiness and dignity of carriage, as in the midst of the highest success. But Timoleon, when he had acted with regard to his brother as a patriot ought to do[113], did not let his reason support him against his grief; but, becoming a prey to sorrow and remorse, for the space of twenty years, he could not so much as look upon the place where the public business was transacted, much less take a part in it. A man should, indeed, be afraid and ashamed of what is really shameful; but to shrink under every reflection upon his character, though it implies an ingenuousness and delicacy of temper, has nothing in it of true greatness of mind.

---

[113] The approbation here given to fratricide exposes our author to repeated, and very severe, rebukes from the piety of his christian annotators.*

THE

LIFE

OF

PELOPIDAS.

SUMMARY.

Reflexions on the contempt of death. Whether, or not, a general should rashly expose himself to danger. Noble extraction of Pelopidas. His marriage. Character of Pelopidas; and Epaminondas. Their intimacy. The higher orders, supported by the Spartans, establish an oligarchy at Thebes. Distress of the Thebans. Their exiles well received at Athens. Plan concerted by Pelopidas for the deliverance of Thebes. He secretly, with some other conspirators, enters the city. They apprehend that they are discovered; and are much alarmed upon the occasion: but are re-assured by Charon: have a second alarm: first despatch Archias; and afterward Leontidas and Hypates: are assisted by Epaminondas and Gorgias. Pelopidas is elected Bœotarch. This conspiracy compared with that of Thrasybulus. The Spartans invade Bœotia. Pelopidas' stratagem. The Thebans gain several advantages. Their unsuccessful attempt upon Orchomenus. Battle of Tegyra, in which the Spartans are defeated. Origin of the Sacred Band. How employed by Pelopidas. Cleombrotus, king of Sparta, marches against the Thebans. Pelopidas' perplexing dream. Battle of Leuctra, gained by Epaminondas and Pelopidas. They invade Laconia. Charge brought against them. Pelopidas procures the condemnation of the orator Meneclidas: is sent against Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ: passes into Macedon: proceeds to Thessaly as embassador, and is detained prisoner by Alexander. His indignant behaviour upon the occasion. He is released by Epaminondas: and sent embassador into Persia. His success.

His disinterestedness puts the other generals to the blush. He marches a second time against Alexander: and falls in battle. Affliction of the army. Magnificence of his interment. Reflexions upon what constitutes the real grandeur of generals. The tyrant of Pheræ is compelled to submit to the Thebans: perishes by a conspiracy.

CATO the Elder, hearing some one commend a man who was rashly and indiscreetly daring in war, made this just observation, that "there was a great "difference between a due regard to valour, and a "contempt of life." To this purpose there is a story of one of the soldiers of Antigonus, who was astonishingly brave, but of an unhealthy complexion and bad habit of body. The king inquiring the cause of his paleness, he acknowledged that he had a private infirmity. He therefore gave his physicians a strict charge that, if any remedy could be found, they should apply it with the utmost care. Thus the man was cured; after which he no longer courted danger, nor risked his person as before. Antigonus questioned him about it, and could not forbear to express his wonder at the change. The soldier did not conceal the real cause; "You, sire," said he, "have rendered me less bold by delivering "me from that misery, which made my life of no "account to me[1]." From the same mode of arguing it was, that a certain Sybarite said of the Spartans; "It was no matter of wonder, that they "ventured their lives freely in battle, since death "was a deliverance to them from such a train of

---

[1] Lucullus' soldier, in Horace, acted and answered his general precisely on the same principle:

Ibit eo quo vis, qui zonam perdidit.

Hor. Ep. II. ii. 40.*

"labours, and from such wretched diet." It was natural for the Sybarites[2], a people dissolved in luxury and pleasure, to think that they, who despised death, did it not from a love of virtue and honour, but because they were weary of life. But, in fact, the Lacedæmonians thought it a pleasure either to live or to die, as virtue and right reason directed; and so this epitaph testifies:

> Nor life nor death they deem'd the happier state,
> But life that's dignified, or death that's great.

For neither is the avoiding of death to be censured, if a man be not dishonourably fond of life; nor is the meeting it with courage to be commended, if he be disgusted with life. Hence it is, that Homer leads out the boldest and bravest of his warriors to battle always well-armed; and the Grecian lawgivers punish him, who throws away his shield, not him who loses his sword or his spear: thus instructing us that the first care of every man, especially of every governor of a city or commander of an army, should be to defend himself, and after that to think of annoying the enemy. For if (according to the comparison made by Iphicrates[3]) the light-armed resemble the hands, the cavalry the feet, the main-body of infantry the breast, and the general the head; then that general who suffers himself to be hurried away by his impetuosity, so as to expose himself to needless hazards, not only endangers his own life, but those likewise of his whole army whose safety depends upon his. Callicratidas therefore, though otherwise an eminent man, did not judiciously answer the soothsayer, who desired him not to expose himself to danger, because the entrails of the victim threatened his life: "Sparta," said he, "is not bound up in one man." For in battle he was indeed but one, when acting under the orders of another, whether at sea or land: but, when he had the command, he virtually comprehended the whole force in himself; so that he was no longer a single person, as such members must perish with him. Much better was the saying of old Antigonus, when he was about to engage in a sea-fight near the isle of Andros. Somebody observed to him, that the enemy's fleet was considerably larger than his; "For how many ships then wilt thou reckon "me?" He represented the importance of the commander as great, which in fact it is, when he is a man of experience and valour; and the first duty of such a one is to preserve him, who preserves the whole.

---

[2] The Sybarites were a colony of Greeks, who settled in ancient times on the gulf of Tarentum. The felicity of their situation, cooperating with their wealth and power, drew them into a proverbial degree of luxury. But it is not easy to credit the extravagant things, which Athenæus (xii. 3.) relates of them.

One of the most ridiculous, however, it may be amusing to introduce. A Sybarite, happening to see a man digging, cried out that 'it had given him a rupture:' and another, to whom he was relating his calamity, said, 'the very hearing of it gave him a pain in his side!' One of them is somewhere said to have been inconvenienced by the folding of a rose-leaf upon his couch! *

Their chief city which at first was called Sybaris, from a river of that name, was afterward named Thurium or Thurii.

[3] An illustrious Athenian general, who raised himself by his merit from obscurity.*

Hence we must allow that Timotheus expressed himself happily, when Chares showed the Athenians the wounds which he had received as their general, and his shield pierced with a spear: "I for my part," said he, "was much ashamed, when at the siege of "Samos a javelin fell near me; as if I had behaved "too much like a young man, and not in a manner "becoming the commander of so large an armament." For where the scale of the whole action turns upon the general's hazarding his own person, there he is to stand the combat and to brave the most imminent danger, without regarding those who say that a good general should die of old age, or at least an old man: but when the advantage to be reaped from his personal bravery is only small, and all is lost in case of a miscarriage, no one then expects the exploits of the soldier to be achieved by the risk of the general.

Thus much I thought proper to premise before the Lives of Pelopidas and Marcellus, who were both great men, and both perished by their rashness. Both were excellent soldiers, both did honour to their country by their exquisite generalship, and both had the most formidable adversaries to deal with; for the one defeated Annibal, till that time invincible, and the other conquered the Lacedæmonians, who were masters both by sea and land; and yet at last they both threw away their lives, and spilled their blood without any sort of discretion, when the times most required such men and such generals. From this resemblance between them, we have composed their Lives as parallels to each other.

Pelopidas, the son of Hippoclus, was of an illustrious family in Thebes, as was also Epaminondas. Brought up in affluence, and coming in his youth to a large estate, he applied himself to relieve such necessitous persons as deserved his bounty, to show that he was really the master of his riches, and not their slave. For most men, as Aristotle says, either through covetousness make no use of their wealth, or else abuse it through prodigality; and these live in perpetual slavery to pleasure, as those do to ceaseless toil. The Thebans, with grateful hearts, enjoyed the liberality and munificence of Pelopidas: Epaminondas alone could not be persuaded to share in it. Pelopidas however partook in the poverty of his friend, glorying in a plainness of dress and slenderness of diet, indefatigable in labour, and plain and open in his military conduct. In short, he was like Capaneus in Euripides,

> Whose opulence was great, and yet his heart
> Not therefore proud.

He looked upon it, indeed, as a disgrace to expend more upon his own person, than the poorest Theban. As for Epaminondas, poverty was his inheritance, and consequently familiar to him; but he made it still more light and easy by philosophy, and by the uniform simplicity of his life.

Pelopidas married into a noble family, and had several children; but setting no higher value upon money than before, and devoting all his time to the concerns of the commonwealth, he impaired his substance. And when his friends admonished him that "money, which he neglected, was a very necessary "thing;" "It is necessary indeed," said he, "for "Nicodemus there," pointing to a man that was lame and blind[4].

Epaminondas and he were both equally inclined to every virtue, but Pelopidas delighted more in the exercises of the body, and Epaminondas in the improvement of the mind; and the one diverted himself in the wrestling-ring or in hunting, while the other spent his hours of leisure in hearing or reading something in philosophy. Among the many things reflecting glory upon both, there was nothing which men of sense so much admired, as the strict and inviolable friendship that subsisted between them from first to last, in all their high stations, military and civil. For if we consider the administration of Aristides and Themistocles, of Cimon and Pericles, of Nicias and Alcibiades, how much the common interest was injured by their dissensions, their envy and jealousy of each other; and then cast our eyes upon the mutual kindness and esteem, which Pelopidas and Epaminondas inviolably preserved; we may fairly and justly call these collegues in civil government and military command, not those, whose study it was to get the better of each other rather than of the enemy. The true cause of the difference was the virtue of these Thebans, which led them not to seek in any of their measures their own honour and wealth, pursuits always attended with envy and strife: but, being both inspired from the first with a divine ardour to raise their country to the summit of glory, for this purpose they availed themselves of the achievements of each other, as if they had been their own.

---

[4] This may be very heroical: but it is surely not justifiable in the affluent, to waste the property committed to their stewardship. How much more correct is Cicero's estimate of the great man's duty; *Nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus quam ut possis, nec natura tua melius quam ut velis, conservare quamplurimos.**

Many however are of opinion that their extraordinary friendship took it's rise from the campaign which they made at Mantinea[5], among the succours sent by the Thebans to the Lacedæmonians, who as yet were their friends and allies. For being placed together in the heavy-armed infantry, and engaged with the Arcadians, that wing of the Lacedæmonians in which they were stationed gave way and was broken: upon which Pelopidas and Epaminondas locked their shields together, and repulsed all that attacked them; till at last Pelopidas, having received seven deep wounds, fell upon a heap of friends and enemies who lay dead together. Epaminondas, though he thought there was no life in him, yet stood forward to defend his body and his arms, and being determined to die rather than leave his companion in the power of his enemies, engaged with numbers at once. He was now in extreme danger, being wounded in the breast with a spear and in the arm with a sword, when Agesipolis king of the Lacedæmonians brought succours from the other wing, and beyond all expectation rescued them both.

After this, the Spartans in appearance continued to treat the Thebans as friends and allies[6], but in reality they were suspicious of their spirit and their power; more particularly they hated the party of Ismenias and Androclides, in which Pelopidas had ranged himself, as attached to liberty and a popular government. Archias, Leontidas, and Philip therefore, men inclined to an oligarchy and rich withal and ambitious, persuaded Phœbidas the Lacedæmonian, who was marching by Thebes with a body of troops[7], to seize the castle called Cadmea, to drive the opposite party out of the city, and to place the administration in the hands of the nobility, subject to the inspection of the Lacedæmonians. Phœbidas listened to the proposal, and coming upon the Thebans unexpectedly during the feast of the Thesmophoria[8], made himself master of the citadel, and having seized Ismenias carried him to Lacedæmon, where he was shortly afterward put to death. Pelopidas, Pherenicus, and Androclides, with many others that fled, were sentenced to banishment. But Epaminondas remained upon the spot, being despised for his philosophy as a man who would not intermeddle with affairs, and for his poverty as a man of no power.

---

[5] We must take care not to confound this with the famous battle at Mantinea, in which Epaminondas was slain. For that battle was fought against the Lacedæmonians, and this for them. The action here spoken of was probably about Ol. xcviii. 3. (See Diod. Sic. xv. 5.)

[6] During the whole Peloponnesian war, Sparta found a very faithful ally in the Thebans: and, under the countenance of Sparta, the Thebans recovered the government of Bœotia, of which they had been deprived on account of their defection to the Persians. At length however they grew so powerful and headstrong, that when the Peace of Antalcidas came to be subscribed to, they re-

Though the Lacedæmonians took the command of the army from Phœbidas, and fined him a hundred thousand drachmas, they nevertheless kept a

---

fused their concurrence, and were with no small difficulty overawed and forced into it by the confederates. We learn indeed from Polybius, that though the Lacedæmonians at that peace declared all the Grecian cities free, they did not withdraw their garrisons from any one of them.

[7] Phœbidas was marching against Olynthus, at that time besieged by the Lacedæmonians under his brother Eudamidas, when Leontidas or Leontiades (Xenoph. Hellen. v., whom see) one of the two polemarchs, betrayed to him the town and citadel of Thebes. Ismenias was the other polemarch.

[8] The women were celebrating this feast in the Cadmea. (L.) It was the chief of those instituted in honour of Ceres, and commemorated at once those two greatest of human blessings, the establishment of laws, and the introduction of agriculture. About it's institution, authors widely differ; but for it's ceremonies see Meursius, Græc. Fer. iv., & M. du Theil, Acad. des Inscript. xxxix.*

garrison in the Cadmea. All the rest of Greece was surprised at this absurdity of theirs, in punishing the actor and yet authorising the action[9]. As for the Thebans, who had lost their ancient form of government, and were brought into subjection by Archias and Leontidas, there was no room for them to hope to be delivered from the new tyranny; which was so effectually supported by the power of the Spartans, that it could not be pulled down without subverting their dominion both by sea and land.

Leontidas nevertheless, having received intelligence that the exiles were at Athens, and that they were treated there with great regard by the people and not less respected by the nobility, formed secret designs against their lives. For this purpose he employed certain unknown assassins, who took off Androclides; but all the rest escaped. Letters were also sent to the Athenians from Sparta, insisting that they should not harbour or encourage the exiles, but drive them out as persons declared by the confederates to be common enemies: but the Athenians, agreeably to their usual and natural humanity, as well as in gratitude to the city of Thebes, would not suffer the smallest injury to be done to them. For the Thebans had strenuously assisted in restoring the democracy at Athens, having made a decree that if any Athenian should march armed through Bœotia against the tyrants, he should not meet with the slightest hindrance or molestation in that country.

Pelopidas, though he was one of the youngest[10], applied to each exile in particular, as well as harangued them in a body; urging, "That it was both "dishonourable and impious to leave their native "city enslaved and garrisoned by an enemy, and "meanly contented with their own lives and safety "to wait for the decrees of the Athenians and to "pay their court to the popular orators: and that "they ought to run every hazard in so glorious a "cause imitating the courage and patriotism of "Thrasybulus; for, as he advanced from Thebes "to crush the tyrants in Athens, so should they "march from Athens to deliver Thebes."

---

[9] Polybius, in his fourth book, speaking of an equally atrocious piece of conduct in the Etolians, has painted this foul action of the Lacedæmonians in it's true colours. 'To shut it's eyes, in order to hinder others from seeing it,' in the ostrich indeed is merely foolish; but in man it is at least as profligate as it is foolish, and generally as fatal. See also Diod. Sic. xv. 205. What mockery was it then in Agesilaus, who hypocritically asked, 'In what the king of Persia was greater than himself, if he were not more just?' to stand up as Phœbidas' apologist!*

[10] Xenophon, in the account which he gives of this transaction, does not so much as mention Pelopidas. His silence in this respect

Thus persuaded to adopt his proposal, they sent privately to their friends who were left behind in Thebes to acquaint them with their resolution, which was highly approved; and Charon, a person of the first rank, offered his house for their reception. Philidas found means to be appointed secretary to Archias and Philip, who were then polemarchs; and, as for Epaminondas[11], he had taken pains all along to inspire the youth with sentiments of bravery. For he desired them in the public exercises, to try the Lacedæmonians at wrestling; and when he saw them elated with success, he used to tell them by way of reproof, "That they should rather be "ashamed of their meanness of spirit in remaining "subject to those, to whom in strength they were "so much superior."

A day being fixed for carrying their design into execution, it was agreed among the exiles that Pherenicus with the rest should stay at Thriasium[12],

---

was probably owing to his partiality for his hero Agesilaus, whose glory he might think would be eclipsed by that of Pelopidas and his collegue Epaminondas: for of the latter, also, he speaks very sparingly.

[11] This is all the part, which Plutarch assigns to Epaminondas in this enterprise. His excuse for not engaging farther in it was, that 'he would not dip his hands in the blood of his fellow-citizens.' This is more fully stated in our author's Treatise upon the Genius of Socrates.*

[12] A town near mount Cithæron.*

while a few of the youngest should first attempt to get entrance into the city; and that, if these happened to be surprised by the enemy, the others should take care to provide for their children and their parents. Pelopidas was the first who offered to be of this party; and after him Melon, Democlides, and Theopompus, all men of noble blood, united to each other by the most faithful friendship, and who never had had any contest but which should be foremost in the race of glory and valour. These adventurers to the number of twelve, having embraced those who stayed behind, and sent a messenger before them to Charon, set out in their under-garments with dogs and hunting-poles: that none who met them might have any suspicion of what they were about, and that they might seem to be only hunters beating about for game.

When their messenger came to Charon, and acquainted him that they were on the way to Thebes, the near approach of danger made not the least change in his resolution: he behaved like a man of honour, and prepared to receive them. Hipposthenidas, who was also in the secret, was not by any means a bad man, but rather a friend to his country and to the exiles; yet he wanted that firmness, which the present emergency and the hazardous point of execution required. He grew giddy, as it were, at the thought of the great danger, into which they were about to plunge; and at last opened his eyes enough to see, that they were attempting to shake the Lacedæmonian government, and to free themselves from that power, without any other dependence than that of a few indigent persons and exiles[13]. He therefore went to his own house without saying a word, and despatched one of his friends to Melon and Pelopidas to desire them to defer their enterprise for the present, to return to Athens, and to wait till a more favourable opportunity should offer.

---

[13] It was not mere giddiness, which turned him round. It occurred to him that the garrison of fifteen hundred men would overmatch them, even if they should succeed in despatching the tyrants; that two very excellent officers were to be on guard that very night, and that the Thespian soldiers had been that day ordered under arms.*

Chlidon, for that was the name of the man sent upon this business, went home in all haste, took his horse out of the stable, and called for the bridle. His wife being at a loss, and not able to find it, said she had lent it to a neighbour. Upon this words arose, and mutual reproaches followed; the woman venting bitter imprecations, and wishing that the journey might be fatal both to him and to those that sent him. So that Chlidon having spent great part of the day in this squabble, and looking upon what had happened as ominous, laid aside all thoughts of the journey, and went elsewhere. So nearly was this noble and glorious undertaking disconcerted at the very outset.

Pelopidas and his company, now in the dress of peasants, divided and entered the town at different quarters, while it was yet day. And as the cold weather was setting in, there happened to be a sharp wind and a shower of snow, which concealed them the better, most people retiring into their houses to avoid the inclemency of the weather. But those who were concerned in the affair received them as they came, and conducted them immediately to Charon's house; the exiles and others making up the number of forty-eight.

As for the affairs of the tyrants, they stood thus: Philidas, their secretary, knew (as we have stated) the whole design of the exiles, and omitted nothing which might contribute to it's success. He had invited Archias and Philip some time before to an entertainment at his house on that day, and promised to introduce to them some women, in order that those who were to attack them might find them dissolved in wine and pleasure[14]. They had not yet drunk very deeply, when a report reached them, which though not false seemed uncertain and obscure, that the exiles were concealed somewhere in the city. And, though Philidas endeavoured to turn the discourse, Archias sent an officer to Charon to command his immediate attendance. By this time it was grown dark, and Pelopidas and his companions were preparing for action, having already put on their breast-plates and girded their swords, when suddenly there was a knocking at the door: upon which some one ran to it, and asked what the person's business was; and having learned from the officer, that he was sent by the polemarchs to fetch Charon, brought back the news in great confusion. They were unanimous in their opinion, that the affair was discovered, and that they were all lost, before they had performed any thing which became their valour. Nevertheless, they thought it proper that Charon should obey the order, and go boldly to the tyrants. Charon was a man of the utmost intrepidity and courage in dangers, which threatened only himself; but he was at that time much affected on account of his friends, and afraid that he should incur some suspicion of treachery, if so many brave citizens should perish. As he was on the point therefore of setting off, he took his son who was yet a child, but of a beauty and strength beyond his coevals, out of the women's apartment, and put him into the hands of Pelopidas; desiring, "That if he "found him a traitor, he would treat that child as "an enemy, and not spare his life." Many of them shed tears, when they saw the concern and magnanimity of Charon; and all expressed their uneasiness at his thinking any of them so dastardly, and so much disconcerted with the present danger, as to be capable of suspecting or blaming him in the least. They entreated him therefore not to leave his son

---

[14] Perhaps at first he really intended to introduce some women

(or, as it is in the original, γυναικα των ὑπανδρων, 'married women'), and the dressing up of the exiles in female habits was an afterthought.

with them, but to send him out of the reach of what might possibly happen, to some place where, safe from the tyrants, he might be brought up to be an avenger of his country and his friends. But Charon refused to remove him; "For what life," said he, "or what deliverance could I wish him, that would "be more glorious than his falling honourably with "his father and so many of his friends?" He then addressed himself in prayer to the gods, and having embraced and encouraged them all, went out; endeavouring by the way to compose himself, to form his countenance, and to assume a tone of voice very different from the real state of his mind.

When he was come to the door of the house, Archias and Philidas went out to him and said, "What persons are those, Charon, who (as we are "told) have lately come into the town, and are "concealed and countenanced by some of the citi- "zens?" Charon was a little fluttered at first, but soon recovering himself asked, "Who the persons "they spoke of were, and by whom harboured?" And, finding that Archias had no clear account of the matter, he concluded thence that his information was not derived from any person privy to the design, and therefore said; "Pray do not disturb your- "selves with vain rumours: I will make, however, "the best inquiry I can; for perhaps nothing of "this kind ought to be disregarded." Philidas, who was by, commended his prudence, and conducting Archias in again plied him strongly with liquor, and prolonged the carousal by keeping up their expectation of the women.

When Charon returned home, he found his friends prepared, not to conquer or to preserve their lives, but to sell them dearly and to fall gloriously. To Pelopidas he told the truth, but he concealed it from the rest, pretending that Archias had discoursed with him about other matters [15].

---

[15] There appears no necessity for this artifice; and Plutarch in-

The first storm was scarcely blown over them, when fortune raised a second. For there arrived an express from Athens with a letter from Archias, high-priest there, to Archias his name-sake and particular friend, not filled with vain and groundless surmises, but containing (as was subsequently discovered) a clear narrative of the whole affair. The messenger being admitted to Archias now almost intoxicated, as he delivered the letter, said; "The "person, who sent this, desired that it might be "read immediately, for it contains business of great "importance." But Archias, receiving it, said smiling, "Business to-morrow." He then put it under the bolster of his couch, and resumed the conversation with Philidas. This saying ('Business to-morrow') passed into a proverb, and so continues among the Greeks to this day.

A good opportunity now offering for the execution of their purpose, they divided themselves into two bodies, and sallied out. Pelopidas and Damoclidas went against Leontidas and Hypates[16], who were neighbours, and Charon and Melon against Archias and Philip. Charon and his company put women's clothes over their armour, and wore thick wreaths of pine and poplar upon their heads to shadow their faces. As soon as they came to the door of the room where the guests were, the company shouted and clapped their hands, believing them to be the women, whom they had so long expected. When the pretended women had looked round the room, and distinctly noted all the guests, they drew their swords; and, assailing Archias and Philip across the table, showed who they were. A

---

deed himself, in his Treatise upon the Genius of Socrates, says that Charon came back to the little band of patriots with a pleasant countenance, and gave them all an account of what had passed without the least disguise.

[16] These had not been invited to the entertainment, because Archias, expecting to meet a woman of great distinction, did not choose that Leontidas should be there.

small part of the company were persuaded by Philidas not to intermeddle; the rest engaged in the combat, and stood up for the polemarchs, but being disordered with wine, were easily despatched.

Pelopidas and his party had a more difficult affair of it; for they had to do with Leontidas, a sober and valiant man. They found the door made fast, as he was gone to bed, and knocked a long time before any body heard. At last, a servant perceived it, and came down and removed the bar; which he had no sooner done, than they pushed open the door, and rushing in threw the man down, and ran to the bed-chamber. Leontidas, conjecturing by the noise and trampling what the matter was, leaped from his bed and seized his sword; but he forgot to put out the lamps, which had he done, it would have left them to fall foul on each other in the dark. Being therefore fully exposed to view, he met them at the door, and with one stroke laid Cephisodorus, the first man who attempted to enter, dead at his feet. He next encountered Pelopidas, and the narrowness of the door, together with the dead body of Cephisodorus lying in the way, made the dispute long and doubtful. At last Pelopidas prevailed, and having slain Leontidas, marched immediately with his little band against Hypates. They got into his house in the same manner, as they had done into the other: but he quickly perceived them, and made his escape into a neighbour's house, whither they followed and despatched him.

Their business being thus completely finished, they joined Melon, and sent for the exiles whom they had left in Attica. They proclaimed liberty to all the Thebans[17], and armed such as came over to their party, taking down the spoils that were suspended upon the porticos, and the arms out of the shops of the armourers and sword-cutlers. Epaminondas and Gorgidas came to their assistance, with a considerable body of young men, and a select number of the old, whom they had collected and armed.

---

[17] Pelopidas also sent Philidas to all the gaols in the city, to release those brave Thebans, whom the tyrannical Spartans had kept in fetters.

The whole city was now in the utmost terror and confusion; the houses were filled with lights, and the streets with men running to and fro. The people, however, did not yet assemble; but being astonished at what had happened, and knowing nothing with certainty, waited with impatience for the day. It seems therefore to have been a great error in the Spartan officers, that they did not immediately sally out, and fall upon them; for their garrison consisted of fifteen hundred men, and they were joined besides by many people from the city. But terrified by the shouts, the lights, the hurry, and the universal confusion, they contented themselves with keeping possession of the citadel.

As soon as it was day, the exiles from Attica came in armed: the people complied with the summons to assemble; and Epaminondas and Gorgidas presented to them Pelopidas and his party, surrounded by the priests, who carried garlands in their hands, and called upon the citizens to exert themselves for their gods and their country. Roused by this appearance, the whole assembly stood up, and received them with loud acclamations as their benefactors and deliverers.

Pelopidas then elected governor of Bœotia, together with Melon and Charon, immediately blocked up and attacked the citadel; anxious to drive out the Lacedæmonians and to recover the Cadmea[18], before succours could arrive from Sparta. And, indeed, he was but a little before-hand with them; for they had but just surrendered the place, and were returning home according to capitulation, when they met Cleombrotus at Megara marching toward Thebes with a large army. The Spartans called to account the three harmostæ or officers, who had commanded in the Cadmea, and signed the capitulation. Hermippidas and Arcissus were executed for it, and upon the third, named Dysaoridas, so severe a fine was imposed that he was forced to quit Peloponnesus[19].

---

[18] As it is not probable that the regaining of so strong a place should be the work of a day, or have been effected with so small a force as Pelopidas then had, we must have recourse to Diod. Sic. (xvi. 25.) and Xenophon (Hellen. v.), who inform us that the Athenians, early the next morning after the seizing on the city, sent the Theban general five thousand foot and two thousand horse under the command of Xenophon; and that several other bodies of troops came in from the cities of Bœotia, to the number of about

This action of Pelopidas[20] was by the Greeks called 'sister to that of Thrasybulus,' on account of their near resemblance, not only in respect of the great virtues of the men and the difficulties which they had to encounter, but the success with which they were crowned by fortune. For it is not easy to find another instance so remarkable, of the few overcoming the many and the weak the strong, merely by dint of courage and conduct, and by these means procuring such signal advantages to their country. But the change of affairs, which followed this action, rendered it still more glorious. For the war which humbled the pride of the Spartans, and deprived them of their empire both by sea and land, originated from that night; when Pelopidas without taking town or castle, but being only one out of

---

seven thousand more: that Pelopidas besieged the place in form with them, and that it held out several days, and at length surrendered for want of provisions.

[19] It was a maxim with the Spartans, to die sword in hand in the defence of a place committed to their care.

[20] M. Dacier gives a long parallel between the conduct of this action and that of the prince of Monaco, in driving a Spanish garrison out of his town: (L.) with a view chiefly (as he says) of showing, that Plutarch is able to suggest hints for enterprises and performances equal to those, which were the glory of the most renowned heroes of antiquity! The exploit of Thrasybulus, as well as the enormities of the Thirty Tyrants, whom he expelled from Athens, is recorded by the two above-quoted historians, Xenophon (ib.) and Diod. Sic. xiv. 32, 33.*

twelve who entered a private house, loosened and broke to pieces (if we may express truth by a metaphor) the chains of the Spartan government, until then esteemed completely indissoluble.

The Lacedæmonians soon after this advancing into Bœotia with a powerful army, the Athenians were deeply alarmed, and renouncing their alliance with the Thebans, took cognisance in a judicial way of all who continued in the interest of that people: some they put to death, some they banished, and upon others they imposed heavy fines. The Thebans being thus deserted by their allies, their affairs seemed to be in a desperate situation. But Pelopidas and Gorgidas, who then had the command in Bœotia, sought means to embroil the Athenians again with the Spartans; and to this end they availed themselves of the following stratagem: there was a Spartan named Sphodrias, a person of great reputation as a soldier, but of no sound judgement, sanguine in his hopes and indiscreet in his ambition. This man was left with some troops at Thespiæ, to receive and protect such of the Bœotians, as might come over to the Spartans. To him Pelopidas privately sent a merchant, in whom he could confide[21], well provided with money, and with proposals still more persuasive than money; viz. "That it became "him to undertake some noble enterprise—to surprise the Piræus for instance, by falling suddenly "upon the Athenians, who were not provided to "receive him; for that nothing could be so agree"able to the Spartans as to be masters of Athens, "and that the Thebans now incensed against the "Athenians, and considering them as traitors, would "lend them no kind of assistance."

Sphodrias, suffering himself at last to be persuaded, marched into Attica by night, and advanced as far as Eleusis[22]. There the hearts of his soldiers began to fail, and finding his design discovered he returned to Thespiæ, after he had thus involved the Lacedæmonians in a long and dangerous war. For upon this the Athenians readily united with the Thebans, and having fitted out a large fleet sailed round Greece, engaging and receiving such as were inclined to shake off the Spartan yoke.

---

[21] This is more probable, than what Diodorus Siculus says (xv. 29.) namely, that Cleombrotus without any order from the Ephori persuaded Sphodrias to surprise the Piræus.

In the mean time, the Thebans by themselves frequently came to action with the Lacedæmonians in Bœotia, not in set battles indeed, but in such as were of considerable service and improvement to them; for their spirits were raised, their bodies inured to labour, and by being used to these rencontres they gained both experience and courage. Hence it was, that Antalcidas the Spartan said to Agesilaus, when he returned from Bœotia wounded; "Truly you are well paid for the instruction, which "you have given the Thebans, and for teaching "them the art of war against their will." Though, to speak properly, Agesilaus was not their instructor, but those prudent generals who made choice of fit opportunities to let loose the Thebans, like so many young hounds, upon the enemy; and when they had tasted of victory, satisfied with the ardour which they had shown, brought them off again safe. Of this, the chief honour was due to Pelopidas. For, from the time of his being first chosen general until his death, there was not a single year that he was out of employment, either as captain of the Sacred Band, or as governor of Bœotia. And, in the course of these years, the Lacedæmonians were several times defeated by the Thebans; particularly at Platææ, at Thespiæ, where Phœbidas who had surprised the Cadmea was killed, and at Tanagra, where Pelopidas beat a considerable body, and slew with his own hand their general Panthoïdes[23].

---

[22] They hoped to have reached the Piræus in the night, but found, when the day appeared, that they had advanced no farther than Eleusis. Sphodrias, perceiving that he was discovered, in his return plundered the Athenian territories. The Lacedæmonians recalled Sphodrias, and the Ephori proceeded against him: but Agesilaus, influenced by his son who was attached to the son of Sphodrias, brought him off. (Xenoph. Hellen. v.)

But these combats, though they served to animate and encourage the victors, did not quite dishearten the vanquished. For they were not pitched battles, nor regular engagements; but rather advantages gained over the enemy by well-timed skirmishes, in which the Thebans sometimes pursued, and sometimes retreated.

But the battle of Tegyræ, which was a sort of prelude to that of Leuctra, raised the character of Pelopidas very high; for none of the other commanders could lay claim to any share of the honour of that day, neither had the enemy any pretext to cover the shame of their defeat.

He kept a strict eye upon the city of Orchomenus[24], which had adopted the Spartan interest, and received two companies of foot for it's defence, and anxiously watched for an opportunity to make himself master of it. Being at length informed that the garrison were gone upon an expedition into Locris, he hoped to take the town with ease, now that it was destitute of soldiers, and therefore hastened thither with the Sacred Band and a small party of horse. But finding, when he was near the town, that other troops were coming from Sparta to supply the place of those which had marched out, he led his forces back again by Tegyræ along the sides of the mountains, the only way by which he could go: for all the flat country was overflowed by the river Melas, which from it's very source spreading itself into marshes and navigable pieces of water, made the lower roads impassable[25].

---

[23] Is this a patronymic; as Xenophon, in his account of apparently the same action, names the general slain upon this occasion Alypetus.*

[24] This was one of the largest and most considerable towns in Bœotia, and still garrisoned by the Lacedæmonians.

A little below these marshes stands the temple of Apollo Tegyræus, whose oracle there has not been long silent[26]. It flourished most in the Persian wars, while Echecrates was high-priest. Here, they report, Apollo was born; and at the foot of the neighbouring mountain, called Delos, the Melas returns into it's channel. Behind the temple rise two copious springs, whose waters are admirable for their coolness and agreeable taste. The one is called 'Palm,' and the other 'Olive,' to this day; so that Latona seems to have been delivered, not between two trees, but two fountains of that name. Ptoüm likewise is close by, whence (it is said) a boar suddenly rushed out, and frightened her; and the stories of Python and Tityus, the scene of which lies here, favour the opinion of those who maintain that Apollo was born in this place. The other proofs of this matter I omit. For tradition does not reckon this deity among those who were born mortal, and subsequently changed into demi-gods; like Hercules and Bacchus, who by their virtues were raised from a frail and perishable being to immortality: but he is one of the Eternal and Unbegotten[27], if we may give credit to the ancient sages, who have treated upon these high points.

The Thebans then retreating from Orchomenus toward Tegyræ, the Lacedæmonians who were returning from Locris met them upon the road. As soon as they were perceived to be passing the straits, some one ran and said to Pelopidas, "We are fallen into "the enemy's hands:" "And why not they (re-"plied he) into our's?" At the same time, he ordered the cavalry to advance from the rear to the front, that they might be ready for the attack; and the infantry, who were but three hundred [28], he drew up in a close body, hoping that wherever they charged they would break through the enemy, though superior in numbers.

---

[25] This account of the Melas agrees exactly with that given by Strabo, who represents it, in his time, as lost either in the hollows or the marshes near Haliartus (ix.)*

[26] See our author's Treatise on the Ceasing of Oracles. Tegyræ was a city in Bœotia, and mount Ptoüm in it's neighbourhood was the seat of another temple of Apollo Ptoüs.*

[27] This is a very remarkable passage. The ancient sages (as Pythagoras, Plato, and others) believed that God had children that were Eternal, Unbegotten, and like himself. And this notion descended to them from remote tradition, which made mention of a Son of God, co-eternal with the Father, but which they had corrupted by their vain and idle fancies!*

The Spartans had two battalions. Ephorus says, their battalion consisted of five hundred men; but Callisthenes makes it seven, and Polybius and others nine hundred. Their polemarchs, Gorgoleon and Theopompus, pushed boldly on against the Thebans. The shock began in the quarter, where the generals fought in person on both sides, and was very violent and furious. The Spartan commanders, who attacked Pelopidas, were among the first slain; and all who were near them being either killed or put to flight, the whole army were so terrified, that they opened a lane for the Thebans, through which they might have passed safely, and continued their route if they had chosen it. But Pelopidas, disdaining to accept the opportunity, charged those who yet stood their ground, and made such havock among them, that they fled in great confusion. The pursuit however was not continued very far, for the Thebans were afraid of the Orchomenians, who were near the place of battle, and of the forces just arrived from Lacedæmon. They were satisfied with having beaten them in fair combat, and continuing their march through a dispersed and defeated army.

---

[28] This small body was however the very flower of the Theban army, and was dignified by the name of the 'Sacred Battalion,' and the 'Band of Lovers' (as mentioned below), being equally famed for their fidelity to the Theban state, and their affection for each other. Some fabulous things are related of them, from which we can only infer that they were a brave resolute set of young men, who had vowed perpetual friendship to each other, and had bound themselves by the strongest ties to stand by one another to the last drop of their blood, and were therefore the fittest to be employed in such dangerous expeditions. (L.) See Plato's Sympos., on the effects of enthusiastic attachment in the breasts of virtuous youth.*

Having therefore erected a trophy, and gathered the spoils of the slain, they returned home not a little elated. For it seems that, in all their former wars both with the Greeks and the barbarians, the Lacedæmonians had never been beaten, the greater number by the less, nor even by equal numbers in a pitched battle. Thus their courage appeared irresistible, and their renown so much intimidated their adversaries, that they did not care to hazard an engagement with them on equal terms. This battle first taught the Greeks that it is not the Eurotas, nor the space between Babyce and Cnacion[29], which alone produces brave warriors; but that wherever the youth are ashamed of what is base, resolute in a good cause, and more inclined to avoid disgrace than danger, there are the men who are terrible to their enemies.

Gorgidas (as some say) first formed the Sacred Band, consisting of three hundred select men, who were quartered in the Cadmea, and maintained and exercised at the public expense. They were called 'the City-band,' for citadels in those days were denominated 'cities.'

Others affirm, that it was composed of men strongly attached to each other; and a lively remark of Pammenes upon the subject is recorded, in which he observed that Homer's Nestor was no tactician, when he advised the Greeks to marshal themselves by tribes and families,

> That race with race, and tribe with tribe may join.

He should rather have placed together those, who were strongly attached to each other; for men of the same tribe or family make little account of each other in the midst of difficulties, whereas a band cemented by tender friendship is indissoluble and invincible; as both parties, ashamed of being base in the presence of each other, stand firm in danger for their mutual protection. Nor is this at all wonderful; since they have more reverence for the objects of their regard, even when absent, than for others who are present. Thus the man, whose enemy was about to kill him as he lay upon the ground, earnestly implored that he would run him through the breast; "That my dear friend (said he) when he sees my "corpse, may not blush to find it wounded in the "back." Thus it is said that Ioläus, the favourite of Hercules, partook of his labours and combats: and hence Aristotle states that, even in his time, it was usual[30] for friends of this character to swear inviolable affection at Ioläus' tomb. It is probable therefore that this band was called 'Sacred,' on the same account that Plato stiles a lover "a divinely-inspired friend[31]."

---

[29] See the Life of Lycurgus, I. 120.*

This band, it is said, remained undefeated till the battle of Cheronæa; and when Philip, after the fight, took a view of the slain, and came to the place where the three hundred, who with their light arms had encountered the files of his phalanx, lay heaped together, and on expressing his surprise, was told that it was 'the Band of Friends;' he exclaimed, with tears, "May a curse light upon those, who "suspect that such brave men could ever do or "suffer a shameful thing!" It is certain, in short, that it was not (as the poets affirm) the criminal passion of Laius[32], which introduced this custom among the Thebans; but their legislators, wishing to soften and smooth from their infancy their natural fierceness and asperity, brought the flute into general vogue both in their studies and their sports, and gave it popularity and pre-eminence; and at the same time instilled into them principles of generous attachment in their public exercises, in order thus to temper their youthful impetuosity. Agreeably to this, they made Harmony, who was said to be the daughter of Mars and Venus, the tutelar goddess of their city; intimating that, wherever innate bravery and valour are united with the arts and graces of persuasion, there every thing being combined in perfect harmony, the best-modulated and most regular government must necessarily be found.

---

[30] This custom seems to have prevailed both in Phocis and Bœotia, where these *αγαπαι* of profane antiquity were observed with great solemnity.*

[31] In the Sympos. quoted above.*

[32] The story is detailed in our author's Comparisons of the Grecian and Roman Histories.*

But to return to the Sacred Band. Gorgidas, by disposing it's members here and there in the first ranks, and covering the front of his infantry with them, gave them but little opportunity to distinguish themselves, or effectually to serve the common cause, thus divided as they were, and mixed with other troops more in number and of inferior resolution. But when their valour appeared with so much lustre at Tegyræ, where they fought together and close to the person of their general; Pelopidas would never part them afterward, but kept them in a body, and constantly charged at their head in the most dangerous attacks. For as horses go faster when harnessed together in a chariot, than they do when driven single, not because their united force more easily breaks the air, but because their spirits are raised higher by emulation; so he thought the courage of brave men would be most effective, when they were acting together, and contending with each other which should display the greatest excellence.

But when the Lacedæmonians had made peace with the rest of the Greeks, and continued the war against the Thebans only, and when king Cleombrotus had entered their country with ten thousand foot and a thousand horse, they were not only threatened with the common dangers of war as before, but even with total extirpation; which spread the utmost terror over all Bœotia. As Pelopidas upon this occasion was departing for the army, his wife following him to the door, and beseeching him with tears to take care of himself, he said; "My dear, private "persons are to be advised to take care of them- "selves, but persons in a public character to take "care of others."

When he came to the army, and found the general officers differing in opinion, he was the first to agree to that of Epaminondas, who proposed that they should give the enemy battle. He was not indeed then one of those that commanded in chief, but he was captain of the Sacred Band; and they had the confidence in him due to a man, who had given his country such pledges of his regard for liberty.

The resolution being thus taken to hazard a battle, and the two armies in sight at Leuctra, Pelopidas had a dream which caused him extreme concern. In that field lie the bodies of the daughters of Scedasus, who from the place of their interment are called 'Leuctridæ.' For a rape having been committed upon them by some Spartans, whom they had hospitably received into their house, they had killed themselves, and were buried there. Upon this, their father went to Lacedæmon, and demanded that justice should be done upon the persons, who had been guilty of so detestable and atrocious a crime; and as he could not obtain it, he vented bitter imprecations against the Spartans, and then slew himself upon his daughters' tomb. From that time, many prophecies and oracles forewarned the Spartans to 'beware of the vengeance of Leuctra;' the true intent of which but few understood: for they were in doubt as to the place that was meant, there being a little maritime town called Leuctrum in Laconia, and another of the same near Megalopolis in Arcadia. Besides, that injury had been done to the daughters of Scedasus long before the battle of Leuctra.

Pelopidas then, as he slept in his tent, thought he saw these young women weeping at their tombs, and loading the Spartans with imprecations: while their father ordered him to sacrifice a red-haired young virgin to the damsels, if he desired to be victorious in the ensuing engagement. This order appearing to him cruel and unjust, he rose and communicated it to the soothsayers and the generals. Some were of opinion, that it should not be neglected or disobeyed, quoting in support of their opinion the ancient stories of Menœceus the son of Creon[33], and Macaria the daughter of Hercules, as well as the more modern instances of Pherecydes the philosopher, who was put to death by the Lacedæmonians, and whose skin was preserved by their kings pursuant to the direction of some oracle; of Leonidas, who by order of the oracle likewise sacrificed himself, as it were, for Greece; and lastly of the human victims offered by Themistocles to Bacchus Omestes, before the sea-fight at Salamis: to all which sacrifices the ensuing success gave a sanction. They observed farther, that Agesilaus setting sail from the same place with Agamemnon, and against the same enemies, and seeing moreover at Aulis the same vision of the goddess[34] demanding his daughter in sacrifice, through an ill-timed tenderness for his child refused it; the consequence of which was, that his expedition proved unsuccessful.

---

[33] Menœceus devoted himself to death for the good of his country, as did also Macaria for the benefit of the Heraclidæ. For an account of the former see the Phœnissæ, and for the latter the Heraclidæ of Euripides. (L.)

Of the part of Pherecydes' history, mentioned below, no other memorial remains. The sacrifice of Themistocles is recorded in his Life, Vol. I. p. 332.*

[34] Xenophon (Hellen. vii.) acquaints us that Pelopidas, when he went upon an embassy to the king of Persia, represented to him that the hatred, which the Lacedæmonians bore the Thebans, was owing to their not having followed Agesilaus when he went to make war upon Persia, and to their having prevented him from sacrificing his daughter at Aulis when Diana demanded her, a compliance with which demand would have insured his success: such, at least, was the doctrine of the heathen theology. This was judicious in the Theban convoy, as it would most probably satisfy the great king, that to this obstinacy of theirs he owed the safety of his empire.

Those, who were of the contrary opinion, argued that so barbarous and unjust an offering could not possibly be acceptable to any superior Being: that no Typhons or giants, but the father of gods and men, governed the world: that it was absurd to suppose, that the gods delighted in human sacrifices[35]; and that, if any of them did, they ought to be disregarded as impotent beings, since such strange and corrupt desires could not be generated or continue to exist, except in weak and vicious minds.

While the principal officers were engaged upon this subject, and Pelopidas was more perplexed than all the rest, on a sudden a she-colt quitted the herd, and ran through the camp; and, when she came to the place where they were assembled, stood still. The officers themselves only admired her colour, which was a shining red, the stateliness of her form, the vigour of her motions, and the sprightliness of her neighings; but Theocritus the soothsayer, understanding the thing better, cried out to Pelopidas, "Here comes the victim, fortunate man that thou art! "wait for no other virgin, but sacrifice that, which "heaven has sent thee." They then took the colt, and led her to the tomb of the virgins; where, after the usual prayers and the ceremony of crowning her, they offered her up with joy, not forgetting to publish to the whole army the vision of Pelopidas and the sacrifice required.

The day of battle being come, Epaminondas drew up the infantry of his left wing in an oblique form, that the right wing of the Spartans being obliged to divide from the other Greeks, he might fall with all his force upon Cleombrotus who commanded them, and break them with the greater ease. But the enemy perceiving his intention, began to change their order of battle, and to extend their right wing and wheel about, with a design to surround Epaminondas. In the mean time, Pelopidas came briskly up with his Band of three hundred; and before Cleombrotus could extend his wing as he desired, or reduce it to it's former disposition, fell upon the Spartans, disordered as they were with the imperfect movement. And though the Spartans, who were excellent masters in the art of war, laboured no point so much as to keep their men from confusion, and from dispersing when their ranks happened to be broken; so that both privates and officers should be able to knit again with any commanders or followers who offered themselves, and to make a combined and strenuous effort, wherever any occasion of danger required: yet Epaminondas then attacking their right wing only, without stopping to contend with the other troops, and Pelopidas rushing upon them with incredible speed and bravery, broke their resolution and baffled their art. The consequence was such a rout and slaughter, as had been never known before[36]. Hence Pelopidas, who had no share in the chief command, but was only captain of a small band, gained as much honour by this day's signal success as Epaminondas, who was governor of Bœotia and commander of the whole army.

---

[35] This idea was first discountenanced by the followers of Pythagoras. See Hierocl. on the Golden Verses of that philosopher.

But soon afterward they were appointed joint-governors of Bœotia, and entered Peloponnesus together, where they caused several cities to revolt from the Lacedæmonians, and brought over to the Theban interest Elis, Argos, the whole of Arcadia, and great part of Laconia itself. It was now the winter-solstice, and the latter end of the last month in the year, so that they could retain their office only a few days longer: for new governors were to succeed upon the first day of the next month, and the old ones were to deliver up their charge under pain of death.

---

[36] The Theban army consisted at most but of six thousand men, whereas that of the enemy was at least thrice that number, reckoning the allies. But Epaminondas trusted most in his cavalry, in which he had much the advantage, both as to quality and good management; the wealthy Lacedæmonians alone keeping horses at that time, which made their cavalry consist chiefly of ill-fed undisciplined steeds and unskilful riders: the rest he endeavoured to supply by the disposition of his men, who were drawn up fifty deep, while the Spartans were but twelve. When the Thebans had gained the victory, and killed Cleombrotus, the Spartans renewed the fight to recover the king's body; and in this object the Theban general wisely chose to gratify them, rather than hazard the success of a second onset. The allies of the Spartans behaved ill in this battle, which was fought, B. C. 371., because they had expected to conquer without fighting; as for the Thebans, they had then no allies. (See Diod. Sic. xv. 55., who illustrates this passage, and Xenoph. Hellen. vi.)

The rest of their collegues, afraid of the law and disliking a winter-campaign, were for marching home without loss of time: but Pelopidas, joining with Epaminondas to oppose it, encouraged his fellow-citizens and led them against Sparta. Having passed the Eurotas, they took many of the Lacedæmonian towns, and ravaged the whole country to the very sea with an army of seventy thousand Greeks, of which the Thebans did not compose the twelfth part. But the character of those two illustrious men, without any public order or decree, made all the allies follow wherever they led, with silent approbation. For the first and supreme law, that of nature, seems to direct those who have need of protection to take him for their chief, who is most able to protect them. And as passengers, though in fine weather or in port they may behave insolently and brave the pilots, whenever a storm arises and danger appears, fix their eyes upon them, and rely wholly on their skill: so the Argives, the Eleans, and the Arcadians in their councils were against the Thebans, and contended with them for superiority of command; but when the time of action came, and danger pressed hard, they followed the Theban generals of their own accord, and submitted to their orders.

In this expedition they united the whole of Arcadia into one body, drove out the Spartans who had settled in Messenia, and called home it's ancient inhabitants; they, likewise, repeopled Ithome. And in their return through Cenchreæ they defeated the

Athenians[37], who had attacked them in the straits, with a design to obstruct their passage.

After such achievements, all the other Greeks were charmed with their valour, and admired their good fortune: but the envy of their fellow-citizens, which grew up together with their glory, prepared for them a very unkind and unsuitable reception. For at their return they were both capitally tried, for not having delivered up their charge according to law in the first month which they call Boucation, but retained it four months longer; during which time they performed those great actions in Messenia, Arcadia, and Laconia.

Pelopidas was tried first, and was therefore in most danger: they were both, however, acquitted. Epaminondas bore the accusations and attempts of malignity[38] with the utmost patience, considering it as no small instance of fortitude and magnanimity, not to resent the injuries done by his fellow-citizens; but Pelopidas, who was naturally of a warmer temper, and stimulated by his friends to revenge himself, laid hold on the following opportunity: Meneclidas, the orator, was one of those, who had met upon the noble enterprise in Charon's house. This man finding himself not held in the same honour with the rest of the deliverers of their country, and being a good speaker, though of bad principles and a malevolent disposition, indulged his natural turn by accusing and calumniating his superiors; and this he continued to do with respect to Epaminondas and Pelopidas, even after judgement had been passed in their favour. He even got Epaminondas deprived of the government of Bœotia, and managed a party against him for a long time with success: but his insinuations against Pelopidas were not listened to by the people, and he therefore endeavoured to embroil him with Charon. It is the common consolation of envy, when a man cannot maintain the higher ground himself, to represent those by whom he is excelled as inferior to some others. Hence it was, that Meneclidas was ever extolling Charon's actions to the people, and lavishing encomiums upon his expeditions and victories. Above all, he magnified his success in a battle fought by the cavalry under his command at Platææ, before the battle of Leuctra, and endeavoured to perpetuate the memory of it by some public monument.

---

[37] This happened to the Athenians through the error of their general Iphicrates, who (though otherwise an able man) forgot the pass of Cenchreæ, while he placed his troops in less commodious posts.

[38] M. Ricard judiciously remarks that the whole of this prosecution ought not to be set down to 'malignity,' as the Thebans had the highest respect for their laws, which had certainly in the present instance been wilfully, though beneficially violated; and for Epaminondas' generous conduct upon the occasion refers to Plutarch's Apophthegms, where the whole story is related more at large.*

The occasion he took was this: Androcydes of Cyzicum had agreed with the Thebans for a picture of some other battle; which he worked at in the city of Thebes. But upon the revolt, and the war that ensued, he was obliged to quit that city and leave the painting, now almost finished, with the Thebans. This piece Meneclidas endeavoured to persuade the people to hang up in one of their temples, with an inscription signifying that it was one of Charon's battles, in order to cast a shade upon the glory of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. It was indeed a proposal of absurd vanity to prefer one single engagement[39], in which there fell only Gerandas (a Spartan of no note) with forty others, to so many and such important victories. Pelopidas therefore opposed the motion, insisting that it was contrary to the laws and usages of the Thebans to ascribe the honour of a victory to any one man in particular, and that their country ought to have the glory of it entire. As for Charon, he was liberal in his praises of him throughout his whole harangue, but he proved that Meneclidas was an envious and malicious man; and often inquired of the Thebans, whether they had never before done any thing that was great and excellent. Upon this, a heavy fine was laid on Meneclidas; and, as he was not able to pay it, he endeavoured afterward to disturb and overturn the government. Such particulars as these, though small, serve to give an insight into the characters of men.

---

[39] Xenophon (Hellenic. v.) speaks slightly of Charon: he says, 'The exiles went to the house of one Charon.' (L.)

Perhaps he was, in this instance, too easily influenced by his invidious encomiast; but his concern and conduct in the conspiracy, by which Thebes was rescued from the Spartan yoke, prove him to have been no ordinary man. See also the Treatise upon the Genius of Socrates, where that enterprise is detailed at great length.*

At that time Alexander[40] the tyrant of Pheræ, making open war against several cities of Thessaly, and secretly designing to bring the whole country into subjection, the Thessalians sent embassadors to Thebes, to entreat the favour of a general and some troops. Upon which Pelopidas, seeing Epaminondas engaged in settling the affairs of Peloponnesus, offered himself and his services as commander in Thessaly; for he was unwilling that his military talents and skill should lie useless, and was well-satisfied withal that, wherever Epaminondas was, there was no need of any other general. He therefore marched with his forces into Thessaly, where he soon recovered Larissa; and as Alexander came and made submission, he endeavoured to soften and humanise him, and instead of a tyrant to render him a just and good prince. But finding him incorrigible and brutal, and receiving fresh complaints of his cruelty, his unbridled lust, and his insatiable avarice, he thought it necessary to treat him with some severity; upon which, he made his escape with the guards.

Having now secured the Thessalians against the tyrant, and left them in a good understanding among themselves, he advanced into Macedon[41]. Ptolemy had commenced hostilities against Alexander king of that country, and they had both sent for Pelopidas to be an arbitrator of their differences, and an assistant to him who should appear to have been injured. He accordingly went and decided their disputes, recalled such of the Macedonians as had been banished, and taking Philip the king's brother and thirty young men of the best families as hostages, brought them to Thebes; that he might show the Greeks to what height the Theban commonwealth had risen by the reputation of it's arms, and the confidence reposed in it's justice and integrity[42].

---

[40] He had lately poisoned his uncle Polyphron, and set himself up tyrant in his stead. Polyphron indeed had killed his own brother Polydorus, the father of Alexander. All these with Jason (brother of Polyphron and Polydorus) were usurpers in Thessaly, which was previously a free state. (See Diod. Sic. xv. 61., and Xenoph. Hellenic. vi.)

This was that Philip[43], who subsequently made war upon Greece, to conquer and enslave it. He was now a boy, and brought up at Thebes in the house of Pammenes. Hence he was believed to have proposed to himself Epaminondas for his pattern; and he was perhaps attentive to that great man's activity and generalship in war, which was in truth the most inconsiderable part of his character: but as for the temperance, justice, magnanimity, and mildness, which constituted his true greatness, Philip had no share of them, either natural or acquired.

After this, the Thessalians again complaining that Alexander of Pheræ disturbed their peace, and formed designs upon their cities, Pelopidas and Ismenias were deputed to attend them. But, having no expectation of a war, Pelopidas took no troops with him, and was therefore obliged by the urgency of the occasion to make use of the Thessalian forces.

---

[41] Amyntas II. left three legitimate children, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and one natural son whose name was Ptolemy. This last made war against Alexander, slew him by treachery, and reigned three years.

[42] About this time, the cause of liberty was in a great measure deserted by the other Grecian states. Thebes was now the only commonwealth, which retained any remains of patriotism and concern for the injured and oppressed. (Diod. Sic. xv. 60.)

[43] The father of Alexander the Great.*

At the same time, there were fresh commotions in Macedon: for Ptolemy had assassinated the king, and assumed the sovereignty. Pelopidas, who was called in by the friends of the deceased, was desirous to undertake the cause; but, having no troops of his own, he hastily raised some mercenaries, and immediately marched with them against Ptolemy. Upon their approach, Ptolemy bribed the mercenaries, and brought them over to his side: yet dreading the very name and reputation of Pelopidas, he went to pay his respects to him as his superior, endeavoured to pacify him with entreaties, and solemnly promised to keep the kingdom for the brothers of the dead king, and to regard the enemies and friends of the Thebans as his own. For the performance of these conditions he delivered to him his son Philoxenus, and fifty of his companions, as hostages. These Pelopidas sent to Thebes. But being incensed at the treachery of the mercenaries, and having intelligence that they had lodged the best part of their effects together with their wives and children in Pharsalus, he thought by taking these he might sufficiently revenge the affront. Upon which, he assembled some Thessalian troops, and marched against the town. He was no sooner arrived, than Alexander the tyrant appeared before it with his army. Pelopidas, concluding that he was come to make an apology for his conduct, went to him with Ismenias: not that they were ignorant what an abandoned and sanguinary man they had to deal with; but they imagined, that the dignity of Thebes and their own characters would protect them from violence. The tyrant however, when he saw them alone and unarmed, immediately seized their persons, and possessed himself of Pharsalus. This struck all his subjects with horror and astonishment: for they were persuaded that, after such a flagrant act of injustice, he would spare nobody, but behave upon all occasions and to all persons like a man, who had desperately thrown off all regard to his own safety.

When the Thebans heard of this outrage, they were filled with indignation, and gave orders to their army to march directly into Thessaly; but, Epaminondas then happening to lie under their displeasure[44], they appointed other generals.

As for Pelopidas, the tyrant took him to Pheræ, where at first he did not deny any one access to him, imagining that he was deeply humbled by his misfortune. But Pelopidas, seeing the Pheræans overwhelmed with sorrow, bade them be comforted, because now vengeance was ready to fall upon the tyrant; and sent to tell him, "That he acted very "absurdly in daily torturing and putting to death "so many of his innocent subjects, and in the mean "time sparing him, who (he might know) was deter-"mined to punish him, when once out of his hands." The tyrant surprised at his magnanimity and unconcern, answered, "Why is Pelopidas in such haste "to die?" Which being reported to Pelopidas, he replied, "It is that thou, being more hated by "the gods than ever, mayest the sooner come to a "miserable end."

From that time, Alexander allowed none access to him, except his keepers. Thebe however the daughter of Jason, who was wife to the tyrant, having an account from those keepers of his noble and intrepid behaviour, had a desire to see him, and to have some discourse with him. When she came into the prison, she woman-like could not presently distinguish the majestic turn of his person amidst such an appearance of distress; yet supposing from the disorder of his hair and the meanness of his attire and provisions, that he was treated unworthily, she wept. Pelopidas, who did not know his visitor, was much surprised; but when he understood her quality, he addressed her by her father's name, with whom he had been intimately acquainted: and upon her saying, "I pity your wife;" he replied, "And I "pity you, who wearing no fetters can endure "Alexander." This very much affected her; for she hated the cruelty and insolence of the tyrant, who to his other debaucheries added that of having abused her youngest brother. In consequence of this, and by frequent interviews with Pelopidas, to whom she communicated her sufferings, she conceived a still stronger resentment and a more thorough hatred against her husband.

---

[44] They were displeased at him, because in a late battle fought with the Lacedæmonians near Corinth he had not (as they thought) pursued his advantage to the utmost, and put more of the enemy to the sword. Upon which, they removed him from the government of Bœotia, and sent him along with their forces as a private person. (Diod. Sic. xv. 72.) Such acts of ingratitude toward great men are common in popular governments!

The Theban generals having entered Thessaly without doing any thing, and either through their incapacity or ill-fortune returned with disgrace[45], the city of Thebes fined each of them ten thousand drachmas, and gave Epaminondas the command of the army destined to act in that country. The reputation of the new general gave the Thessalians fresh spirits, and occasioned such insurrections among them, that the tyrant's affairs seemed to be in a perfectly desperate condition; so great was the terror which fell upon his officers and friends, so forward were his subjects to revolt, and so universal was the joy at the prospect of seeing him punished.

Epaminondas, however, preferred the safety of Pelopidas to his own fame; and fearing, if he carried matters to an extremity at first, that the tyrant might grow desperate and destroy his prisoner, he protracted the war. By taking a circuit, as if to finish his preparations, and other delays, he kept Alexander in suspense, and managed him so as neither to moderate his violence and pride[46], nor yet to increase his fierceness and malignity. For he knew his savage disposition, and the little regard which he paid to reason or justice: that he had buried some persons alive, and dressed others in the skins of bears, and wild boars, and then by way of diversion baited them with dogs, or despatched them with darts; that having summoned the people of Melibœa and Scotusa (towns in friendship and alliance with him[47]) to meet him in full assembly, he had surrounded them with guards, and with all the wantonness of cruelty put them to the sword; and that he had consecrated the spear with which he slew his uncle Polyphron, and having crowned it with garlands, offered sacrifice to it as to a god, and gave it the name of Tychon[48]. Yet upon seeing a tragedian act the Troades of Euripides, he hastily left the theatre, and at the same time sent a message to the actor, "Not to be discouraged, but "to exert all his skill in his part; for it was not "out of any dislike that he went out, but he was "ashamed that his citizens should see him, who "never pitied those he put to death, weep at the "sufferings of Hecuba and Andromache."

---

[45] They were pursued by Alexander, and much harassed in their retreat. That they were not indeed wholly cut off, was owing to the conduct of Epaminondas (then serving as a private), whom the soldiers constrained to take the command. (Diod. Sic. xv. 71.)*

This execrable tyrant was terrified at the very name and character of Epaminondas,

> And dropped the craven wing.

He despatched an embassy in all haste to offer satisfaction, but that general did not vouchsafe to admit such a man into alliance with the Thebans; he only granted him a truce of thirty days, and having recovered Pelopidas and Ismenias out of his hands, marched back again with his army.

---

[46] If the tyrant had restrained his excesses, his subjects might have returned to him; and, if his fury had been more provoked, he might have murthered Pelopidas.

[47] Cities in Magnesia, a province which lay to the south of Macedon. This trait of cruelty is also reported by Diod. Sic., ib. 75.*

[48] 'The fortunate.'*

Soon after this, the Thebans having discovered that the Lacedæmonians and Athenians had sent embassadors to the king of Persia, to draw him into league with them, sent on their part Pelopidas, whose established reputation amply justified their choice. For he had no sooner entered the king's dominions than he was universally known and honoured: the fame of his battles with the Lacedæmonians had spread itself throughout Asia; and, after his victory at Leuctra, the report of new successes continually following had extended his renown to the most distant provinces. So that when he arrived at the king's court, and appeared before the satraps and generals and governors that waited there, he was the object of universal admiration: "This," said they, "is the man who deprived the Lacedæ-"monians of the empire both of sea and land, and "confined within the bounds of Täygetus and "Eurotas that Sparta, which a little before under "the conduct of Agesilaus made war against the "great king, and shook the realms of Susa and "Ecbatana." On the same account Artaxerxes rejoiced to see Pelopidas, admired him exceedingly, and loaded him with honours, wishing it to be publicly noticed, that he was reverenced and courted by the greatest characters. But, when he heard him converse in terms stronger than those of the Athenians, and plainer than those of the Spartans, he was still more delighted with him; and as kings seldom conceal their inclinations, he made no secret of his attachment, but let the other embassadors see the distinction in which he held him. It is true that, of all the Greeks, he seemed to have done Antalcidas the Spartan the highest honour[49], when he took the garland which he wore at table from his head, dipped it in perfumes, and sent it him. But, though he did not treat Pelopidas with that familiarity, he made him the richest and most magnificent presents, and fully granted his demands; which were, "That all the Greeks should be free and "independent, that Messene should be repeopled, "and that the Thebans should be regarded as the "king's hereditary friends."

---

[49] If Plutarch means the Spartan embassador, he differs from Xenophon, who says (Hellenic. vii.) that his name was Euthycles. He likewise informs us, that Timagoras was the person, whom the king esteemed next to Pelopidas. (L.) But perhaps reference is

With this answer he returned, but without accepting any of the king's presents, except some tokens of his favour and regard; a circumstance which reflected no small dishonour upon the other embassadors. The Athenians condemned and executed Timagoras, and justly too, if it was on account of the many presents which he had received. For he accepted not only gold and silver, but a magnificent bed, and servants to make it, as if that was an art in which the Greeks were unskilled[50]. He received also fourscore cows, and herdsmen to take care of them, as if he wanted their milk for his health; and at last suffered himself to be carried in a litter as far as the sea-coast at the expense of the king, who paid four talents for his conveyance: but his having received presents does not seem to have been the principal thing, which incensed the Athenians[51].

---

made to some former period, when Antalcidas was at the Persian court. The custom of sending perfumes and essences, as marks of regard, still prevails (like most others of their ancient customs) in the East; presents of betel, often enclosed in silk-bags, are made by the Indians, Chinese, &c. to each other, and to strangers. The emperor of China gave master George Staunton, son of the secretary to lord Macartney's embassy, his areca-nut purse from his girdle with his own hand.*

[50] The Persians, as Athenæus ii. 9. from Heraclides informs us, were the first who had slaves exclusively employed in making their beds. And M. Ricard, in confirmation of this statement, says he himself saw at Paris a Polish nobleman, who had a Persian servant expressly engaged to make his coffee and light his pipe. Upon this subject, much additional illustration might be procured from the opulent Europeans in the East and West-Indies.*

[51] According to Xenophon (Hellenic. vii.) Timagoras' real offence, as alleged by his brother-envoy Leon, was his having kept

For when Epicrates the armour-bearer acknowledged in full assembly that he had received the king's presents, and talked of proposing a decree that, instead of choosing nine Archons every year, nine of the poorest citizens should be sent embassadors to the king, that by his gifts they might be raised to affluence, the people only laughed at the motion. What exasperated the Athenians most was, that the Thebans had obtained of the king all they asked; they did not consider, how much the character of Pelopidas outweighed the address of their orators with one, who invariably paid particular attention to military excellence.

This embassy procured Pelopidas great applause, as well on account of the repeopling of Messene, as the restoring of liberty to the rest of Greece.

Alexander the Pheræan was now returned to his natural disposition; he had destroyed several cities of Thessaly and placed garrisons in the towns of the Phthiotæ, the Achæans, and the Magnesians. As soon as these oppressed people had learned that Pelopidas was returned, they sent their deputies to Thebes to implore the favour of some forces, with him at their head. The Thebans willingly granted their request, and an army was soon raised; but as the general was on the point of marching, the sun began to be eclipsed, and the city was covered with darkness in the day-time.

Pelopidas, observing the people in deep consternation at this phænomenon, did not think proper to force the army to move while under such terror and dismay, nor to risk the lives of seven thousand of his fellow-citizens. Instead of that, he went himself into Thessaly; and taking with him only three hundred horse consisting of Theban volunteers, and strangers, set out, contrary to the warnings of the soothsayers and the wishes of the people. For they

---

up a correspondence with Pelopidas, and confirmed every thing advanced by him in favour of the Thebans.*

considered the eclipse as a sign from heaven, the object of which must be some illustrious personage. But, beside that Pelopidas was the more exasperated against Alexander on account of the ill treatment which he had received, he hoped from his conversations with Thebe, that he should find the tyrant's family embroiled and in great disorder. His principal incitement, however, was the honour of the thing. He had a generous ambition to show the Greeks, at a time when the Lacedæmonians were sending generals and other officers to Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily, and the Athenians were pensioners to Alexander as their benefactor, to whom they had erected a statue in brass, that the Thebans were the only people who took the field in behalf of the oppressed, and endeavoured to exterminate all arbitrary and unjust government.

When he was arrived at Pharsalus, he assembled his forces, and marched directly against Alexander; who knowing that Pelopidas had but few Thebans about him, and that he himself had double his number of Thessalian infantry, went to meet him as far as the temple of Thetis. When he was informed, that the tyrant was advancing toward him with a large army: "So much the better," said he, "for "we shall beat so many the more."

Near the place called Cynoscephalæ, there are two steep hills opposite to each other, in the middle of the plain. Of these, both sides endeavoured to get possession with their infantry. In the mean time Pelopidas with his cavalry, which was numerous and excellent, charged the enemy's horse and put them to the rout. But while he was pursuing them over the plain, Alexander had gained the hills; having advanced before the Thessalian foot, whom he attacked as they were trying to force those strong heights, killing the foremost and wounding many of those who followed, so that they toiled without effecting any thing. Pelopidas seeing this recalled his cavalry, and ordered them to fall upon such of the enemy as still kept their ground on the plain; and, seizing his buckler, ran himself to join those who were engaged on the hills: there he soon made his way to the front, and by his presence inspired his soldiers with such vigour and alacrity, that the enemy thought they had quite different men to deal with. They stood, indeed, two or three charges; but when they found that the foot still pressed forward, and saw the horse return from the pursuit, they gave ground and retreated, slowly however and step by step. Pelopidas then taking a view from an eminence of the enemy's whole army, which had not yet fled, but was full of confusion and disorder, stopped a while to look round in quest of Alexander. When he perceived him on the right, encouraging and rallying the mercenaries, he was no longer master of himself; but sacrificing both his safety and his duty as a general to his passion, he sprang forward a great way before his troops, loudly calling for and challenging the tyrant, who did not dare to meet or to wait for him, but fell back and hid himself in the midst of his guards. The foremost ranks of the mercenaries, who came hand to hand, were broken by Pelopidas, and a number of them slain; but others, fighting at a distance, pierced his armour with their javelins. The Thessalians, extremely anxious for him, ran down the hill to his assistance; but, when they came to the place, they found him dead on the ground. Both horse and foot, then falling upon the enemy's main body, entirely routed them, pursued them to a considerable distance, and covered the plain with carcases, having slain above three thousand.

Such of the Thebans, as were present, were deeply afflicted at the death of Pelopidas; calling him "their father, their saviour, and instructor in every "thing that was great and honourable." Nor is this to be wondered at; since the Thessalians and allies, after having exceeded by their public acts in his favour the highest honours that are usually paid to human virtue, testified their regard for him still more sensibly by the sincerest sorrow. For it is said, that those who were in the action neither put off their armour, nor unbridled their horses, nor bound up their wounds, after they heard that he was dead; but notwithstanding their heat and fatigue repaired to the body, as if it still had life and sense, piled round it the spoils of the enemy, and cut off their horses' manes and their own hair[52]. Many of them, when they retired to their tents, neither kindled a fire, nor took any refreshment; but a melancholy silence reigned throughout the camp, as if instead of having gained so signal and glorious a victory, they had been worsted and enslaved by the tyrant.

When the intelligence was carried to the towns, the magistrates, young men, children, and priests marched out to meet the body with trophies, crowns, and golden armour: and when the time of his interment was come, some of the oldest Thessalians went and begged of the Thebans, that they might have the honour of burying him. One of them expressed himself in these terms: "What we request "of you, our good allies, will be an honour and "a consolation to us under this heavy misfortune. "It is not the living Pelopidas, whom the Thessa-"lians desire to attend; it is not to Pelopidas sen-"sible of their gratitude, that they would now pay "the due honours: all we ask is permission to "wash, to adorn, and to inter his dead body. "And, if we obtain this favour, we shall believe "you are persuaded, that we think our share in the

---

[52] Κειραι δε ιππους, κειρεσθαι δε και αυτους· A customary token of mourning among the ancients. See a former note. See also Kuster *De vero usu Verborum Mediorum* i. 6. ii. 1., where he accurately distinguishes between the meanings of the active and middle of the verb here employed. An instance, more happily illustrative of his theory, could no where be found.

" common calamity greater than yours. You have " lost only a good general, but we are so un" happy as to be deprived both of him, and our " liberty. For how shall we presume to ask you " for another general, when we have not restored " to you Pelopidas?"

The Thebans granted their request. And surely there never was a more magnificent funeral, at least in the opinion of those that do not place magnificence in ivory and gold and purple, as Philistus[53] did, who dwells in admiration upon Dionysius' funeral; though this, properly speaking, was nothing but the pompous catastrophe of that dismal tragedy, his tyranny. Alexander the Great also, upon the death of Hephæstion, not only had the manes of the horses and mules shorn, but caused the battlements of the walls to be taken down; that the very cities might seem to mourn, by losing their ornaments, and having the appearance of being shorn and soiled with grief. These things being the effects of arbitrary orders executed through necessity, and attended both with envy of those for whom they are done, and hatred of those who command them, are not proofs of esteem and respect, but of barbaric pomp and luxury and vanity, in those who lavish their wealth to such frivolous and despicable purposes[54]. But that a man who was only one of the subjects of a republic, dying in a strange country, neither his wife nor children nor kinsmen present, without the request or command of any one, should be attended home, conducted to the grave, and crowned by so many cities and tribes, might justly pass for an instance of the most perfect happiness. For the observation of Æsop is not true, that " Death is most unfortunate in the time of prosperity:" on the contrary, it is then most happy, since it secures to good men the glory of their virtuous actions, and places them above the power of fortune[55]. The compliment therefore of the Spartan was much more rational, when embracing Diagoras, after he and his sons and grandsons had all conquered and been crowned at the Olympic games, he said; "Die now, "Diagoras[56], for thou can'st not be a god." And yet I think, if a man should put all the victories in the Olympian and Pythian games together, he would not pretend to compare them with any one of the enterprises of Pelopidas, which were numerous and all successful; so that after he had spent the chief part of his life in honour and renown, and had been appointed the thirteenth time governor of Bœotia, he died in a heroic exploit, the consequence of which was the destruction of the tyrant, and the emancipation of Thessaly.

---

[53] This writer successively served under both the Dionysii, and being defeated by Dion, killed himself. See the Life of Timoleon, p. 250. not. (29.)*

[54] How much more sublimely Bossuet, in his Funeral Oration upon the prince de Condé: *Ces colonnes, qui semblent porter jusqu'au ciel le magnifique temoignage de notre néant !**

His death, as it gave the allies great concern, so it brought them still greater advantages. For the Thebans were no sooner informed of it, than prompted by a desire of revenge, they despatched upon that business seven thousand foot and seven hundred horse, under the command of Malcites and Diogiton. These, finding Alexander weakened with his late defeat, and reduced to considerable difficulties, compelled him to restore the cities which he had taken from the Thessalians; to withdraw his garrisons from the territories of the Magnesians, the Phthiotæ, and the Achæans; and to engage by oath to submit to the Thebans, and to keep his forces in readiness to execute their orders.

---

[55] Conformably with this principle Chærea exclaims, in a transport of joy,

Nunc tempus profectò est, cum perpeti me possum interfici,
Ne hoc gaudium contaminet vita ægritudine aliquâ.
(Ter. Eur. iii. 5.)*

[56] This Diagoras was a descendent of Hercules through the line of Tlepolemus, who governed Rhodes, and fell before Troy; and is the subject of Pindar's seventh Olympic ode, which the Rhodians got engraved in letters of gold upon the temple of Minerva at Lindus.*

With these terms the Thebans were satisfied. And here I shall introduce an account of the punishment, which the gods inflicted upon him soon afterward for his treatment of Pelopidas. He (as we have already mentioned) first taught Thebe, the tyrant's wife, not to dread the exterior pomp and splendour of his palace, though she lived in the midst of assassins and renegades. She therefore, fearing his falsehood and hating his cruelty, agreed with her three brothers Tisiphonus, Pytholäus, and Lycophron, to take him off; and they carried their design into execution in the following manner: the whole palace was full of guards throughout the night, except the tyrant's bed-chamber, an upper room guarded by a dog chained at the door, which would fly at every body except his master and mistress and one slave that fed him. When the time fixed for the attempt was come, Thebe concealed her brothers, before it was dark, in a room close by. She went in alone as usual to Alexander, who was already asleep, but presently came out again and ordered the slave to take away the dog, because her husband chose to sleep without being disturbed; and, that the stairs might not creak as the young men came up, she covered them with wool. She then fetched up her brothers, and leaving them at the door with poignards in their hands, went into the chamber; and taking away the tyrant's sword, which hung at the head of his bed, showed it them, as a proof that he was in their power and fast asleep. The young men now being struck with terror, and not daring to advance, she reproached them with cowardice, and swore in a rage that she would awake Alexander, and tell him the whole. Shame and fear having brought them to themselves, she led them in and placed them about the bed, herself holding the light. One of them caught him by the feet, and another by the hair of his head, while the third stabbed him with his poignard. Such a death was, perhaps, too speedy for so abominable a monster; but if it be considered, that he was the first tyrant assassinated by his own wife, and that his dead body was exposed to all kinds of indignities, and spurned and trampled under foot by his subjects, his punishment will appear to have been proportioned to his crimes.

THE

LIFE

OF

MARCELLUS.

SUMMARY.

Manners of Marcellus. His courage, and first appointments. The Gauls declare war against the Romans. The first generals sent against them are recalled. Respect entertained by the Romans for their religious rites. Marcellus is elected consul, and marches against the Gauls: engages, and kills their king. His triumph. Consecrates the spolia opima *to Jupiter. Annibal invades Italy. After the fatal day at Cannæ, Marcellus is one of the principal supports of Rome. He marches to the relief of Naples and Nola: attaches Bandius to the Roman party: gains some advantages over Annibal: is again elected consul, and obtains fresh successes. His third consulship. Severe proceedings of the senate against the soldiers, who fled at Cannæ. Marcellus takes Leontius in Sicily, and besieges Syracuse. Genius of Archimedes. Problem, which he solves for Hiero. Terrible havock made by his engines. Marcellus fruitlessly endeavours to guard his forces from their effects. Archimedes' passion for geometry. Marcellus gains several advantages in Sicily; gets possession of Syracuse, and reluctantly gives it up to pillage. Archimedes slain: Marcellus' concern upon the occasion. His humanity. He pardons the city of Enguium: carries to Rome the pictures and statues of Syracuse, and receives the honour of an Ovation. Origin of that term. Charge brought against him by the Syracusans. His defence, and generous behaviour upon his acquittal. He marches against Annibal; and engages him with success. Fresh advantages over him. He receives a check however near Canusium. He defeats Annibal; is* *again impeached, and acquitted. Is chosen a fifth time consul. Unfavourable presages against him. He marches against Annibal, falls into an ambuscade, and is killed. Honours paid to him by the Carthaginian general. Public ornaments dedicated by Marcellus. His posterity.*

MARCUS CLAUDIUS, who was five times consul, was the son of Marcus, and (according to Posidonius) the first of his family who bore the surname of Marcellus, that is, 'Martial[1].' He had indeed great military experience, a muscular frame, a powerful arm, and a natural inclination to war. But, though impetuous and lofty in the combat, upon other occasions he was modest and humane. He was so far a lover of the Grecian learning and eloquence, as to honour and admire those who excelled in them, though his employments prevented his studying or attaining them himself to the degree he desired. For if Heaven ever designed that any man

——— in war's rude lists should toil,
From youth to age,

as Homer expresses it[2], it was certainly the principal Romans of those times. In their youth they had to contend with the Carthaginians for the island of Sicily, in their middle age with the Gauls for Italy itself, and in their old age again with the Carthaginians and Annibal[3]. Thus they had not, even in advanced life, the common relaxation and repose, but were called forth by their birth and merit to accept military commands.

---

[1] The Romans were fond of having names derived from their tutelar deity. Hence the appellations of Marcus, Marcius, Mamers, Mamercus, &c.*

[2] Il. xiv. 86.

[3] The military age of the Romans, by Servius Tullius' regulation, extended from seventeen to forty-six, after which they were exempted from all farther service, except in the case of a Gallic war (as stated below). So that, literally to justify Plutarch's observation, if that indeed were necessary, we must suppose him to

As for Marcellus, there was no kind of fighting, in which he was not trained and expert; but in single combat he excelled himself. He therefore never refused a challenge, or failed of killing the challenger. In Sicily, seeing his brother Otacilius in great danger, he covered him with his shield, slew those who attacked him, and saved his life. For these things, he received from the generals crowns and other military honours, while yet but a youth; and, his reputation increasing every day, the people appointed him to the office of Curule Ædile[4], and the priests to that of Augur. This is a kind of priesthood, to which the law assigns the inspection and observing of the divination taken from the flight of birds.

* * * * * * * *

After the first Carthaginian war[5], which had lasted twenty-two years, Rome was soon engaged in a new war with the Gauls. The Insubrians[6] a Celtic

---

refer to the conclusion of the first and the commencement of the second Punic war. The Lacedæmonians served till near sixty; the Athenians, who entered at eighteen (and were retained the two first years to defend the city, and garrison the forts of Attica), till only forty years of age.*

[4] See the Life of Camillus, I. 388. nott. (53) and (90).

[5] Plutarch is a little mistaken here in his chronology. The first Punic war lasted twenty-three years, for it began A. U. C. 490, and included A. U. C. 512. During the whole of that period the Gauls continued quiet, and did not begin to stir till four years afterward. They then advanced to Ariminum; but the Boii, mutinying against their leaders, slew the kings Ates and Galates: after which the Gauls fell upon each other, and numbers were killed; the survivors returned home. Five years after this, they began to prepare for a new war, on account of the division, which Flaminius had made of the lands of the Picentines taken from the Senones of Cisalpine Gaul. These preparations were carrying on a long time; and it was eight years after that division, before the war began in earnest under their chief Congolitanus and Anerœstes, when L. Æmilius Papus and C. Atilius Regulus were consuls, A. U. C. 529. (See Polyb. ii. 9., and Suppl. Liv. xx. 35.)

[6] *Hod.* The Milanese.*

nation, who inhabit that part of Italy which lies at the foot of the Alps, though very powerful in themselves, called in the assistance of the Gesatæ [7] a people of Gaul, who fight for pay upon such occasions. It was a surprising and most fortunate thing for the Roman people, that the Gallic war did not break out at the same time with the Punic; and that the Gauls, observing an exact neutrality all that time, as if they had waited to take up the conqueror, forbore to attack the Romans till they were victorious, and at leisure to receive them. This war however was still not a little alarming to the Romans, as well on account of the vicinity of the Gauls, as of their old military renown. They were indeed the enemy, whom they most dreaded, for they had made themselves masters of Rome; and from that time it had been provided by law, that the priests should be exempted from bearing arms, except in the event of a fresh invasion by the Gauls[8].

The immense preparations, which they made, were farther proofs of their fears (for it is said, that so many thousands of Romans were never seen in arms, either before or since), and so were the new and extraordinary sacrifices, which they offered. Upon other occasions, they had not adopted the rites of barbarous and savage nations, but their religious customs had been agreeable to the mild and merciful ceremonies of the Greeks: on the appearance of this war, however, they were forced to comply with certain oracles found in the books of the Sibyls; and accordingly they buried two Greeks[9], a man and a woman, and likewise two Gauls, alive in the Beast-market. Hence originated certain mysterious and horrid rites, which still continue to be performed in the month of November.

---

[7] So called probably from their weapons, *gæsa*. See Prop. El. IV. xi. 42., Virg. Æn. viii. 662., Liv. viii. 8., and Varro quoted by Nonius xviii.*

[8] At this period (1806) the emphatic clause in the Roman military code, entitled *De Vacatione*, 'NISI BELLUM GALLICUM EXORIATUR,' demands an Englishman's particular attention. To the same purport Cicero: *Ut oportet bello Gallico, ut majorum jura moresque præscribunt, nemo est civis Romanus, qui sibi ullâ excusatione utendum putet.* (Pro Fonteio, sect. 16.)

The numbers alluded to below are computed by Polybius at seven hundred and seventy, and by the writer of the Livian Supplement at eight hundred, thousand men. This included however, of course, their Italian allies.*

In the beginning of the war, the Romans sometimes gained great advantages, and sometimes were no less signally defeated; but there was no decisive action, till the consulship of Flaminius and Furius, who led a very powerful army against the Insubrians. Then (we are told) the river which runs through the Picentine territory was seen flowing with blood, and three moons appeared over the city of Ariminum[10]. The priests likewise, who were to observe the flight of birds at the time of choosing consuls, affirmed that the election was defective and inauspicious. The senate therefore immediately sent letters to the camp to recall the consuls, insisting that they should return without loss of time and resign their office, and forbidding them to act at all against the enemy in consequence of their late appointment.

Flaminius, having received these letters, deferred opening them till he had engaged and routed the barbarians[11], and over-run their country. When he returned therefore loaded with spoils, the people did not go out to meet him; and because he had not directly obeyed the order which recalled him, but had treated it with contempt, he was in danger of losing his triumph. As soon as the triumph was over, both he and his collegue were deposed and reduced to the rank of private citizens. So much regard had the Romans for religion, referring all their affairs to the good pleasure of the gods, and in their greatest prosperity not suffering any neglect of the forms of divination and other sacred usages; fully persuaded, that it was a matter of greater importance to the preservation of their state to have their generals obedient to the gods, than even to have them victorious in the field.

---

[9] They, subsequently, offered the same sacrifice in the second Punic war. See Liv. xxii. 57., who there refers to this preceding instance of barbarity, as *minimè Romanum sacrum*. See the Life of Fabius Maximus, p. 92. not. (53.)

[10] '*Lunæ quoque trinæ, ut Cn. Domitio, Caio Fannio Coss. apparuere, quos plerique appellaverunt soles nocturnos.*' (Plin. H. N. ii. 32.) This circumstance is likewise mentioned by Jul. Obsequens, xcii. The former writer states, that never more than three suns had been seen at once before his time. Gassendi says that, A. D. 1625, six were seen together in Poland; and Schenerus informs us that, on March 20, 1629, five were observed at Rome, and seven on Jan. 24. of the following year: adding, that there is no reason, why eleven might not be seen at the same instant!*

[11] See Liv. xxi. 63. Flaminius was not entitled to this success by his conduct. He gave battle with a river behind him, where there was no room for his men to rally or retreat, if they had been broken. But possibly he might make such a disposition of his forces, to show them that they must either conquer or die; for he knew

To this purpose, the following story is remarkable: Tiberius Sempronius, who was as much respected for his valour and probity as any man in Rome, while consul, named Scipio Nasica and Caius Marcius his successors. After they had set off for the provinces allotted to them, Sempronius happening to meet with a book containing the sacred regulations for the conduct of war[12], discovered in it one particular, which he had never known before. It was this: "When the consul goes to take the "auspices in a house or tent without the city hired

---

that he was acting against the intentions of the senate, and that nothing but success could bring him off. (Polyb. ii.) He was naturally, indeed, rash and daring. It was the skill and management of the legionary tribunes, which made amends for the consul's imprudence. They distributed among the soldiers of the first line the pikes of the Triarii, to prevent the enemy from making use of their swords: and, when the first ardour of the Gauls was over, ordered the Romans to shorten their swords, close with the enemy so as to leave them no room to lift up their arms, and stab them; which they did without running any hazard themselves, the swords of the Gauls having no points. (L.)

This same Flaminius was subsequently defeated by Annibal at Trebia, A. U. C. 536.*

[12] See Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii. 4., Val. Max. i. 1., who say that he had formerly known this regulation, and that by this book it was recalled to his memory.*

" for that purpose, and is obliged by some necessary " business to return into the city before any sure " sign appears to him, he must not make use of that " lodge again, but take another, and there begin " his observations anew." Sempronius was ignorant of this, when he named those two consuls, for he had twice made use of the same lodge; but, when he perceived his error, he acquainted the senate with it: and they, not thinking it proper to pass lightly over even so small a defect, wrote to the consuls about it, who left their provinces and returned with all speed to Rome, where they laid down their offices. But this did not happen till long[13] after the present affair.

But about that very time two priests of the best families in Rome, Cornelius Cethegus and Quintus Sulpitius, were degraded from the priesthood: the former, because he had not presented the entrails of the victim according to rule; and the latter, because as he was sacrificing, the tuft of his cap, which was such a one as the Flamines wear, fell off. And because the squeaking of a rat happened to be heard, at the moment when Minucius the dictator was appointing Caius Flaminius his general of the horse, the people obliged them to quit their posts, and appointed others in their stead. But while they observed these small matters with such exactness, they did not indulge in any kind of superstition[14], for they neither changed nor exceeded the ancient ceremonies.

Flaminius and his collegue being deposed from the consulship, the magistrates called Interreges[15] nominated Marcellus to that high office; who, when he entered upon it, took Cneius Cornelius for his collegue. Though the Gauls were said to be disposed to a reconciliation, and the senate was peaceably inclined, yet the people at the instigation of Marcellus were inclined to war. A peace, however, was concluded; and seems to have been broken by the Gesatæ, who having passed the Alps with thirty thousand men, prevailed upon the Insubrians to join them with much greater numbers. Elated with their strength, they marched immediately to Acerræ[16], a city on the banks of the Po. There Viridomarus, king of the Gesatæ, with a detachment of ten thousand men, laid waste all the country about the river.

---

[13] Sixty years.

[14] This word is here used in the literal sense.

[15] These were officers who, when there were no legal magistrates in being, were appointed to hold the Comitia for electing new ones. The title of Interreges, which had been given them while the government was regal, was continued under the commonwealth.

When Marcellus was informed of their march, he left his collegue before Acerræ, with the whole of the heavy-armed infantry and a third part of the horse; and taking with him the rest of the cavalry, and about six hundred of the light-armed foot, set out and advanced by forced marches day and night, till he came up with the ten thousand Gesatæ near Clastidium[17], a little town of the Gauls, which had but lately submitted to the Romans. He had no time, however, to give his troops any rest or refreshment; for the barbarians immediately perceived his approach, and despised his attempt, as he had only a handful of infantry, and they made no account of his cavalry. These, as well as all the other Gauls, being skilled in fighting on horseback, thought they had the advantage in this respect; and, besides, they far out-numbered Marcellus. They marched therefore directly against him, their king at their head, with great impetuosity and dreadful menaces, as if sure of crushing him at once. Marcellus, because his party was but small, to prevent it's being surrounded extended the wings of his cavalry, thinning

---

[16] The Romans were besieging Acerræ, a town between Milan and Placentia near the junction of the rivers Adda and Po, and the Gauls advanced to relieve it; but finding themselves unable to succeed, they passed the Po with part of their army, and laid siege to Clastidium to make a diversion. (Polyb. ii., Suppl. Liv. xx. 52.)

[17] Livy places this town in Liguria Montana.

and widening the line, till he presented a front nearly equal to that of the enemy. He was now advancing to the charge, when his horse, terrified with the shouts of the Gauls, turned short and forcibly carried him back. Marcellus fearing that this, interpreted by superstition, should cause some disorder in his troops, quickly turned his horse again toward the enemy, and then paid his adorations to the sun; as if that movement had been made not by accident but design, for the Romans always turn round when they worship the gods[18]. Upon the point of engaging, he vowed to Jupiter Feretrius[19] the choicest of the enemy's arms. In the mean time, the king of the Gauls descried him, and judging from his ensigns of authority that he was the consul, set spurs to his horse, and advanced a considerable way before the rest, brandishing his spear, and loudly challenging him to the combat. He was distinguished from the rest of the Gauls by his stature, as well as by his armour; which, being set off with gold and silver and the most lively colours, shone like lightning. As Marcellus was viewing the dispositions of the enemy's forces, he cast his eyes upon this rich suit of armour: and, concluding that in it his vow to Jupiter would be accomplished, he rushed upon it's wearer, and pierced his breast-plate with his spear; which stroke, together with the weight and force of the consul's horse, brought him to the ground, and with two or three more blows he despatched him. He then leaped from his horse, and took off his armour; and lifting up his spoils toward heaven exclaimed, "O Jupiter Feretrius, who ob-
" servest the deeds and exploits of great warriors
" and generals in battle, I now call thee to witness,
" that I am the third Roman chieftain and general
" who have, with my own hands, overcome and slain
" a chieftain and a king! To thee I consecrate ' the

---

[18] See the Life of Numa, Vol. I. p. 192, not. (60.)

[19] See the Life of Romulus, ib. p. 75.

" opime spoils.' Do thou grant us equal success in
" the prosecution of this war."

When this prayer was ended, the Roman cavalry encountered both the enemy's horse and foot at the same time, and gained a victory, not only signal in itself but peculiar in it's kind; for we have no account of such a handful of cavalry beating such numbers, both of horse and foot, either before or since. Marcellus having killed the chief part of the enemy, and taken their arms and baggage, returned to his collegue[20], who had met with no such good success against the Gauls before the great and populous city of Milan. This by the Gauls, and it's neighbourhood, is accounted the metropolis of their country; and hence they defended it with such spirit that Scipio, instead of besieging it, seemed himself to be besieged. But upon the return of Marcellus the Gesatæ, understanding that their king was slain, and his army defeated, drew off their forces. Thus Milan is taken[21]; and the Gauls surrendering the rest of their cities, and referring every thing to the equity of the Romans, obtain reasonable conditions of peace.

The senate decreed a triumph to Marcellus alone; and, whether we consider the rich spoils displayed in it, the prodigious size of the captives, or the magnificence with which the whole was conducted, it was one of the most splendid ever seen. But the most agreeable and uncommon spectacle was Marcellus himself, carrying the armour of Viridomarus, which he had vowed to Jupiter. He had cut the huge trunk of an immense mountain-oak in the form of a trophy, which he adorned with the spoils of that barbarian, suspending and fastening every part of his arms in the happiest order. When the procession began to move, he mounted his chariot which was drawn by four horses, and passed through the city with the trophy on his shoulders, which was the noblest ornament of the whole triumph. The army followed clad in elegant armour, and singing odes composed for the occasion, and other songs of triumph, in honour of Jupiter and their general.

---

[20] During the absence of Marcellus, Acerræ had been taken by his collegue Scipio, who had marched thence to invest Mediolanum, *hod.* Milan. (See Polyb. ib., and Suppl. Liv. xx. 54.)

[21] Comum also, another city of considerable importance, surrendered: and all Italy, from the Alps to the Ionian sea, became entirely Roman.

When he came to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, he set up and consecrated the trophy, being the third and last general, who has hitherto been so gloriously distinguished. The first was Romulus, after he had slain Acron, king of the Cæninenses; Cornelius Cossus, who slew Volumnius the Tuscan, was the second; and the third was Marcellus, who killed with his own hand Viridomarus king of the Gauls. Since his time, no other has occurred[22]. The god, to whom these spoils were devoted, was Jupiter, surnamed Feretrius (as some say) from the Greek word *Pheretron*, which signifies 'a car;' for the trophy was borne upon a carriage of this kind, and the Greek language was then much mixed with the Latin. Others suppose that Jupiter had that appellation, because he 'strikes with lightning,' for the Latin word *ferire* signifies 'to strike.' Others again affirm, that it is on account of the strokes, which are given in battle; for even now, when the Romans charge or pursue an enemy, they encourage each other by calling out, *feri*, *feri*, 'strike them down, strike them down.' What they take from the enemy in the field, they call by the common name of 'spoils;' but what a Roman general takes from the general of the enemy, they call 'opime spoils.' It is said indeed that Numa Pompilius, in his Commentaries, mentions 'opime spoils' of the first, second, and third order: that he directed the first to be consecrated to Jupiter, the second to Mars, and the third to Quirinus; and that the persons who took the first should be rewarded with three hundred *ases*, the second with two hundred, and the third with one hundred. The most received opinion is, however, that those of the first kind only ought to be honoured with the name of 'opime,' which a general takes in a pitched battle, when he kills the enemy's general with his own hand. But enough of this matter.

---

[22] See the Life of Romulus, as above.

The Romans were so excessively delighted with this victory, and the termination of the war, that they made an offering to Apollo at Delphi of a golden cup, in testimony of their gratitude: they also liberally shared the spoils with the confederate cities, and sent a very handsome present out of them to Hiero king of Syracuse, their friend and ally.

Some time after this, Annibal having entered Italy, Marcellus was despatched with a fleet to Sicily. The war continued to rage, and that unfortunate blow was received at Cannæ, by which many thousands of Romans fell. The few, who escaped, fled to Canusium; and it was expected that Annibal, who had thus destroyed the strength of the Roman forces, would march directly to Rome. Upon which, Marcellus first detached fifteen hundred of his men to guard the city; and afterward by order of the senate proceeded to Canusium, drew out the troops which had retired thither, and marched at their head to keep the country from being ravaged by the enemy.

The wars had by this time carried off the chief of the Roman nobility, and most of their best officers. Still indeed there remained Fabius Maximus, a man highly respected for his probity and prudence; but his extraordinary attention to the avoiding of loss passed for inactivity and want of spirit. The Romans therefore, considering him as a proper person for the defensive, but not the offensive part of war, had recourse to Marcellus; and wisely tempering his boldness and energy with the slow and cautious conduct of Fabius, they sometimes appointed them consuls together, and sometimes sent out one of them in the quality of consul, and the other in that of proconsul. Posidonius informs us, that Fabius was called the 'Shield,' and Marcellus 'the Sword*;' but Annibal himself said, "He stood in fear of Fabius as his schoolmaster, and of Marcellus as his adversary; for he received hurt from the latter, and by the former was prevented doing hurt himself."

Annibal's soldiers, elated with their victory, grew careless, and straggling from the camp roamed about the country; where Marcellus fell upon them, and cut off great numbers. After this, he marched to the relief of Naples and Nola. The Neapolitans he confirmed in the Roman interest, to which they were themselves well-inclined: but when he entered Nola, he found great divisions there, the senate of that city being unable to restrain or win the commonalty, who were attached to Annibal. There was a citizen in this place, named Bandius[23], well born and celebrated for his valour; for he had eminently distinguished himself in the battle of Cannæ, where after killing a number of Carthaginians, he was found at last upon a heap of dead bodies covered with wounds. Annibal, admiring his bravery, dismissed him not only without ransom, but with handsome presents, honouring him with his friendship and admission to the rights of hospitality. Bandius, in gratitude for these favours, heartily espoused Annibal's party, and by his authority drew the people on to a revolt. Marcellus thought it wrong to put to death one, who had gloriously fought the battles of Rome. Besides, the general had so engaging a manner grafted upon his native humanity, that he could hardly fail of attracting the regards of a man of generous spirit. One day, Bandius happening to salute him, Marcellus asked who he was: not that he was a stranger to his person, but that he might have an opportunity to introduce what he had to say. Being told, that his name was Lucius Bandius: "What!" exclaimed Marcellus, in seeming delight and admiration[24]; "that Bandius, who has been so much talked of in "Rome for his gallant behaviour at Cannæ, who "indeed was the only man that did not abandon "the consul Æmilius, but received in his own body "most of the shafts that were aimed at him!" Bandius saying that he was the very person, and showing some of his scars; "Why then," replied Marcellus, "when you bore about you such marks of your "regard for us, did not you come to us one of the "first? Do we appear to you slow to reward the "virtue of a friend, who is honoured even by his "enemies?" After this obliging discourse, he embraced him, and made him a present of a war-horse and five hundred drachmas in silver.

---

* See the Life of Fabius Maximus, p. 93.

[23] Or Bantius.

From this time Bandius was very cordially attached to Marcellus, and constantly informed him of the proceedings of the opposite party, who were very numerous and had resolved, when the Romans marched out against the enemy, to plunder their baggage. Upon which, Marcellus drew up his forces in order of battle within the city, placed the baggage near the gates, and published an edict forbidding the inhabitants to approach the walls. Annibal, seeing no hostile appearance, concluded that every thing was in great disorder in the city, and therefore advanced to it with little precaution. At this moment Marcellus commanded the gate next him to be opened, and sallying out with the best of his cavalry, charged the enemy in front. Soon afterward, the infantry rushed out at another gate[25] with loud shouts. And while Annibal was dividing his forces to oppose these two parties, a third gate was opened, and the rest of the Roman troops issuing out attacked the enemy on another side, who were much disconcerted at such an unexpected sally, and made but a faint resistance against those with whom they had first engaged, on account of their being assailed by another body.

---

[24] See the Life of Fabius Maximus, p. 94., not. (56.)

[25] Of these sallies, and their effect, Livy (xxiii. 16.) gives a somewhat different, more modest, and more probable account.*

Then it was that Annibal's men, struck with terror and covered with wounds, first fled before the Romans, and were driven to their camp. Above five thousand of them are said to have been slain, whereas of the Romans there fell not more than five hundred. Livy, indeed, does not make the defeat and loss on the Carthaginian side to have been so considerable: he only affirms, that Marcellus gained great honour by this battle, and that the courage of the Romans was wonderfully restored after their misfortunes; as they now no longer believed that they had to do with an enemy invulnerable and invincible, but who was himself liable to suffer in his turn.

For this reason the people called Marcellus, though absent, to fill the place of one of the consuls[26], who was dead; and prevailed, against the sense of the magistrates, to have the election put off till his return [27]. Upon his arrival, he was unanimously chosen consul: but it happening to thunder at that time, the augurs observed that the omen was unfortunate; and as they did not choose to declare it such, for fear of the people [28], Marcellus voluntarily laid down the office. Notwithstanding this, he had the command of the army continued to him as proconsul, and returned immediately to Nola, whence he made excursions to chastise those[29], who had declared for the Carthaginians. Annibal hastened to their assistance, and offered him battle, which he declined. But some days afterward[30], when he saw that Annibal, no longer expecting a battle, had sent out the chief part of his army to plunder the country, he attacked him vigorously, having first provided the foot with long spears (such as they use in sea-fights) which they were taught to hurl from a distance at the Carthaginians, who were unskilled in the management of the javelin, and only fought hand to hand with short swords[31]. For this reason, all that attempted to make head against the Romans, were obliged to give way and fly in great confusion, leaving five thousand men slain upon the field[32]; beside the loss of four elephants killed, and two taken. What was of still greater importance, upon the third day after the battle[33], above three hundred horse, Spaniards and Numidians, came over to Marcellus; a misfortune, which had never before happened to Annibal: for though his army had been collected from several barbarous nations, differing both in their manners and their language, yet he had long preserved a perfect unanimity throughout the whole. This body of

---

[26] This was Posthumius Albinus, who had been destroyed with his whole army of five and twenty thousand men by the Boii, in a vast forest called by the Gauls 'the forest of Litana.' It seems they had cut all the trees near the road, by which he was to pass, in such a manner, that they might be tumbled upon his army with the least motion. (L.) (Livy, xxiii. 24.) The consul himself fell in the action, and the Gauls converted his skull into a drinking-vessel, to be used at their public festivals. This event happened only a few months after the battle of Cannæ; and appears, as M. Ricard observes, scarcely credible to the extent stated by the historian.*

[27] The people suspected, that he had been purposely sent out of the way by the senate. (Liv. xxiii. 31.)*

[28] Marcellus was a plebeian, as was also his collegue Sempronius; and the patricians, unwilling to see two plebeians consuls at the same time, influenced the augurs to pronounce the election of Marcellus disagreeable to the gods. But the people would not have acquiesced in the declaration of the augurs, had not Marcellus showed himself upon this occasion as zealous a republican as he was a great

---

commander, and refused that honour which had not the sanction of all his fellow-citizens.

[29] The Hirpini, and the Samnites. (Id. ib. 42.)*

[30] Four days previously to this, there had been a bloody action before the walls of Nola, which would have been more decisive, but for a remarkable storm that parted the combatants. (Id. ib. 44.)*

[31] Such was the general character of the swords of the ancients, i. e. the Spartans (see the Life of Lycurgus, I. 142.), Romans, Gauls, &c. &c.*

[32] And upward, beside six hundred taken prisoners, and the loss of nineteen military standards.* On the Roman side, there were not a thousand killed. (Liv. xxiii. 46.)

[33] Livy makes them, one thousand two hundred and seventy-two. It is therefore probable that we should read in this place, 'one thousand three hundred horse.'

horse ever continued faithful to Marcellus, and to those who succeeded him in the command[34].

Marcellus, being appointed consul the third time, passed over into Sicily[35]. For Annibal's success had encouraged the Carthaginians again to revive their claim to that island: and they did it the rather, because the affairs of Syracuse were in some confusion upon the death of Hieronymus[36], its sovereign. On this account, the Romans had already sent an army thither, under the command of Appius Claudius[37].

The command devolving upon Marcellus, he was no sooner arrived in Sicily, than many Romans came to throw themselves at his feet, and represent to him their distress. Of those, who had fought against Annibal at Cannæ, some escaped by flight, and others were taken prisoners; the latter in such numbers, that it was thought the Romans must want men to defend the walls of their capital. Yet that commonwealth had so much firmness and elevation of mind that, though Annibal offered to release the prisoners for a very inconsiderable ransom, they refused it by a public act, and left them to be put to death, or sold out of Italy[38]. As for those who had saved themselves by flight, they sent them into Sicily, with an order not to set foot upon Italian ground during the war with Annibal. These came to Marcellus in a great body, and falling on their knees implored, with loud lamentations and floods of tears, the favour of being admitted again into the army; promising to make it appear by their future behaviour, that that defeat had been owing to their misfortune, and not to their cowardice. Marcellus moved with compassion wrote to the senate, desiring leave to recruit his army with these exiles, as he should find occasion. After much deliberation, the senate signified by a decree, "That the commonwealth had no need of the service "of cowards; that Marcellus however might em-"ploy them if he pleased, but on condition that he "did not bestow upon any of them crowns, or other "honorary rewards." This decree gave Marcellus some concern, and after his return from the war in Sicily he expostulated with the senate, and complained; "That, notwithstanding his many and signal "services, they would not allow him to rescue from "infamy those unfortunate citizens."

---

[34] Marcellus beat Annibal a third time before Nola; and had Claudius Nero, who was sent out to take a circuit and attack the Carthaginians in the rear, come up in time, that day would probably have compensated the loss sustained at Cannæ. (Liv. xxiv. 17.)

[35] A. U. C. 540.

[36] Hieronymus was murthered by his own subjects at Leontium, the conspirators having prevailed on Dinomanes, one of his guards, to favour their attack. He was the son of Gelo, and the grandson of Hiero. Gelo died before his father, who lived to ninety; and Hieronymus, who was not fifteen at his grandfather's death, was slain some months afterward. These three deaths happened toward the latter end of the year, which preceded Marcellus' third consulate. (Liv. xxiv. 4—7.)

[37] Appius Claudius, who was sent into Sicily as prætor, was there before the death of Hieronymus. That young prince, having a turn for raillery, only laughed at the Roman embassadors: 'I will ask you,' said he, 'but one question; who were conquerors at Cannæ, you or the Carthaginians? I am told such surprising things of that battle, that I should be glad to know all the particulars of it.' And again, 'Let the Romans restore all the gold, corn, and other presents, which they drew from my grandfather, and consent that the river Himera be the common boundary between us, and I will renew the ancient treaties with them.' Some writers are of opinion, that the Roman prætor was not entirely unconcerned in a plot, which was so useful to his republic. (Id. ib. 6.)

His first care, after he arrived in Sicily, was to make reprisals for the injury received from Hippocrates the Syracusan general[39]; who to gratify the Carthaginians, and by their means to set himself up tyrant, had attacked the Romans, and killed great numbers of them, in the district of Leontium. Marcellus therefore laid siege to that city, and took it by storm, but did no harm to the inhabitants; only such deserters as he found there, he ordered to be beaten with rods, and then put to death. Hippocrates took care to give the Syracusans the first notice of the taking of Leontium, assuring them at the same time, that Marcellus had put to the sword all who were able to bear arms; and, while they were under great consternation at this intelligence, he suddenly appeared before the city, and made himself master of it[40].

---

[38] This inhuman policy, suited only to a military and barbarian republic, has already been the subject of a note, and is beautifully illustrated by Horace's Ode III. v. (See Liv. xxii. 59—61.) *

[39] See Livy, xxiv. 29.*

Upon this, Marcellus marched with his whole army, and encamped before Syracuse. But, before he attempted any thing against it, he sent embassadors with a true account of what he had done at Leontium. As this information had no effect upon the Syracusans, who were entirely in Hippocrates' power[41], he made his attacks both by sea and land; Appius Claudius commanding the land-forces, and himself the fleet, which consisted of sixty galleys of five banks of oars, full of all sorts of arms and missile weapons. Beside these, he had a prodigious machine carried upon eight galleys fastened together, with which he approached the walls, relying upon the number of his batteries and other instruments of war, as well as on his own great character. But Archimedes despised all this, and confided in the superiority of his engines; though he did not think the inventing of them an object worthy of his serious studies, but only reckoned them among the amusements of geometry *. Neither indeed would he have gone so far, but at the pressing instances of king Hiero, who entreated him to turn his art from abstracted notions to material substances; and to make his reasonings more intelligible to the generality of mankind, by

---

[40] After surmounting several obstacles. See Liv. xxiv. 30—32.*

[41] On the assassination of Hieronymus the commonwealth having been restored, Hippocrates and Epicydes, Annibal's agents and of Syracusan extraction, had the address to get themselves admitted into the number of prætors. In consequence of which, they found means to embroil the Syracusans with Rome, notwithstanding the opposition of such of the prætors as had their country's interest at heart.

* Archimedes, as the Quarterly Reviewers v. 89. justly observe, appears to have maintained a rank among ancient philosophers similar to that of Newton among the moderns. He must be considered indeed as the father of the sciences of statics and of hydrostatics; for to him we owe the true theory of the equilibrium of machines, as well as the fundamental laws of hydrostatical equilibrium. His discoveries in pure geometry alone would secure for him the ad-

miration of all ages. His predilection for travelling in unbeaten paths led him to explore the new subject of the measure of curvilinear magnitudes, in which his discoveries were so numerous, and his methods so admirable, that antiquity assigned him the first place among geometricians. *Vir stupendæ sagacitatis*, says Wallis, *qui prima fundamenta posuit inventionum ferè omnium, de quibus promovendis ætas nostra gloriatur.* How much is it to be deplored that, in consequence of his being infected with the ridiculous notion of the Platonists, which would not allow them to leave any thing in writing relative to the detail of mechanical contrivances, posterity should have lost the benefit not only of his particular inventions, but also of the improvements to which they would naturally have led. His treatises, which have reached our times, are two books on the Sphere and Cylinder; one on the Measure of the Circle, or the Ratio of the Diameter to the Circumference; one on Conoids and Spheroids; one on Spirals; one on the Equilibrium of Planes, or on their Centres of Gravity; one on the Quadrature of the Parabola; two of Bodies floating on Liquids; one, Psomonites or Arenarius, on the Number of the Sands, and a collection of Lemmata, or Geometrical Propositions. He was the first who demonstrated the well-known property of the straight lever when the arms are incommensurable; and his proof has not been surpassed by any modern demonstration, except that of Newton in the Principia; which, as shown in the 'Retrospect of Philosophical Discoveries,' No. 18, is applicable to the case of parallel forces acting on a straight lever. The only valid objection to the process of the Syracusan geometer has been removed by professor Vince, Phil. Transact. lxxxiv. 33. To Archimedes likewise, instead of the Arabians or the later Greeks, Wallis has correctly referred the invention of characters to denote the several powers of any quantity, commonly called '*Algebraic*' or '*Copic*:' And his Arenarius (in which he proves that not only the sands of the sea-shore, of the whole earth, but even a greater quantity of particles than could be contained in the κοσμος or immense sphere of the fixed stars, would be less than the sixty-fourth term of a decuple geometrical progression increasing from unity, or unity with sixty-three cyphers annexed, i. e. a thousand decillions) obviously contains the germ of the invention of *Logarithms.* Revault, in his edition of 1615, folio, Paris, has given some account of such of his works as are lost: his Crown of Hiero (mentioned below, not. 45); the Cochleon, or Water-screw; the Helicon, a kind of endless screw; the Trisposton, consisting of a combination of wheels and axles; the Machines employed in the defence of Syracuse; the Burning Speculum; the Machines moved by air and water; and the Material Sphere; to which may be added his Principles, alluded to only by Pappus perhaps in his Math. Coll., viii.*

applying them through the medium of the senses to the uses of common life.

The first who engaged in the study of mechanics, a branch of knowledge subsequently so much admired and celebrated, were Eudoxus and Archytas[42], who thus gave a variety and agreeableness to geometry, and confirmed by sensible experiments and the use of instruments some problems, incapable of demonstration in the way of deduction and theorem. That problem (for example) of two mean proportional lines, which cannot be found out geometrically, and are yet so necessary for the solution of other questions, they solved mechanically, by the assistance of certain instruments called Mesolabes taken from conic sections. But when Plato[43] inveighed against them with great indignation, as having corrupted and debased the excellence of geometry, by causing her to descend from incorporeal and intellectual to sensible things, and obliging her to make use of matter, which requires much manual labour and is the object of servile trades; then mechanics were separated from geometry, and being despised by the philosopher, were long considered as a branch of the military art.

Be that as it may, Archimedes one day asserted to king Hiero (whose kinsman[44], and friend he was) this proposition, that with a given power he could move any given weight whatever; nay, from his confidence in his demonstration he ventured, it is said, to affirm that if there was another earth besides this which we inhabit[45], by going into that, he would move this whithersoever he pleased. Hiero, full of wonder, desired him to evince the truth of his proposition, by moving some great weight with a small power. In compliance with which, Archimedes caused one of the king's galleys to be drawn on shore with many hands and much labour: and having well manned her, and put on board her usual loading, he placed himself at a distance; and without any pains, only moving with his hand the end of a machine, which consisted of a variety of ropes and pullies, he drew her to him in as smooth and gentle a manner, as if she had been under sail. The king, quite astonished when he saw the force of his art, prevailed upon Archimedes to construct for him all kinds of engines and machines, which could be used either for attack or defence in a siege. Of these however he never made use, the chief part of his reign being blessed with peace and tranquillity; but they were extremely serviceable, upon the present occasion, to the Syracusans, who with such a number of machines had the inventor himself to direct them.

---

[42] Eudoxus was a celebrated geometer and astronomer of Cnidus. He first regulated the Grecian year. His Life was written by Diogenes Laërtius. Archytas lived under Dionysius the Elder, above a hundred and sixty years before the siege of Syracuse. See his Life by the same biographer (viii. 82.)*

[43] Plato esteemed nothing serious in the sciences, but what was intellectual; and therefore would not allow a philosopher to apply himself to natural philosophy, otherwise than as an amusement.*

[44] And yet Cicero, Tusc. Quæst. v. 23., where he speaks of his search for the tomb of this great man (*δαιμονιȣ τινος συνεσεως*, as Plutarch terms him below), calls him '*humilis homunculus!*' But Dacier informs us, that. Cicero only knew Archimedes from the account given of him by Polybius (viii.) The illustrious Syracusan, content with his mathematical speculations, had always kept himself aloof from the comparatively-sordid concerns of public life, and had not like Plato deeply engaged in political speculations, or like Archytas uniformly led the armies of his country to victory. This

---

will perhaps sufficiently account for the preference given to the latter, in the above-quoted passage, by the Roman orator.*

[45] Tzetzes gives us the very expression, which Archimedes made use of upon the occasion; Πα βω, και χαριστιωνι ταν γαν κινησω πασαν. (L.) If the name of this machine however were derived, as some affirm, from the inventor Charistion, it affects Archimedes' supposed claim to the honour of the discovery. It was by this prince, likewise, that the Syracusan geometer was employed to detect the adulteration of his crown, which he was enabled to effect, by observing the water rise as he entered the bath—a problem now familiar to every hydrostatical scholar. See Dutens, *Origine des Découvertes attribuées aux Modernes*, III. x. p. 255. 4to. Ed. 1796, Vitruv. Architect. ix. 3., Vince's Hydrost. 8vo. Prop. xxii. Art. 55., &c. In the *Encycl. Brit.* indeed, he is stated to have composed a work (Περι της Στεφανης, now lost) upon this very subject.*

When the Romans attacked them both by sea and land, they were struck dumb with terror, imagining that they could not possibly resist such numerous forces, and so furious an assault. But Archimedes quickly began to play his engines, and shot against the land-forces all sorts of missile weapons and stones of an enormous size with so incredible a noise and rapidity, that nothing could stand before them; overturning and crushing whatever came in their way, and spreading terrible disorder throughout the ranks. On the side toward the sea were erected vast machines, thrusting forth on a sudden over the walls huge beams with the necessary tackle, which striking with a prodigious force on the enemy's galleys sunk them at once: while other ships, hoisted up at the prows by iron claws or hooks[46] like the beaks of cranes, and set upright on the stern, were plunged to the bottom of the sea; and others again by ropes and grapples were drawn toward the shore, and after being whirled about, and dashed against the rocks which projected below the walls, were broken to pieces, and the crews perished. Very often a ship lifted high above the sea, suspended and twirling in the air, presented a most dreadful spectacle. There it swung, till the men were thrown out by the violence of the motion, and then it split against the walls or sunk, on the engine's letting go it's hold. As for the machine, which Marcellus brought forward upon eight galleys, and which was called 'Sambuca' on account of it's likeness to the musical instrument of that name, while it was at a considerable distance from the walls, Archimedes discharged a stone of ten talents' weight[47], and after that a second and a third, all of which striking upon

---

[46] What most harassed the Romans was a sort of crow with two claws, fastened to a long chain, which was let down by a kind of lever. The weight of the iron caused it to fall with great violence, and drove it into the planks of the galleys. Then the besieged, by loading it with lead at the other end, raised up the crow, and with it the prow to which it was fastened, sinking the poop at the same time into the water. After this the crow letting go it's hold all on a sudden, the prow of the galley fell with such force into the sea, that the whole vessel was filled with water and went to the bottom.

---

[47] It is not easy to conceive, how the machines formed by Archimedes could throw stones of ten quintals or talents (that is, twelve hundred and fifty pounds weight) at the ships of Marcellus, when they were at a considerable distance from the walls. The account, which Polybius gives us (viii.), is much more probable. He says, that the stones thrown by Archimedes' balistæ were of the weight of ten pounds; and with him Livy seems to agree. If we suppose indeed that Plutarch did not mean the talent of an hundred and twenty-five pounds, but the talent of Sicily (which some say weighed twenty-five, and others only ten pounds), his account comes more within the bounds of probability. (L.)

It may be remarked here, that neither Polybius, nor Livy, nor Plutarch say one word about the celebrated burning-glasses, with which Archimedes is reported to have set on fire several of the Roman gallies. M. Ricard therefore, following Kepler, Naudé, Descartes (Dioptrique, viii. 128.), Fontenelle, &c. pronounces it an unfounded fabrication of later authors. Adams, however, in his 'Lectures on Natural and Experimental Philosophy,' I. 391. II. 232., represents this result as effected 'by means of a compound of several small square plane mirrors moving every way upon hinges,' with which (notwithstanding the *loss of almost half the rays of the sun* on account of the inaccuracy of the polish, and the want of perfect opacity in the substance of the mirror) both Kircher and Buffon succeeded; the former with five plane mirrors (see his *De Arte Magnâ Lucis et Umbræ*, X. iii. 888.), and the latter, on a much more enlarged scale—having in 1747 with 168 of the same description set wood in flames at the distance of 200 feet, melted lead at 120, and silver at 50. With only 40 he burned a plank at a distance of about 70 feet. See his *Supplément à l'Histoire Naturelle.* See Needham and Nicolini's Papers in the valuable Abridgement of the Philos. Trans. ix. 344., and an Abstract of Buffon's own Letter on the Subject, ib. 558. See also Dr. Parsons on Father Kircher's opinion, x. 488. M. Dutens, in his *Origine des Découvertes attribuées aux Modernes*, has an entire chapter, III. viii. pp. 235—245. (Ed. 4to. 1796.), in which he quotes Tzetzes Chil. III. p. 292., Anthemius of Tralles (then only in MS.), Lucian, Galen, Zonaras, Eustathius in Il. v. &c. &c. to repel the charge of forgery adduced against this story. M. Peyrard, who published at Paris in 1808 a French translation of the Works of Archimedes, has attached to it a 'Memoir of a new burning Mirror' *(approuvé*, as he adds, *par la Classe des Sciences Physiques et Mathematiques de l'Institut)*, by means of which the solar rays may be reflected upon an object whether at rest or in motion, in as great a quantity as the operator pleases. He has little doubt indeed, he observes, that with 590 properly adjusted mirrors, each of five decimetres in height, he could reduce to cinders a fleet at the distance of a quarter of a league; at half a league, with the same number of a metre it with an amazing noise and force, shattered and totally disjointed and broke it to pieces.

Marcellus in this distress drew off his galleys as fast as possible, and sent orders to the land-forces likewise to retreat. He then called a council of war, in which it was resolved to come close to the walls, if it were possible, next morning before day. For Archimedes' engines they thought, being very strong and intended to act at a considerable distance, would in that case discharge themselves over their heads; and, if pointed at them when so near, produce no effect. But for this Archimedes had long been prepared, having by him engines fitted to all distances, with suitable weapons and shorter beams. Besides, he had caused holes[48] to be made in the walls, in which he placed 'Scorpions,' that did not carry far, but could be very rapidly discharged; and by these the enemy was galled, without knowing whence the weapon came.

When therefore the Romans, undiscovered as they thought, had approached close to the walls, they were welcomed with a shower of darts and huge pieces of rock, which fell as it were perpendicularly upon their heads; for the engines played from every quarter. This obliged them to retire; and when they were at some distance, other shafts were shot at them from the larger machines in their retreat, which made terrible havock among them, as well as greatly damaged their shipping, without any possibility of their annoying the Syracusans in their turn. For Archimedes had placed most of his engines under covert of the walls; so that the Romans, being infinitely distressed by an invisible enemy, seemed to fight against the gods.

(39.37 inches) in height; and at a league with the same number of two metres high. And this the Quarterly Reviewers assure us, is not gasconade. They prefer his contrivance indeed to Buffon's, Parker's, or any other. See v. 109.

[48] These are mentioned both by Polybius (viii.) and Livy, xxiv. 34., and by both represented as wide within and narrow without.*

Marcellus however got off, and laughed at his own artillery-men and engineers: "Why do not we "leave off contending," said he, "with this mathematical Briareus, who sitting on the shore[49], "and acting as it were but in jest, has shamefully "baffled our naval assault; and, in striking us with "such a multitude of bolts at once, exceeds even "the hundred-handed giants of fable?" And in truth all the rest of the Syracusans were no more than the body in the batteries of Archimedes, while he himself was the all-moving and informing soul. All other weapons lay idle and unemployed; his were the only offensive and defensive arms of the city. At last the Romans were so terrified, that if they saw but a rope or a stick put over the walls, they cried out, "Archimedes was levelling some "machine at them;" and turned their backs, and fled. Marcellus, observing this, gave up all thoughts of proceeding by assault, and leaving the matter to time, converted the siege into a blockade.

Archimedes however had such a depth of understanding, such a dignity of sentiment, and so copious a fund of mathematical knowledge, that though in the invention of these machines he gained the reputation of a man endowed with divine rather than human knowledge, he yet did not vouchsafe to leave any account of them in writing. For he considered all attention to mechanics, and every art which ministers to common uses, as mean and sordid; and placed his whole delight in those intellectual speculations, which without any relation to the necessities of life have an intrinsic excellence arising solely from truth and demonstration. If mechanical knowledge indeed be valuable for the curious frame and amazing power of those machines, which it produces, the other is infinitely superior on account of it's invincible force and conviction. And it is certain, that abstruse and profound questions in geometry are no where solved by a more simple process, and upon clearer principles, than in the writings of Archimedes. Some ascribe this to the acuteness of his genius, and others to his indefatigable industry, by which he made what had cost considerable pains appear unlaboured and easy. In fact, it is almost impossible for any one by himself to discover the demonstration of his propositions: but, as soon as he has learned it from him, he will think that he could have done it without assistance: such a smooth and ready way does he lead us to what he wishes to prove. We are not therefore to reject as incredible what is related of him, that under the perpetual fascination of a domestic and cohabiting Siren (that is, his geometry) he neglected his meat and drink, and took no care of his person; and was often carried by force to the baths, where he would make mathematical figures in the ashes, and with his finger draw lines upon his body after it was anointed: so much was he transported with intellectual delight, and such an enthusiast in science. And though he was the author of many curious and excellent discoveries, yet he is said to have desired his friends only to place on his tomb-stone a cylinder containing a sphere[50], and to inscribe upon it the proportion which the containing solid bears to the contained. Such was Archimedes, who exerted all his skill to defend himself and the city against the Romans.

---

[49] For καθιζων προς την θαλασσαν, it has been proposed to read κυαθιζων εκ της θαλασσης, 'using our ships as bowls to draw water in from the sea;' with reference to a passage in the eighth book of Polybius, whence Plutarch may have copied his allusion.*

---

[50] Cicero, when he was quæstor in Sicily, discovered this monument in the shape of a small pillar, and showed it to the Syracusans, who did not know that it was in being. He says, there were some iambic verses inscribed upon it, the latter halves of which were almost eaten out by time; and that there were likewise to be seen, as those verses asserted, the figures of a cylinder and a sphere, the proportion between which Archimedes first discovered. From the death of this great mathematician, which happened A. U. C. 542., to the quæstorship of Cicero A. U. C. 678. a hundred and thirty-six years had elapsed. This period, though it had not effaced the cylinder and the sphere, had put an end to the learning of Syracuse, once so respectable in the republic of letters. (L.) (Cic. Tusc. Quæst. v. 23.) Archimedes' sepulchre was almost overgrown with thorns and briars, and but for the industry of the man of Arpinum would most probably never again have been discovered.*

During the siege of Syracuse Marcellus went against Megara, one of the most ancient cities of Sicily, and took it. He also fell upon Hippocrates, as he was entrenching himself at Acrillæ, and killed above eight thousand of his men [51]. Nay, he overran the greatest part of Sicily, brought over several cities from the Carthaginian interest, and beat all who attempted to face him in the field.

Some time afterward, when he returned to Syracuse, he surprised one Damippus a Spartan, as he was sailing out of the harbour [52]; and, the Syracusans being very desirous to ransom him, several conferences were held about it. In one of these Marcellus noticed a tower but slightly guarded, into which a number of men might be privately conveyed, the wall that led to it being easy to be scaled. And as they often met to confer at the foot of this tower, he made a correct estimate of it's height, and provided himself with proper scaling-ladders; and observing that on the festival of Diana the Syracusans drank freely and gave a loose to mirth, he not only possessed himself of the tower undiscovered, but before day-light he had filled the walls of that quarter with soldiers, and forcibly entered the Hexapylum.

---

[51] Himilco had entered the port of Heraclea with a numerous fleet sent from Carthage, and landed twenty thousand foot, three thousand horse, and twelve elephants. His forces were no sooner disembarked, than he marched against Agrigentum, which he retook from the Romans, with several other cities lately reduced by Marcellus. Upon this the Syracusan garrison, which was yet entire, determined to send out Hippocrates with ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, to join Himilco. Marcellus, after having made a vain attempt upon Agrigentum, was returning to Syracuse. As he drew near Acrillæ, he unexpectedly discovered Hippocrates busy in fortifying his camp, fell upon him before he had time to draw up his army, and cut eight thousand of them in pieces. (Liv. xxiv. 35, 36.)

[52] To demand succour of king Philip. (Liv. xxv. 23.)*

The Syracusans, as soon as they perceived it, began to move about in the utmost confusion; but Marcellus ordering all the trumpets to sound at once, they were seized with consternation, and betook themselves to flight, believing that the whole city was lost. The Achradina however, which was the strongest, fairest, and most extensive part of it, was not taken; being divided by walls from the rest of the city, one part of which was called Neapolis, and the other Tyche. The enterprise having thus succeeded, Marcellus at day-break moved down from the Hexapylum into Syracuse, where he was congratulated by his officers on the glorious event[53]. But it is said that he himself, when he surveyed from an eminence that mighty and magnificent city, shed many tears[54] in pity of it's impending fate: reflecting into what a scene of misery and desolation it's splendid appearance would be changed, when it came to be sacked and plundered by his soldiers. For the troops demanded the plunder, and not one of the officers durst oppose it. Many even insisted, that the whole place should be burned and levelled with the ground; but to this Marcellus absolutely refused his consent. It was with the utmost reluctance, that he gave up the effects and the slaves: and he strictly charged the soldiers not to touch any free man or woman, nor to kill, abuse, or make a slave of any citizen whatever.

But though he acted with so much moderation, the city had harder measure than he wished, and amidst the great and general joy his soul sympathised and condoled with it's sufferings, when he considered that in a few hours the prosperity of such a flourishing state would be no more. It is even said, that the plunder of Syracuse was as rich as that of Carthage after it[55]. For the rest of the

---

[53] Epipolæ was entered in the night, and Tyche the next morning. Epipolæ was encompassed with the same wall as Ortygia, the Achradina, Tyche, and Neapolis; had it's own citadel, called Euryalum, on the top of a steep rock; and was, as we have observed (in the Life of Timoleon, p. 253, not. 31.) a fifth city.

[54] Liv. xxv. 24.

---

[55] The siege of Syracuse lasted in the whole three years: no small part of which passed, after Marcellus had entered Tyche. As Plutarch has run so slightly over the subsequent events, with a view (Dacier unjustly, I think, insinuates) of injuring the fame of the illustrious Roman, though he elsewhere does justice to his integrity and impartiality, it may not be amiss to give a summary detail of them from Livy (xxv. 23—31.); Polybius' account of the event being, unfortunately, lost.

Epicydes, who had his head-quarters in the farthest part of Ortygia, hearing that the Romans had seized on Epipolæ and Tyche, advanced to drive them from their posts; but, finding much greater numbers than he expected, after a slight skirmish he retired. Marcellus, unwilling to destroy the city, tried gentle methods with the inhabitants; but the Syracusans rejected his proposals: and their general appointed the Roman deserters to guard the Achradina, which they did with extreme care, knowing that if the town were taken by capitulation they must die. Marcellus then turned his arms against the fortress of Euryalum, which he hoped to reduce in a short time by famine. Philodemus, who commanded there, held out some time, in hope of succours from Hippocrates and Himilco; but, finding himself disappointed, surrendered the place, on condition of being allowed to march out with his men and join Epicydes. Marcellus, now master of Euryalum, blocked up the Achradina so closely, that it could not hold out long without new supplies of men and provisions. But Hippocrates and Himilco soon arrived; and it was resolved that Hippocrates should attack the old camp of the Romans without the walls, commanded by Crispinus, while Epicydes sallied out upon Marcellus. Hippocrates however was vigorously repulsed by Crispinus, who pursued him up to his entrenchments; and Epicydes was forced to return into the Achradina with great loss, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by Marcellus. The unfortunate Syracusans were now in the utmost distress for want of provisions: and to complete their misery, a plague broke out among them, of which Himilco and Hippocrates with many thousands more died. Upon this, Bomilcar sailed to Carthage again for fresh supplies, and returned to Sicily with a large fleet; but hearing of the immense preparations of the Romans at sea, and probably dreading the event of a battle, he unexpectedly steered away. Epicydes, who had gone out to meet him, was afraid to return into a city half-taken, and therefore fled for refuge to Agrigentum. The Syracusans then assassinated the governors left by Epicydes, and proposed to submit to Marcellus. For this purpose they sent deputies, who were graciously received. But the garrison, which consisted of Roman deserters and mercenaries, raising fresh disturbances killed the officers appointed by the Syracusans, and chose six new ones of their own. Among these was a Spaniard named Mericus, a man of integrity, who disapproving of city was soon betrayed to the Romans, and pillaged: the royal property alone being preserved, and carried into the public treasury at Rome.

But what most afflicted Marcellus was the unhappy fate of Archimedes, who was at that time in his study, engaged in some mathematical researches; with his mind, as well as his eye, so intent upon his diagram, that he neither heard the tumultuous noise of the Romans, nor perceived that the city was taken. A soldier suddenly entered his room, and ordered him to follow him to Marcellus; and Archimedes refusing to do it, till he had finished his problem and completed his demonstration, the soldier in a passion drew his sword and killed him. Others say, the soldier came up to him at first with a drawn sword to kill him, and Archimedes perceiving him begged he would hold his hand a moment, that he might not leave his theorem imperfect; but the soldier, neither regarding him nor his theorem, laid him dead at his feet. A third account of the matter is that, as Archimedes was carrying to Marcellus in a box some mathematical instruments (sun-dials, spheres, and quadrants) by which the eye might measure the magnitude of the sun[56], a party

---

the cruelties of his party determined to give up the place to Marcellus. In pursuance of which, under pretence of greater care than ordinary, he desired that each governor might have the sole direction in his own quarter; which gave him an opportunity of opening the gate of Arethusa to the Roman general. And now Marcellus, at length master of the unfaithful city, gave signal proofs of his clemency and good-nature. [With respect to Archimedes, in particular, his orders were most honourably specific: *Eximiâ hominis prudentiâ delectatus, ut capiti illius parceretur edixit, penè tantum gloriæ in Archimede servato, quantum in oppressis Syracusis reponens.* Val. Max. VIII. vii. 7.*] He suffered the Roman deserters to escape, for he was unwilling to shed the blood even of traitors. No wonder then, that he spared the lives of the Syracusans and their children: though (as he told them) the services, which good king Hiero had rendered Rome, were exceeded by the insults which had lately been offered her by themselves.

[56] Upon this M. Bailly has some learned observations, proving the accuracy of the instruments with which Archimedes could ascertain, so nearly as he seems to have done, the apparent diameter of

of soldiers met him, and imagining that there was gold in the box, took away his life for it. It is agreed however, on all hands, that Marcellus was much concerned at his death*; that he turned away his face from his murtherer, as from an impious and execrable person; and that, having by inquiry found out his relations, he bestowed upon them many signal favours.

Hitherto the Romans had shown other nations their abilities to plan, and their courage to execute; but they had given them no proof of their clemency, their humanity, or (in one word) of their political virtue. Marcellus seems to have been the first, who made it appear to the Greeks, that the Romans had greater regard to equity than they. For such was his goodness to those who addressed him, and so many benefits did he confer upon cities as well as private persons, that if Enna[57], Megara, and Syracuse were treated harshly, the blame of that severity was rather to be charged on the sufferers themselves, than on those by whom they were chastised.

I shall mention one of the numerous instances of this great man's moderation. There is in Sicily a town called Enguium, not large indeed but very ancient, and celebrated for the appearance of the goddesses called 'The Mothers[58].' The temple is

---

the sun, and conjecturing the methods which he used upon the occasion. (Astron. Mod. i. 19, 21.)*

* Liv. xxv. 31.

[57] For the beauty of this Sicilian city, and the fertility of the surrounding country,

——That fair field
Of Enna, where Proserpine gathering flowers,
Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis
Was gather'd—— (Milt. P. L. iv. 267.)

See Cic. adv. Verr. *de Signis*: for it's treachery to the Romans, and the consequent butchery of it's inhabitants by L. Pinarius, who commanded the garrison placed there, *aut malo aut necessario facinore*, Liv. xxiv. 37., &c.*

[58] These are supposed to be Cybele, Juno, and Ceres. Cicero speaks of a temple of Cybele only at Enguium. (Verr. iv. 44.)

said to have been built by the Cretans, and they still show some spears and brasen helmets, inscribed with the names of Meriones and Ulysses, who consecrated them to those goddesses. This town was strongly inclined to favour the Carthaginians; but Nicias, one of it's principal inhabitants, endeavoured to persuade them to go over to the Romans, declaring his sentiments freely in their public assemblies, and proving that his opposers did not consult their true interests. These men, fearing his authority and the influence of his character, resolved to carry him off, and put him in the hands of the Carthaginians. Nicias, apprised of their project, took measures for his security, without seeming to do so. He publicly gave out unbecoming speeches against 'the Mothers,' as if he disbelieved and made light of the received opinion concerning the presence of those goddesses. In the mean time, his enemies rejoiced that he himself thus furnished them with sufficient reasons for the worst they could do to him. On the day which they had appointed for seizing him, there happened to be an assembly of the people, and Nicias was in the midst of them, treating about some public business. But on a sudden he threw himself upon the ground, in the midst of his discourse; and after having lain there some time without speaking, as if he had been in a trance, he lifted up his head, and turning it round began to speak with a feeble trembling voice, which he gradually quickened: and when he saw the whole assembly struck dumb with horror, he threw off his mantle, tore his vest in pieces, and ran half-naked to one of the doors of the theatre, crying out that he was pursued by 'the Mothers.' From a scruple of religion, no one durst touch or stop him; all therefore making way, he reached one of the city-gates, though he no longer used any word or action, like one that was heaven-struck and distracted. His wife who was in the secret, and assisted in the stratagem, took her children, and went and prostrated herself as a supplicant before the altars of the goddesses. Then pretending that she was going to seek her husband, who was wandering about in the fields, she met with no opposition, but got safe out of the town; and so both of them escaped to Marcellus at Syracuse. The people of Enguium adding many other insults and misdemeanors to their past faults, Marcellus came and had them loaded with irons, in order to punish them. But Nicias approached him with tears in his eyes, and kissing his hands and embracing his knees, implored pardon for all the citizens, and for his enemies first. Upon this, Marcellus relenting set them all at liberty, and did not permit his troops to commit the least disorder in the city; at the same time bestowing upon Nicias a large tract of land, and many rich gifts. These particulars we learn from Posidonius the philosopher.

Marcellus[59] after this, being called home to a war in the heart of Italy, carried with him the most valuable of the statues and paintings in Syracuse, that they might embellish his triumph, and be an ornament to Rome. For, before this time, that city neither possessed nor knew any curiosities of this kind[60], being a stranger to the charms of taste and elegance. Full of arms taken from barbarous nations and bloody spoils, and crowned as she was with trophies and other monuments of her triumphs, she afforded not a cheerful and pleasing spectacle fit for men brought up in ease and luxury, but wore a look aweful and severe. And as Epaminondas called the plains of Bœotia 'the orchestra[61] of Mars,' and Xenophon Ephesus 'the arsenal of war,' so in my opinion (to use the expression of Pindar) one might then have stiled Rome 'the temple of frowning Mars[62].'

---

[59] Before he left Sicily, he gained a considerable victory over Epicydes and Hanno; in which he slew great numbers, and took many prisoners, beside eight elephants. (Liv. xxv. 40.)

[60] Upon this Livy (ib.) piously moralises, and Polybius appropriates an excellent chapter (ix. 10.) to the inquiry, 'Whether the Romans did well in transmitting home the ornaments of conquered cities?' A little of the morality of these writers might have been circulated in the French armies, with no disadvantage to unhappy Italy (1806.)*

Thus Marcellus became more acceptable to the people, because he adorned the city with curiosities in the Grecian taste, whose variety as well as grace and elegance delighted the spectator: but the graver citizens preferred Fabius Maximus, who when he took Tarentum, brought nothing of that kind away. The money indeed and other rich moveables he carried off, but he suffered the statues and pictures to remain, using this memorable expression, "Let "us leave the Tarentines their angry deities*." They blamed the proceedings of Marcellus, in the first place, as most invidious for Rome, because he had led not only men, but the very gods in captivity and triumph; and next, because he had corrupted a people inured to agriculture and war, wholly unacquainted with luxury and sloth, and (as Euripides says of Hercules)

> Rough and unbred, but great on great occasions[63],

by furnishing them with an occasion of idleness and vain discourse; for they now began to spend a considerable part of the day in disputing about arts and artists. But notwithstanding such censures, this was the very thing in which Marcellus exulted, even to the Greeks themselves, that he first taught the Romans to esteem and admire the exquisite performances of Greece, to which they had been previously strangers.

---

[61] Or 'stage,' on account of the battles there fought, 'which he looked upon as games,' says Dacier. How forcibly does this last word remind the reader of Cowper, one of the most excellent, poetical, and miserable of men!

> War is a *game* which, were their subjects wise,
> Kings would not play at. Nations would do well
> T' extort their truncheons from the puny hands
> Of heroes, whose infirm and baby minds
> Are gratified with mischiefs; and who spoil,
> Because men suffer it, their toy the world. (Task v.)

Xenophon's expression occurs in his Hellenic. iii.

[62] Pyth. ii.

* See the Life of Fabius Maximus, p. 98.

[63] A verse quoted more than once by Plutarch.*

Finding upon his return that his enemies opposed his triumph, and considering that the war was not quite finished in Sicily, as well as that a third triumph might expose him to the envy of his fellow-citizens[64], he so far yielded, as to content himself with leading up the greater triumph on mount Alba, and entering Rome with the less. The less is called by the Greeks 'evan,' and by the Romans 'an ovation.' In this, the general does not ride in a triumphal chariot drawn by four horses, he is not crowned with laurel, neither has he trumpets sounding before him; but he walks in sandals, attended with the music of many flutes, and wearing a crown of myrtle; his appearance therefore, having in it nothing warlike, is rather pleasing than formidable. This is to me a plain proof that the triumphs of old were distinguished, not by the importance of the achievement, but by the manner of it's performance. For those, who subdued their enemies by fighting battles and spilling much blood, entered with the martial and dreadful pomp of the greater triumph, and (as is customary in the lustration of an army) wore crowns of laurel, and adorned their arms with the same. But when a general, without fighting, gained his point by treaty and the force of persuasion, the law decreed him this ovation, which had more the appearance of a festival than of war. For the flute is an instrument used in time of peace; and the myrtle is the tree of Venus, who of all the deities is most averse from violence and bloodshed.

---

[64] Our author mentions but one triumph before this, namely, that over the Gauls, nor do other writers speak of any more: and instead of τριτος an ancient MS. gives us πρωτος which is the reading followed by Dacier. If it be the true one, it must be translated, 'his former triumph had exposed him to envy.' But, as Plutarch afterward expressly says, that Marcellus had τρεις θριαμβȣ͂ς, 'three triumphs,' we have retained the common reading; though we acknowledge, that he might be mistaken in the matter of fact.

Now the term 'ovation' is not derived (as most authors suppose) from the word *evan*, which is uttered in shouts of joy, for they have the same shouts and songs in the other triumph; but the Greeks have wrested it to a word well known in their language, believing this procession intended in some measure in honour of Bacchus, whom they call Evius and Thriambus. The truth of the matter is as follows: it was customary for the generals in the greater triumphs to sacrifice an ox, and in the less a sheep, in Latin *ovis*, whence the word 'ovation.' Upon this occasion it is worth our while to observe, how different the institutions of the Spartan were from those of the Roman legislature, with respect to sacrifices. In Sparta the general, who had put a period to a war by policy or persuasion, sacrificed a bullock; while he, whose success had been owing to force of arms, offered only a cock. For, though they were a very warlike people, they thought it more honourable and more worthy of a human being to succeed by eloquence and wisdom, than by courage and force. But this point I leave to be considered by the reader.

When Marcellus was chosen the fourth time consul, the Syracusans at the instigation of his enemies came to Rome to accuse him, and to complain to the senate that he had treated them cruelly and contrary to the faith of treaties[65]. It happened, that Marcellus was at that time in the Capitol, offering sacrifice. The Syracusan deputies went immediately to the senate, who were still sitting, and falling on their knees implored them to hear their complaints, and to do them justice: but the other consul repulsed them with indignation, because Marcellus was not there to defend himself. Marcellus however, being informed of it, came with all possible expedition, and having taken his chair of state first despatched some public business as consul. When that was finished, he descended from his seat, and went as a private person to the place appointed for the accused to make their defence in, giving the Syracusans an opportunity of substantiating their charge. But they were much confounded to see the dignity and unconcern, with which he behaved; and to find the man, who had been irresistible in arms, still more aweful and terrible in his robe of purple. Nevertheless, encouraged by his enemies, they opened the accusation in a speech mingled with lamentations; the sum of which was, "That, "though friends and allies of Rome, they had "suffered more damage from Marcellus, than some "other generals had permitted to be done to a "conquered enemy." To this Marcellus replied[66]; "That, notwithstanding the many instances of their "criminal behaviour toward the Romans, they had "suffered nothing but what it was impossible to "prevent, when a city was taken by storm: and "that Syracuse was so taken was entirely their own "fault, because he had often summoned it to surrender, and they had refused to listen to him. "That, in short, they were not forced by their "tyrants to commit hostilities, but they had themselves set up tyrants for the sake of going to "war."

---

[65] The Syracusans were scarcely arrived at Rome, before the consuls drew lots for their provinces, and Sicily fell to Marcellus. This was a heavy blow upon the Syracusan deputies, and they would not have dared to prosecute their charge, had not Marcellus voluntarily offered to change the provinces. (Liv. xxvi. 29, 30.)

The reasons of both sides thus heard, the Syracusans according to the usual custom withdrew; and Marcellus went out with them, leaving it to his collegue to collect the votes. While he stood at the door of the senate-house[67], he was neither moved with any apprehension about the issue of the cause, nor with any resentment against the Syracusans, so as to change his usual deportment, but with the utmost mildness and decorum he waited for the event. When the cause was decided, and he was declared to have gained it[68], the Syracusans fell at his feet, and besought him with tears to pardon not only those who were present, but to take compassion upon the rest of their citizens, who would ever acknowledge with gratitude the favour. Marcellus, moved by their entreaties, not only pardoned the deputies, but continued his protection to the other Syracusans; and the senate, approving the privileges which he had granted, confirmed to them their liberty, their laws, and their remaining possessions. For this reason, beside other signal honours with which they distinguished Marcellus, they made a law that, whenever he or any of his descendents entered Sicily, the Syracusans should wear garlands and offer sacrifices to the gods.

---

[66] When the Syracusans had finished their accusations against Marcellus, his collegue Lævinus ordered them to withdraw; but Marcellus desired that they might stay, and hear his defence.

After this Marcellus marched against Annibal. And though almost all the other consuls and generals, after the defeat at Cannæ, availed themselves of the single art of avoiding an engagement with that chieftain, and not one of them durst meet him fairly in the field, Marcellus adopted quite a different method. He was of opinion that Annibal, instead of being himself worn out by length of time, would insensibly waste the strength of Italy, and that the slow cautious maxims of Fabius were not adapted to cure the malady of his country; since, by pursuing them, the flames of war could not be extinguished, until Italy was consumed: just as timorous physicians neglect to apply strong though necessary remedies, thinking the distemper will abate with the strength of the patient.

---

[67] While the cause was debating, he went to the Capitol, to take the names of the new levies. (Liv. ib. 31, 32.)

[68] The conduct of Marcellus, upon the taking of Syracuse, was not entirely approved at Rome. Some of the senators, remembering the attachment which king Hiero had upon all occasions shown to their republic, could not help condemning their general for having given up the city to be plundered by his soldiers. The Syracusans were not in a condition to make good their party against an army of mercenaries, and were therefore reluctantly obliged to yield to the times, and obey the ministers of Annibal who commanded the army.

In the first place, he recovered the best towns of the Samnites, which had revolted. In them he found considerable magazines of corn, and an immense quantity of money, beside making three thousand of Annibal's men in their garrisons prisoners. Next, when Cneius Fulvius the proconsul with eleven tribunes was slain, and the greatest part of his army cut in pieces by Annibal in Apulia, he sent letters to Rome to exhort the citizens to be of good courage, for he himself was on his march to drive Annibal out of the country[69]. The reading of these letters, however, Livy informs us, was so far from removing their grief, that it added terror to it; the Romans reckoning the present danger so much greater than the past, as Marcellus was a greater man than Fulvius.

Marcellus then going in quest of Annibal, according to his promise, entered Lucania, and found him encamped on inaccessible heights near the city Numistro. Marcellus himself pitched his tents upon the plain, and the next day was the first to draw up his forces in order of battle. This Annibal did not decline, but descended from the hills, and a combat ensued, indecisive indeed but fierce and bloody: for, though it began at the third hour[70], night with difficulty put a stop to it. Next morning early,

---

[69] The Latin annotator observes, on the authority of Livy, that instead of χωραν we should here read χαραν, and then the passage will stand; 'He himself was on his march against Annibal, and would take care that his joy should be very short-lived.'

The passage of Livy, quoted below, is xxvii. 2.

[70] Nine o'clock in the morning.*

Marcellus again marshalled his army, and posting it among the dead bodies challenged Annibal to a fresh contest for the decision of the victory. But that chieftain chose to draw off; and Marcellus, after he had gathered the spoils of the enemy and buried his own dead, marched in pursuit of him. The Carthaginian laid many snares for him, but he escaped them all; and having the advantage too in all skirmishes, his success was regarded with admiration. When the time therefore of the next election came on, the senate thought proper to summon the other consul from Sicily[71], rather than recall Marcellus who was grappling with Annibal; and, upon his arrival, ordered him to declare Quintus Fulvius dictator. For a dictator is not chosen either by the people, or by the senate; but one of the consuls or prætors, advancing into the assembly, nominates whom he pleases. Hence some think that the term dictator comes from *dicere*, which in Latin signifies 'to nominate[72],' but others assert that the dictator is so called, because he refers nothing to plurality of voices in the senate, or to the suffrages of the people, but issues his orders at his own pleasure. For the orders of magistrates, which the Greeks call *diatagmata*, the Romans call *edicta* (that is, 'edicts.')

The collegue[73] of Marcellus was disposed to appoint another person dictator; and, that he might not be obliged to renounce his own opinion, he left Rome by night and sailed back to Sicily. The people therefore named Quintus Fulvius dictator, and the senate wrote to Marcellus to confirm the nomination, which he did accordingly.

---

[71] On the suggestion of Marcellus himself, who represented to them by letter the importance of his continuing to press upon Annibal: this letter the prætor enclosed in that, by which the senate recalled Lævinus. (Liv. xxvii. 4.)*

[72] This is Varro's opinion (De L. L. iv. 14.) The other is that of Dion. Halic. v. 14.*

[73] Lævinus, who wished to have nominated M. Valerius Messala dictator. As he left Rome abruptly, and enjoined the prætor not to nominate Fulvius, the tribunes of the people took upon them to do it, and the senate got the nomination confirmed by Marcellus. (Liv. ib. 5.)

Marcellus was appointed proconsul for the year following: and having agreed with Fabius Maximus the consul by letter, that Fabius should besiege Tarentum, while he himself should observe the motions of Annibal and prevent his relieving the place, he marched after him with all diligence, and came up with him at Canusium. And as Annibal continually shifted his camp, to avoid a battle, Marcellus watched him closely, and took care to keep him in sight. At last coming up with him as he was encamping, he so harassed him with skirmishes, that he brought him to an engagement; but night quickly came on, and parted the combatants. Early next morning, he drew his army out of the entrenchments, and marshalled them in order of battle; so that Annibal in great vexation assembled the Carthaginians, and entreated them to exert themselves more in that battle, than they had ever done before: "For you see," said he, "that we can neither take "breath, after so many victories already gained, "nor enjoy the least leisure in our superiority, un-"less this man be driven off."

After this a battle ensued, in which Marcellus seems to have miscarried by an unseasonable movement[74]. For, seeing his right wing hard pressed, he directed one of the legions to advance to the front to support them. This movement threw the whole army into disorder, and decided the day in favour of the enemy, two thousand seven hundred Romans being slain upon the spot. Marcellus retreated into his camp, and having summoned his troops together told them: "He saw the arms and "bodies of Romans in abundance before him, but

---

[74] The movement was not unseasonable, but ill-executed. Livy says, the right wing gave way faster than they needed to have done; and the eighteenth legion, which was ordered to advance from rear to front, moved too slowly: this occasioned the disorder. (xxvii. 12.)

"not one Roman." On their imploring forgiveness, he said, "He would not forgive them while "vanquished, but when they came to be victorious, "he would; and that he would lead them into the "field again the next day, that the news of their "victory might reach Rome before that of their "flight." Previously to dismissing them, he gave orders that barley should be measured out instead of wheat[75], to those companies which had turned their backs. His reprimand made such an impression upon them, that though many of them were smarting under dangerous wounds, there was not a man who did not feel more pain from Marcellus' words, than from his own gashes.

Next morning the scarlet robe, which was the ordinary signal of battle, was hung out early; and the dishonoured companies obtained leave, on their earnest request, to be posted in the foremost line; after which, the tribunes drew up the rest of the troops in their proper order. When this was reported to Annibal, he exclaimed; "Ye gods, what "can one do with a person, who is not affected with "either good or bad fortune? This is the only man, "who will neither give any time to rest when he is "victorious, nor take any when he is beaten. We "must even resolve to fight with him for ever; "since, whether prosperous or unsuccessful, a principle of confidence, or of shame, equally impels "him to new attempts and farther exertions of "courage."

Both armies then engaged; and Annibal, seeing no advantage gained by either, ordered his elephants to be brought forward into the first line, and to be pushed against the Romans. The shock of them caused at first extreme confusion in the Roman front; but Flavius a tribune, snatching an ensign-staff from one of the companies, advanced, and with the point of it wounded the foremost elephant. The beast on this turned back, and ran upon the second, the second upon the next that followed, and so on till they were all thrown into extreme disorder. Marcellus, observing this, ordered his horse to fall furiously upon the enemy, and taking advantage of the confusion already made, to put them entirely to the rout. Accordingly, they charged with extraordinary vigour, and drove the Carthaginians to their entrenchments. The slaughter was dreadful; and the fall of the killed, and the plunging of the wounded elephants, much contributed to it. It is said, that more than eight thousand Carthaginians fell in this battle; of the Romans not above three thousand were slain, but almost all the rest were wounded[76]. This gave Annibal an opportunity of decamping silently in the night, and removing to a considerable distance from Marcellus; who on account of the number of his wounded was not able to pursue him, but retired by easy marches into Campania, and passed the summer in the city of Sinuessa[77] to refresh his soldiers.

---

[75] This was a common punishment. Beside which, he ordered that the officers of those companies should continue all day long with their swords drawn, and without their girdles. (Id. ib. 13.)

Annibal, thus disengaged from Marcellus, made use of his troops now at liberty, and securely overran the country, burning and destroying all before him. This gave occasion to unfavourable reports against Marcellus at Rome; and his enemies incited Publius Bibulus, one of the tribunes of the people, a man of violent temper and a vehement speaker, to accuse him in form. Accordingly Bibulus often assembled the people, and endeavoured to persuade them to take the command from him, and give it to another: "Since Marcellus," said he, "only exchanged a few thrusts with Annibal, and then left the stage, and is gone to the hot-baths to recruit himself[78]."

---

[76] *Permulti.* Livy xxvii. 14.*

[77] Livy (ib. 20.) says, in Venusia, which being much nearer Canusium, was more convenient for the wounded men to retire to.

[78] There were hot-baths near Sinuessa, as Strabo (v.) informs

When Marcellus was apprised of these practices against him, he left his army in charge with his lieutenants, and went to Rome to make his defence. Upon his arrival, he found an impeachment framed out of those calumnies. And the day fixed for hearing it being come, and the people assembled in the Flaminian Circus, Bibulus ascended the tribunes' seat, and adduced his charge. Marcellus' answer was brief and plain: but many persons of distinction among the citizens strenuously exerted themselves, and spoke with much freedom; exhorting the people not to judge worse of Marcellus than the enemy himself had done, by fixing a mark of cowardice upon the only general, whom Annibal declined to engage as anxiously as he had sought to engage with others. These remonstrances had such an effect, that the accuser was totally disappointed in his expectations; for Marcellus was not only acquitted of the charge, but a fifth time chosen consul.

As soon[79] as he had entered upon his office, he visited the cities of Tuscany, and by his personal influence allayed a dangerous commotion, that tended to a revolt. On his return, he was desirous to dedicate to Honour and Virtue the temple, which he had built out of the Sicilian spoils; but he was opposed by the priests, who would not consent that two deities should be contained in one temple[80].

---

us, but none near Venusia. If Marcellus therefore went to the latter place, this satirical stroke was inapplicable. Accordingly, Livy (ib. 21.) does not apply it: he only makes Bibulus say, that 'Marcellus passed the summer in quarters.'

[79] Before, if we may trust Livy, ib.*

[80] They said, if the temple should be struck with thunder and lightning, or if any other prodigy should happen to it demanding expiation, they should not know to whether of the deities they ought to offer the expiatory sacrifice. Marcellus therefore, to satisfy the priests, began a second temple to Virtue, so placed with regard to that of Honour, that by a happy architectural morality the latter could only be approached through the former, and the work was carried on with great diligence; but he did not live to dedicate it. (Id. ib. 25.) His son consecrated both the temples about four years afterward.

Taking this opposition ill, and considering it as ominous, he began another temple.

There were many other prodigies[81], which gave him uneasiness. Some temples were struck with lightning; in that of Jupiter, rats gnawed the gold; it was even reported that an ox spake, and that there was a child living born with an elephant's head: and, when sacrifices in expiation of these prodigies were offered, there were no tokens of success. The augurs therefore detained him in Rome, notwithstanding his impatience and eagerness to be gone. For never was man so passionately desirous of any thing, as he was of fighting a decisive battle with Annibal. It was his dream by night, the subject of his conversation all day with his friends and collegues, and his sole request to the gods, that he might meet Annibal fairly in the field. Nay, I really believe, he would have been glad to have had both armies surrounded with a wall or entrenchment, and to have fought within that enclosure. Had he not indeed already attained such a height of glory, had he not given so many proofs of his equalling the most illustrious generals in prudence and discretion, I should say that he yielded to a puerile and extravagant ambition, unsuitable to his years; for he was above sixty, when he entered upon his fifth consulate.

At last the expiatory sacrifices being such as the soothsayers approved, he set out with his collegue[82] to prosecute the war, and fixed his camp between Bantia and Venusia. There he tried every method to provoke Annibal to a battle, which that chieftain constantly declined. But perceiving that the consuls had ordered some troops to go and besiege the city of the Epizephyrian or Western Locrians[83], he laid an ambuscade on their way under the hill of Petelia, and killed two thousand five hundred of them. This added stings to Marcellus' desire of an engagement, and made him draw nearer to the enemy.

---

[81] Not all of them at Rome, however: the temples struck with lightning were those of Fortune and Mars at Capua, and the exploit of the rats or mice, which Cicero humorously ridicules (De Div. ii. 27.), at Cumæ.*

[82] His collegue joined him from another quarter of the country. (Liv. ib.)

Between the two armies was a hill, which afforded a tolerably strong post; it was covered with thickets, and on both sides were hollows, whence issued springs and rivulets. The Romans were surprised that Annibal, who came first to so advantageous a place, had not taken possession of it, but left it for the enemy. He did indeed think it a good place for a camp, but a better for an ambuscade, and for that purpose he chose to use it. He filled therefore the thickets and hollows with a considerable number of archers and spearmen, assuring himself that the convenience of the post would draw the Romans to it. Neither was he mistaken in his conjecture. Presently nothing was talked of in the Roman army, but the expediency of seizing this hill; and, as if they had been all generals, they set forth the many advantages which they should have over the enemy by encamping, or at least raising a fortification upon it. Thus Marcellus was induced to go, with a few horse, to take a view of the hill; but, before he went, he offered sacrifice. In the first victim which was slain, the soothsayer showed him the liver without a head; in the second the head was unusually plump and large, and the other tokens appearing remarkably good, seemed sufficient to dispel the fears of the first: but the soothsayers declared that they were the more alarmed upon that very account, for when highly favourable signs suddenly follow the most threatening and inauspicious ones, the strangeness of the alteration should the rather be suspected[84]. As Pindar however observes,

---

[83] This was not a detachment from the forces of the consuls, which they did not choose to weaken, when in the sight of such an enemy as Annibal; but consisted of troops drawn from Sicily, and from the garrison of Tarentum. (Id. ib. 26.)

> Nor fire's dread force, nor brasen gate,
> Control the high behests of Fate.

He therefore set out to view the place, taking with him his collegue Crispinus, his son Marcellus who was a tribune, and only two hundred and twenty horse, among whom there was not a single Roman; they were all Tuscans, except forty Fregellanians, whose courage and fidelity he had sufficiently experienced. Upon the summit of the hill, which (as we said before) was covered with trees and bushes, the enemy had placed a centinel, who without being himself seen, could see every movement in the Roman camp. Those who lay in ambush having intelligence from him of what was going forward, kept close till Marcellus came very near; and then all at once rushed out, spread themselves around him, let fly a shower of arrows, and charged him with their swords and spears. Some pursued the fugitives, and others attacked those who stood their ground. These were the forty Fregellanians: for the Tuscans having taken to flight at the first charge, the others closed in a body to defend the consuls, and continued the fight, till Crispinus wounded with two arrows turned his horse to escape, and Marcellus being transfixed between the shoulders with a lance fell down dead. Then the few Fregellanians who remained, leaving the body of Marcellus, carried off his son who was wounded, and fled to the camp.

In this skirmish, there were not many more than forty men killed; eighteen were taken prisoners, beside five lictors. Crispinus died of his wounds a few days afterward[85]. This was a most unparalleled misfortune, the Romans having lost both their consuls in one action[86].

---

[84] *Nec id sanè* (says Livy, ib. 26., upon whom this passage serves as a good comment) *aruspici placuisse, quòd secundùm trunca et turpia exta nimis læta apparuissent.**

Annibal made little account of the rest, but when he knew that Marcellus was slain, he hastened to the place, and standing over the body a long time surveyed it's size and mien; yet without speaking one insulting word, or exhibiting the least sign of joy, which might have been expected at the fall of so dangerous and formidable an enemy. He stood, indeed, awhile astonished at the strange death of so great a man; and at last taking his signet from his finger[87], caused his body to be magnificently attired and burned, and the ashes to be put into a silver urn, and then placed a crown of gold upon it, and sent it to his son. But certain Numidians, meeting those who carried the urn, attempted to take it from them; and, as the others stood upon their guard to defend it, the ashes were scattered in the struggle. When Annibal was informed of it, he said to those who were about him, "You see it is impossible to do any thing "against the will of the Deity." He punished the Numidians indeed, but he took no farther care about collecting and sending again the remains of Marcellus, believing it the ordinance of some god that he should die in this extraordinary manner, and that his ashes should be denied burial. This account of the matter we have from Cornelius Nepos, and Valerius Maximus; but Livy[88] and Augustus Cæsar affirm, that the urn was carried to his son, and that his remains were interred with the utmost magnificence.

---

[85] He did not die till the latter end of the year, having named T. Manlius Torquatus dictator, to hold the Comitia. Some say he died at Tarentum, others in Campania. (Id. ib. 33.)

[86] This Livy deplores, particularly as having happened 'in an encounter not worth naming,' *sine memorando prælio*. (Ib.)*

[87] Annibal imagined, that he should have some opportunity or other of making use of this seal to his advantage. But Crispinus despatched messengers to all the neighbouring cities in the interest of Rome, acquainting them that Marcellus was killed, and Annibal master of his ring. This precaution preserved Salapia, in Apulia. Nay, the inhabitants turned the artifice of the Carthaginian upon himself. For admitting, in pretended deference to a letter sealed with that ring, six hundred of Annibal's men (most of them Roman deserters) into the town, they on a sudden raised the draw-bridges, cut in pieces those who had entered, and with a shower of darts from the ramparts drove back the rest. (Id. ib. 28.)

Marcellus' public donations, beside those which he dedicated at Rome, were a gymnasium which he built at Catana in Sicily, and several statues and paintings brought from Syracuse, which he placed in the temple of the Cabiri in Samothrace, and in that of Minerva at Lindus. In the latter of these the following verses, as Posidonius informs us, were inscribed upon the pedestal of his statue:

> The star of Rome, Marcellus here behold,
> For birth, for deeds of arms, by fame enroll'd.
> Seven times his fasces graced the martial plain,
> And by his thundering arm were thousands slain.

The author of this inscription combines with his five consulates the dignity of proconsul, with which he was twice honoured. His posterity continued in great splendour down to Marcellus, the son of Caius Marcellus and Octavia the sister of Augustus[89], who died very young, in the office of ædile, soon after he had married Julia the emperor's daughter. In honour of his memory, Octavia his mother dedicated to him a library[90], and Augustus a theatre, and both these public works received from him their appellations.

---

[88] Livy (ib.) informs us, that Annibal buried the body of Marcellus on the hill where he was slain. Of Augustus Cæsar's works none are now extant.

[89] His family continued after his death a hundred and eighty-five years; for he was slain A. U. C. 546., and young Marcellus died A. U. C. 731., Æt. 19.

[90] According to Suetonius (Aug. xxix.) and Dion. liii. 1., it was not Octavia, but Augustus, who dedicated this library. (L.)

It was upon this young man, that Virgil composed those pathetic lines at the end of the sixth Æneid, which so deeply affected Octavia, and drew from her so magnificent a recompence.*

PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLUS

COMPARED.

THESE are the particulars, which we thought worth reciting from history concerning Marcellus and Pelopidas; between whom there was a strong resemblance in the gifts of nature, and in their lives and manners. For they were both men of heroic strength, capable of enduring the utmost fatigue, and eminent for their courage and magnanimity. The sole difference is that Marcellus, in most of the cities which he took by assault, committed considerable slaughter; whereas Epaminondas and Pelopidas never spilled the blood of any man whom they had conquered, nor enslaved any city which they had subdued. And it is affirmed that, if they had been present, the Thebans would not have deprived the Orchomenians of their liberty.

As to their achievements, among those of Marcellus there was none greater or more illustrious than his having beaten such an army of Gauls, both horse and foot, with a small body of cavalry (of which scarcely another instance is on record) and slain their prince with his own hand. Pelopidas hoped to have done something of the like nature, but he miscarried and lost his life to the tyrant in the attempt. With these exploits of Marcellus the signally-glorious battles of Leuctra and Tegyræ, however, may be compared. And on the other hand there is nothing of Marcellus', accomplished by secret ambuscade, which can be set against the happy management of Pelopidas in effecting his return from exile, and taking off the Theban tyrants. Of all the enterprises indeed of the dark and guileful hand of art, that was the master-piece.

If it be said, that Annibal was a formidable enemy to the Romans, the Lacedæmonians were certainly the same to the Thebans. And yet it is on all hands agreed, that they were thoroughly beaten by Pelopidas at Leuctra and Tegyræ, whereas (according to Polybius) Annibal was never defeated by Marcellus, but continued invincible till he engaged with Scipio. We believe however with Livy, Cæsar, and Cornelius Nepos among the Latin historians, and with king Juba[91] among the Greek, that Marcellus did sometimes defeat Annibal, and even put his troops to flight, though he gained no advantage of him sufficient to turn the balance considerably on his side; whence one might even suspect, that the Carthaginian was then acting with the art of a wrestler, who occasionally suffers himself to be thrown. But what has been very justly admired in Marcellus is, that after such immense armies had been routed, so many generals slain, and the whole empire almost totally subverted, he found means to inspire his troops with courage enough to make head against the enemy. He was the only man who, from their long-continued state of terror and dismay, roused the army to an eagerness for battle; and infused into them such a confidence and spirit that, far from tamely giving up the victory, they disputed it with the greatest zeal and obstinacy. For those very men, who had been accustomed by a run of ill-success to think themselves happy if they could escape Annibal by flight[92], were taught by Marcellus to be ashamed of coming off with disadvantage, to blush at the very thought of giving way, and to be sensibly affected if they did not gain the victory.

---

[91] This historian was the son of Juba king of Numidia, who in the civil war sided with Pompey, and was slain by Petreius in single combat. The son, mentioned here, was brought in triumph by Cæsar to Rome, where he was educated in the learning of the Greeks and Romans.

[92] *Quos opimus*
Fallere et effugere est triumphus. (Hor. Od. IV. iv. 52.)

But the tables were then turned, if we may trust a Roman and a poet upon the subject; for these words, supposed to be uttered at a later period of the war, are there put into Annibal's mouth.*

As Pelopidas never lost a battle in which he commanded in person, and Marcellus won more than any Roman of his time, he who performed so many exploits, and was so hard to conquer, may perhaps be put upon a level with him who was never beaten. On the other hand it may be observed, that Marcellus took Syracuse, whereas Pelopidas failed in his attempt upon Sparta. Yet in my opinion even to have approached Sparta, and to have been the first that ever passed the Eurotas in a hostile manner, was a more illustrious achievement than the conquest of Sicily; unless it be said that the honour of this exploit, as well as of that of Leuctra, belongs rather to Epaminondas than Pelopidas, whereas the glory which Marcellus gained was entirely his own. For he, singly, took Syracuse; he, without his collegue, defeated the Gauls; he made head against Annibal, not only without the assistance, but against the remonstrances of the other generals; and, changing the face of the war, he first taught the Romans to meet the enemy with a good countenance.

As for their deaths, I praise neither the one nor the other, but it is with concern and indignation that I think upon the strange circumstances by which they were both attended. At the same time I admire Annibal, who fought such a number of battles as it would be a labour even to reckon, without ever receiving a single wound: and I greatly approve the behaviour of Chrysantes in the Cyropædia[93], who having his sword lifted up and ready to strike, upon hearing the trumpets sound a retreat, calmly and modestly retired without giving the stroke. Pelopidas however was somewhat excusable, because he was not only warmed with the heat of battle, but incited by a generous desire of revenge. And, as Euripides says,

---

[93] Book iv., at the beginning.

The first of chiefs is he who wins fame's prize,
And wins it not with life: the next, who dies,
But dies in Virtue's arms——[94]

In such a man, dying is a free act, not a passive submission to fate. But beside his resentment, the end proposed by Pelopidas in conquering, which was the death of a tyrant, not quite unreasonably animated him to uncommon efforts; for it was not easy to find another cause so noble and glorious, in which to exert himself. But Marcellus without any urgent occasion, without that enthusiasm which often pushes men beyond the bounds of reason in time of danger, unadvisedly exposed himself, and died not like a general, but like a spy; risking his five consulates, his three triumphs, and his royal trophies and spoils against a company of Numidians and Spaniards, who had bartered with the Carthaginians for their lives and services:—an accident so strange, that those very adventurers could not forbear grudging themselves such success, when they found that the Roman the most distinguished for valour, as well as for power and reputation, had fallen by their hands amidst a party of Fregellanian scouts.

Let not this, however, be deemed an accusation against these eminent men; but rather a complaint to them of the injury done to themselves, in having sacrificed all their other virtues to their intrepidity, and a free expostulation with them for having been so prodigal of their blood as to shed it for their own sakes, when it ought to have flowed only for their country, their friends, and their allies.

Pelopidas was buried by his friends, in whose cause he was slain, and Marcellus by the enemies who slew him. The first was a happy and desirable thing, but the other was a greater and a more extraordinary one; as gratitude in a friend for benefits received is not equal to an enemy's admiring the virtue, by which he has suffered. In the first case, there is more regard to interest and expediency, than to merit; in the latter, real worth is the sole object of the honour conferred.

---

[94] By a critical coincidence, the intelligence of lord Nelson's victory and death at Trafalgar is now (Nov. 8, 1805) fresh in circulation: and the most obvious remark of an Englishman is, that though he would have preferred a less signal success achieved without the loss of his hero, he cannot imagine any circumstance, by which that hero would have been more effectually immortalised.*

THE

LIFE

OF

ARISTIDES.

SUMMARY.

His origin. Different accounts of his estate: that of Demetrius Phalereus opposed. His friendship for Clisthenes. Causes of his hostility to Themistocles. Their opposite principles. Equity of Aristides. His integrity in the administration of the public finances. Deference for Miltiades. Valour and moderation at the battle of Marathon. Callias' cruelty and injustice. Justice of Aristides. The excellence of that virtue. Themistocles gets him banished by Ostracism. The duration of that punishment at Athens: mode of it's infliction. He is recalled: has an interview with Themistocles. Battle of Salamis. He concurs with Themistocles in promoting Xerxes' retreat. Mardonius' proposal to the Athenians. Aristides despatched to Sparta, to hasten the succours: elected general of the Athenian forces. They are perplexed by an oracle, which is explained to their satisfaction. Aristides appeases the disputes among the confederates. First skirmish with the barbarians, in which the Athenians have the advantage. Death of Masistius, general of the Persian cavalry. Mardonius projects to surprise the Greeks; Aristides informed of his design by the king of Macedon: sooths the Athenians, who are dissatisfied with Pausanias. The Greeks wish to change their place of encampment, but meet with great inconveniences. The Lacedæmonians, separated from the rest of their forces, are attacked by Mardonius. Their steadiness. Pausanias' distress. Battle of Platææ. Aristides attacks the Greeks, who had sided with Mardonius. That general's death. The Greeks take possession of the Persian camp, where they make great carnage. Herodotus refuted. Dispute about the prize of valour settled by Aristides. Sacred fire fetched from

Delphi to purify the altars after their barbarian pollution. Public festivals established by Aristides' decree, in consequence of this victory. Form of government at Athens after the victory of Platææ. The expedient of Themistocles rejected by Aristides as unjust. Pride and arrogance of Pausanias: the mildness of Cimon, and the justice of Aristides, attach the confederates to the Athenian party. Tax imposed by Aristides upon the Greeks. Federation-oath, pronounced by Aristides in the name of the Athenians. His public conduct. His poverty, continued till death: moderation at the time of Themistocles' disgrace: death and funeral. His daughters portioned at the public expense.

ARISTIDES, the son of Lysimachus, was of the tribe of Antiochus, and of the ward of Alopece. Of his estate we have different accounts. Some say, that he was always very poor, and that he left two daughters behind him, who remained a long time unmarried on account of their poverty[1]. But Demetrius the Phalerean, in his 'Socrates,' contradicts this general opinion; and states that there was a farm at Phalera, which went by the name of Aristides, and that he was buried there. And, to prove that there was a competent estate in his family, he produces three arguments. The first is taken from the office of Archon[2], which made the year bear his name, and which fell to him by lot; and for this none took their chance but such as had an income of the highest degree, consisting of five hundred measures of corn, wine, and oil, who were thence denominated 'Pentacosiomedimni.' The second argument is founded upon the Ostracism, by which he was banished, and which (they contend) was never inflicted on the meaner sort, but only on persons of quality, whose grandeur and family-pride made them obnoxious to the people. The last is drawn from the tripods, which Aristides dedicated in the temple of Bacchus upon account of his victory in the public games, and which are still to be seen, with this inscription; "The tribe Antiochis gained the victory, Aristides defrayed the charges, and Archestratus was the author of the play."

---

[1] And yet, by a law of Solon, the bride was to carry with her only three suits of clothes, and a little household stuff of small value. (L.) See Vol. I. p. 247. Plutarch engages in this inquiry, as M. Ricard observes, not from any deference to wealth, but because at Athens the rank of a citizen was determined, according to Solon's regulation, by his property.*

[2] The Athenians reckoned their years by archons, as the Romans did their's by consuls. One of the nine archons, who had all estates of the highest degree, was for this purpose chosen by lot from the rest, and had his name inscribed in the public registers: (L.) and from this circumstance those, upon whom the lot fell, were called the Eponymi. See the Life of Solon, Vol. I. p. 244., not. (39.) Demetrius the Phalerean was placed over Athens by Cassander, a few years after the death of Alexander the Great; and by an equitable administration of ten years gained the honour of three hun-

But this concluding argument, though in appearance the strongest, is in reality a very weak one. For Epaminondas, who (as every body knows) lived and died poor, and Plato the philosopher, who was not rich, exhibited very splendid shows: the one was at the expense of a concert of flutes at Thebes, and the other of an entertainment of singing and dancing performed by boys at Athens; Dion having furnished Plato with the money, and Pelopidas Epaminondas[3]. For why should good men inexorably decline the presents of their friends? Though they may think it mean and ungenerous to receive any thing for themselves to lay up, or to gratify an avaricious temper, they need not refuse such offers as serve the purposes of honour and magnificence, without any views of profit.

As to the tripods, inscribed with the name of

---

dred, or (according to Plin. H. N. xxxiv. 6., and Varro cited by Nonius xii.) three hundred and sixty public statues. He was subsequently however condemned to death by the Athenians, though he escaped into Egypt, and all his statues were destroyed on one day.*

[3] But does it therefore follow, that Aristides must have had friends equally munificent? From his reply to his rich relation Callias, toward the close of this Life, we may infer that he would not readily have incurred such an obligation for the mere purposes of parade, or perhaps for any purpose whatever.*

Aristides, Panætius[4] plainly proves that Demetrius was deceived by the name. For, according to the registers from the Persian to the end of the Peloponnesian war, there were only two of the name of Aristides, who won the prize in the choral exhibitions, and neither of them was the son of Lysimachus; the former being the son of Xenophilus, and the latter having lived at a much later period, as appears from the characters[5], which were not in use till after Euclid's time, and likewise from the name of the poet Archestratus, which is not found in any record or author during the Persian wars: whereas mention is often made of a poet of that name, who brought his pieces upon the stage in the time of the Peloponnesian war[6]. But this argument of Panætius should not be admitted without farther examination.

And as for the Ostracism, every man distinguished by birth, reputation, or eloquence was liable to suffer by it; since it fell even upon Pericles' tutor Damon, because he was regarded as a man of superior abilities. Besides, Idomeneus informs us that Aristides was created first archon not by lot, but by the particular appointment of the people. And if he was archon subsequently to the battle of Platææ, as Demetrius himself writes[7], it is highly probable that, after such great actions and so much glory, his virtue might gain him that office which others obtained by their wealth. It is plain, however, that Demetrius laboured to remove the imputation of poverty, as if it were some heavy evil, not only from Aristides but from Socrates too; who (he says) beside a house of his own, had seventy minæ[8] placed at interest in the hands of Crito.

---

[4] Panætius of Rhodes, a great Stoic master, numbered Scipio and Lælius among his pupils, and accompanied the former into Egypt. He had not however the extravagant austerity, nor the thorny logic of that school; but frequently quoted Plato, Aristotle, Xenocrates, Theophrastus, Dicæarchus, &c. (See Cic. de Fin. iv. 28.)*

[5] Γραμματικῆς, which is the common reading, has been well changed by M. Salvini to γραμμικῆς. (L.) The Euclid here mentioned, whose Life is written by Diog. Laert., was a dialectician of Megara, had been a pupil of Socrates, received Plato (then thirty years of age) into his house upon the death of that philosopher, and was about ninety years anterior to his namesake, the Alexandrian geometer. From this consideration Valerius Maximus has been judiciously corrected (viii. 12., where he says Plato referred those, who wished to construct a cubic altar double of that already erected at Delphi, to the geometer 'Euclid') by the substitution of the name 'Eudoxus.' The latter was also an eminent mathematician, as has been before stated, and was Plato's contemporary and friend.*

[6] It was very possible for a poet, in his own life-time, to have had his plays acted in the Peloponnesian war, and in the Persian too. And therefore the inscription, which Plutarch mentions, might have belonged to this Aristides. (L.) Vossius, it may be observed, has (it does not appear why) placed Archestratus among those, who flourished at a time not certainly known. A treatise of his, upon Elocution, is still extant.*

Aristides had a particular friendship for Clisthenes, who settled the popular government at Athens after the expulsion of the tyrants[9]: yet he had at the same time the highest veneration for Lycurgus, the Lacedæmonian, whom he considered as the most excellent of lawgivers; and this led him to be a favourer of aristocracy, in which he was always opposed by Themistocles, the leader of the party of the commons. Some indeed state that, being brought up together from their infancy, even when boys they were always at variance, not only in serious matters but in their very diversions; and their tempers were discovered from the first by that opposition. The one was insinuating, daring, and artful; variable, and at the same time impetuous in his pursuits: the other was solid and steady, inflexibly just, and incapable even at play of using any falsehood, flattery, or deceit. But Aristo of Chios[10] writes that their enmity, which subsequently attained such a height, took it's rise from love.

---

[7] But Demetrius was mistaken; for Aristides was never archon after the battle of Platææ, which was fought Ol. lxxv. 2. In the list of archons the name of Aristides is found Ol. lxxii. 4., the year after the battle of Marathon, and Ol. lxxiv. 2., four years before the battle of Platææ. See Plutarch himself a little below.

[8] But Socrates himself declares (in his Apology to his judges) that, considering his poverty, they could not in reason fine him more than one mina.

[9] These tyrants were the Pisistratidæ, who were driven out about Ol. lxvii. 3. Clisthenes was the grandson of the tyrant of Sicyon of that name.

[10] Dacier thinks, that it was rather Aristo of Ceos; because, as a Peripatetic, he was more likely to write treatises upon love than the other, who was a Stoic.

They were both, it is said, violently enamoured of the same object (one at that time most eminently distinguished for personal charms), and from the excessive ardour of their passion, did not suffer their rivalry to expire with the beauty, by which it had been kindled; but carried it vivid and blazing, as if it had been only fanned into a flame by previous exercise, to the administration of public affairs.

Themistocles, who was an agreeable companion, gained many friends and became respectable in the strength of his popularity. Thus, when he was told that "he would govern the Athenians extremely "well, if he would but do it with equity and without "respect of persons;" he replied, "May I never sit "upon a tribunal, where my friends shall not find "more favour from me than strangers!"

Aristides, on the contrary, took a method of his own in conducting the administration. For he would neither consent to any injustice to oblige his friends, nor yet disoblige them by denying all their requests: and as he saw that many, depending upon their interest and connexions, were tempted to do unwarrantable things, he never sought that kind of support, but declared that a good citizen should place his whole confidence in advising and doing what was just and right. Nevertheless, as Themistocles made many rash and dangerous motions, and endeavoured to break his measures in every step of government, he was obliged to oppose him equally in his turn; partly in self-defence, and partly to lessen his power, which through the favour of the people was daily increasing. For he thought it better, that the commonwealth should miss some advantages, than that Themistocles by gaining his point should come at last to carry all before him[11]. Hence it was that one day, when Themistocles was bringing forward something advantageous to the public, Aristides opposed it strenuously and with success; but as he went out of the assembly, he could not forbear saying, "The "affairs of the Athenians will never prosper, except "they throw Themistocles and myself into the Bara-"thrum[12]." Another time, when he intended to propose a decree to the people, he found it strongly disputed in the council, but at last he prevailed; having learned it's inconveniences however from the preceding debates, he withdrew it, just as the president was going to put it to the question, in order to it's being confirmed by the people. He frequently likewise offered his sentiments through a third person, lest by the opposition of Themistocles to himself the public good should be obstructed.

---

[11] Both the casuistry and the policy of this principle seem equivocal: for does it not tend to bring a minority into disrepute, when the people (who are far from blind) observe them promiscuously opposing, *per fas atque nefas*, even the beneficial measures of their political adversaries?*

In the changes and fluctuations of the government, his firmness was wonderful. Neither elated with honours, nor discomposed by ill success, he went forward in a moderate and steady manner, persuaded that his country had a claim to his gratuitous services, without the reward either of honour or profit. Hence it was, that when those verses of Æschylus concerning Amphiaraus were repeated on the stage,

> To be, and not to seem, is this man's choice;
> Reaping the fruits that in a rich mind grow,
> Whence sage advice and noble actions flow[13]—

the eyes of the people in general were turned upon Aristides, as the man to whom this lofty encomium

---

[12] The Barathrum was a deep pit, into which condemned persons were thrown headlong. See Suid. and Harpocr. *in voc.*

[13] These verses are to be found in the 'Siege of Thebes by the Seven Captains.' They are a description of the genius and temper of Amphiaraus, given to Eteocles by the courier, who brings an account of the enemy's attacks and of the characters of the commanders. Plutarch has changed one word in them for another, which suited his purpose better; reading δικαιος 'just,' instead of αριϛος 'valiant.' (L.)

Sallust gives a similar encomium to Cato, in his parallel of that steady republican and Cæsar, at the end of his Catilinarian War (sect. lvii.), where it is added, *ita quo minùs gloriam petebat, eò magis illum adsequebatur*—an idea, not unlike the reference made by Tacitus to was most applicable. He was capable indeed of resisting the suggestions, not only of favour and affection, but of resentment and enmity also, wherever justice was concerned. For it is said that, when he was carrying on a prosecution against his enemy, and after he had brought his charge the judges were going to pass sentence without hearing the person accused, he sprung up to his assistance, entreating that he might be heard, and have the privilege which the laws allowed. Another time, when he himself sat as judge between two private persons, and one of them observed, "That his adversary "had done many injuries to Aristides;" "Tell me "not that," said he, "but what injury he has done "to you; for it is your cause which I am judging, "not my own."

When appointed public treasurer, he made it appear that not only the archons of his time, but their predecessors also had divided much of the public money to their own use, and particularly Themistocles;

———For he, with all his wisdom,
Could ne'er command his hands.

For this reason, when Aristides gave in his accounts, Themistocles raised a strong party against him, accused him of having misapplied the public money, and (according to Idomeneus) got him condemned. But the principal and most respectable of the citizens[14], incensed at this treatment of Aristides, interposed; and prevailed, not only that he might be excused the fine, but re-elected chief treasurer. He now pretended that his former proceedings had been too strict, and keeping a gentler hand over those who acted under him, suffered them to pilfer the public money, without seeming to detect them or

---

the images of Brutus and Cassius, which (he informs us) *eò magis præfulgebant, quòd non videbantur.* A character resembling that in the text is subsequently ascribed to Philopœmen. See his Life.*

[14] The court of the Areopagus interposed in his behalf.

reckoning strictly with them: so that, fattening on the spoils of their country, they lavished their praises on Aristides, and heartily espousing his cause besought the people to continue him in the same department. But, when the Athenians were going to confirm it to him by their suffrages, he gave them this severe rebuke: "While I managed your finances "with all the fidelity of an honest man, I was loaded "with calumnies; and now, when I suffer them to "be a prey to public robbers, I am become a mighty "good citizen. But I assure you, I am more "ashamed of the present honour, than I was of the "former disgrace; and it is with indignation and "concern that I see you esteem it more meritorious "to oblige bad men, than to take proper care of "the public revenue." By thus speaking and discovering their frauds, he silenced those who were recommending him with so much noise and bustle, but at the same time he received real and valuable praise from the worthiest of the citizens.

About this time Datis, who had been sent by Darius under pretence of chastising the Athenians for burning Sardis[15], but in reality to subdue all Greece, arrived with his fleet at Marathon, and began to ravage the neighbouring country. Among the generals, to whom the Athenians entrusted the management of this war, Miltiades was first in dignity, and next to him in reputation and authority stood Aristides. In a council of war, which was then held, Miltiades voted for giving the enemy battle[16]; and Aristides, seconding him, added no little weight to his scale. The generals commanded by turns, each his day; but when it came to Aristides' turn, he surrendered his right to Miltiades, thus proving to his collegues that it was no disgrace to espouse and follow the directions of the wise, but that on the contrary it answered several honourable and salutary purposes. By these means he quelled the spirit of contention, and bringing them to adopt the best opinion, strengthened the hands of Miltiades, who had now the absolute and undivided command; the other generals no longer insisting on their own days, but entirely submitting to his orders[17].

---

[15] Nine or ten years before. This arrival took place Ol. lxxii. 2., B. C. 491.*

[16] According to Herodotus (vi. 109.) the generals were much divided in their opinions: some were for fighting, others not. Miltiades observing this, addressed himself to Callimachus of Aphidnæ, who was polemarch, and whose power was equal to that of all the other generals; and he declared for giving battle immediately. Possibly, Aristides might have some share in bringing Callimachus to this resolution.

In this battle, the main body of the Athenian army was pressed the hardest[18], because there for a long time the barbarians made their greatest efforts against the tribes Leontis and Antiochis; and Themistocles and Aristides who belonged to those tribes, exerting themselves at their head with all the spirit of emulation, fought with so much vigour, that the enemy were put to flight and driven back to their ships. But the Greeks perceiving that the barbarians, instead of sailing to the islands in order to return to Asia, were driven in by the wind and currents toward Attica[19], and fearing that Athens from it's defenceless state might fall an easy prey, marched home with nine tribes, and used such expedition that they reached the city in one day[20].

---

[17] Yet he would not fight, until his proper day of command arrived: lest, through some latent spark of jealousy and envy, any of the generals should be led not to do their duty. (Id. ib. 110.)

[18] The Athenians and Platæans fought with such obstinate valour upon the right and left, that both the wings of the barbarian army were forced to fly. The Persians and Sacæ however, perceiving that the Athenian centre was weak, charged with such force that they broke through it: this those on the right and left perceived, and bending the points of their victorious wings inward enclosed the Persians, and cut them in pieces. (Id. ib. 113., &c.)

[19] It was reported in those times, that the Alcmæonidæ encouraged the Persians to make a second attempt, by holding up, as they approached the shore, a shield for a signal. However that was, the Persian fleet endeavoured to double cape Sunium, with a view to surprise the city of Athens before the army could return. Herodotus had collected the details of this battle from eye-witnesses. (Id. ib. 115, 116.)

Aristides was left at Marathon with his own tribe, to guard the prisoners and the spoils; and he justified the public expectation: for though there was much gold and silver scattered about, and rich garments and other incalculable booty in the tents and ships which they had taken, yet he neither had an inclination to touch any thing himself, nor permitted others to do it. Notwithstanding all his care, however, some enriched themselves unknown to him; among whom was Callias, the torch-bearer[21]. One of the barbarians happening to meet him in a private place, and probably from his long hair and his fillet[22] taking him for a king, prostrated himself before him; and leading him by the hand, showed him a large quantity of gold hidden in a well. But Callias, not less cruel than unjust, took away the gold, and then murthered the man who had given him the information, lest he should disclose the thing to others. Hence, they tell us, the comic writers called his family *Laccopluti*, i. e. ‘enriched by the well,’ jesting upon the place whence their founder drew his wealth[23].

---

[20] From Marathon to Athens is about forty miles; and this, for troops previously exhausted by a long and severe engagement, was a most extraordinary march.

[21] 'Torch-bearers,' stiled in Greek Δᾳδοῦχοι, were persons dedicated to the service of the gods, and admitted even to the most sacred Mysteries. Pausanias (i. 37.) speaks of it as a great happiness to a woman, that she had seen her brother, her husband, and her son successively enjoy this high office. Callias, it will appear in the sequel, was Aristides' cousin.

[22] Both priests and kings wore fillets, or diadems. It is well known, that in ancient times those two dignities were generally vested in the same person; and such nations, as abolished the kingly office, still reserved the title of king for a person who ministered in the principal functions of the priesthood. (L.) E. g. the *Basileus* of Athens, the *Rex Sacrorum* of Rome, &c. (Liv. ii. 2., Dion. Halic. iv. 74., v. 1.), where the priest's wife was also denominated *Regina* (Macrob. Saturn. i. 15.), and his house anciently *Regia*. See Serv. in Virg. Æn. viii. 363. In the theatre of Syracuse likewise an inscription, including the word Βασιλισσας, was discovered by count Gaëtano in 1756; upon which M. Logotheta, canon of the cathedral of that city, contends that this title was given to the principal of the priestesses of Bacchus, &c. In this, however, he is opposed by the Chev. Landolina.*

The year following, Aristides was appointed to the office of archon, which gave his name to that year; though according to Demetrius the Phalerean, he was not archon till after the battle of Platææ, a little before his death. But in the public registers we find none of the name of Aristides in the list of archons, after Xanthippides, in whose archonship Mardonius was beaten at Platææ; whereas this name is on record immediately after Phanippus[24], who was archon in the year of the battle of Marathon.

Of all the virtues of Aristides, the people were the most struck with his justice, because by it the public utility was the most promoted. Thus he, a poor man and a commoner, gained the royal and divine title of ‘the Just,’ which kings and tyrants have never coveted. It has been their ambition to be stiled *Poliorceti*, ‘takers of cities;’ *Ceranni*, ‘thunderbolts;’ *Nicanors*, ‘conquerors.’ Nay, some have chosen to be called ‘Eagles’ and ‘Vultures[25];’ preferring, it appears, the fame of strength and power to that of virtue. Whereas the Deity himself, to whom they are anxious to be compared and assimilated, is distinguished by three things, immortality, power, and virtue; and of these, the last is the most excellent and divine. For space and the elements are everlasting; earthquakes, lightning, storms, and torrents have an amazing power; but of justice[26] nothing participates, without reasoning and thinking on God. And whereas men entertain three different sentiments with respect to the gods, namely, admiration, fear, and esteem; it should seem that they admire and think them happy on account of their freedom from death and corruption, that they fear and dread them because of their power and sovereignty, and that they love, esteem, and reverence them for their justice. Yet, though affected these three different ways, they desire only the two first properties of the Deity—immortality, which our nature will not admit, and power, which depends chiefly upon fortune—while they foolishly neglect virtue, the only divine quality within their reach; not considering that justice alone confers a kind of divinity upon the life of those who flourish most in power, prosperity, and high station, while injustice renders it brutal.

---

[23] The French have a proverb, *Riche comme un puits;* which, Ricard seems to think, may be traced to this source. Wells, in time of war, have frequently been made the receptacles of the most valuable property.*

[24] From the registers it appears, that Phanippus was archon Ol. lxxii. 3. It was therefore in this year, that the battle of Marathon was fought, B. C. 490. (See Corsini, Fast. Att. iii.)

[25] The surname of Poliorcetes was borne by Demetrius of Macedon, those of Ceraunus and Nicanor by two of the Seleuci of Syria, and those of Eagle and Vulture by two of the Antiochi of the latter kingdom.*

Aristides at first was much loved and respected for his surname of 'the Just,' and subsequently as much envied; the latter chiefly by the management of Themistocles, who caused it to be rumoured among the people, that Aristides had abolished the courts of judicature by drawing the arbitration of all causes to himself, and was thus insensibly usurping sovereign power, though without it's usual attendants. The people, elevated with the late victory, thought themselves capable of every thing, and the highest respect little enough for them. Uneasy therefore at finding that any one citizen rose to such extraordinary honour and distinction, they assembled at Athens from all the towns in Attica, and banished Aristides by the Ostracism; disguising their envy of his character under the specious pretence of guarding against tyranny.

---

[26] δικης δε και θεμιδος ȣδεν, οτι μη τῳ φρονειν και ΛΟΓΙΖΕΣΘΑΙ το θειον, μεταλαγχανει. In this passage λογιζεσθαι is used in the same sense as in 1 Cor. xiii. 5., η αγαπη ȣ ΛΟΓΙΖΕΤΑΙ κακον, which is (we believe) a rare instance. Perhaps in this passage of Plutarch, instead of οτι, we should read ει.

For the Ostracism was not a punishment for crimes and misdemeanors, but was very decently called a humbling and lessening of some excessive influence and power. In reality, it was a mild gratification of envy; for through it whoever was offended at the growing greatness of another discharged his spleen, not by any irretrievable infliction, but by only voting a ten years' banishment. As soon as it began to fall however upon the mean and the profligate, it was wholly laid aside; Hyperbolus being the last, who was exiled by it.

The reason of it's turning upon such a wretch was the following: Alcibiades and Nicias, who were persons of the most considerable interest in Athens, had each his party; but perceiving the people about to proceed to the Ostracism, and that one of them was likely to suffer by it, they consulted together, and joining interests caused it to fall upon Hyperbolus. Upon which the people, full of indignation at finding this kind of punishment dishonoured and turned into ridicule, entirely renounced and abolished it[27].

The Ostracism, to give a summary account of it, was conducted in the following manner: Every citizen took a piece of a broken pot or a shell, upon which he wrote the name of the person he wished to have banished, and carried it to a part of the market-place enclosed with wooden rails. The magistrates then counted the number of the shells; and if it did not amount to six thousand, the Ostracism stood for nothing: if it did, they sorted the shells, and the person whose name was found upon the greatest number was declared an exile for ten years, but with permission to enjoy his estate.

At the time that Aristides was banished, when the people were inscribing the names on the shells, an illiterate burgher (it is said) came up to him as some ordinary person, and giving him his shell, desired him to write 'Aristides' upon it. The good man, surprised at the adventure, inquired "Whether "or not Aristides had ever injured him?" "No," said he, "nor do I even know him; but it vexes "me to hear him every where called 'the Just'." Aristides made no answer, but took the shell, and having written his own name upon it, returned it to the man. When he quitted Athens, he lifted up his hands toward heaven, and agreeably to his character made a prayer very different from that of Achilles[28]; namely, "That the people of Athens "might never see the day, which should force them "to remember Aristides."

---

[27] See the Life of Alcibiades, II. 127.*

Three years afterward, when Xerxes was rapidly advancing through Thessaly and Bœotia to Attica, the Athenians rescinded this decree, and by a public ordinance recalled all the exiles. The principal inducement was their fear of Aristides; for they were apprehensive that he would join the enemy, corrupt great numbers of the citizens, and draw them over to the interest of the barbarians. But they little knew the man. Before this ordinance of theirs, he had been exciting and encouraging the Greeks to defend their liberty; and after it, when Themistocles was appointed to the command of the Athenian forces, he assisted him both with his person and his counsel; not disdaining to raise his worst enemy to the highest pitch of glory, for the public good. For when Eurybiades the commander-in-chief had resolved to quit Salamis[29], and the enemy's fleet taking advantage of the night, before he could carry his purpose into execution, had surrounded the islands and almost blocked up the straits, without any one's perceiving that the confederates were thus hemmed in, Aristides sailed the same night from Ægina, and passed with the utmost danger through the Persian fleet. As soon as he reached Themistocles' tent, he desired to speak with him in private, and there addressed him in these terms: "You and I, Themistocles, if we are wise, "shall now bid adieu to our vain and childish disputes, and enter upon a nobler and more salutary "contention, striving which of us shall contribute "most to the preservation of Greece; you in "doing the duty of a leader and general, and I "in assisting you with my service and advice. I "find that you alone have hit upon the best measure, in advising to come to an immediate action "in the straits. And, though the allies oppose "your design, the enemy promote it. For the sea "on all sides is covered with their ships; so that the "Greeks, whether they will or not, must engage "and quit themselves like men, there being no "room left for flight."

---

[28] Il. i. 408—410., where he implores his mother to influence Jupiter in favour of the Trojans, to the destruction of his own countrymen, that they may feel the impotence of their chieftain, and weep over the effects of his injustice. He even goes farther (Il. xvi. 97—100.) in praying, that both the Grecians and their enemies may fall to a man by each other's hands, and only Patroclus and himself survive to rase the walls of Troy. Even Camillus, notwithstanding his ordinary moderation, was much less just and resigned upon a similar occasion than Aristides. See his Life, I. 377.*

[29] Eurybiades was for standing away for the gulf of Corinth, that he might be near the land-army. But Themistocles clearly saw that in the straits of Salamis they could fight the Persian fleet,

To this Themistocles replied, "I could have "wished, Aristides, that you had not been beforehand with me in this noble emulation; but I will "endeavour to outdo your happy beginning by my "future actions." At the same time he acquainted him with the stratagem, which he had contrived to ensnare the barbarians [30]: and then desired him to

---

which was greatly superior in numbers, to much more advantage than in the gulf of Corinth, where there was an open sea. (Herod. viii. 57, 58., &c.) (L.)

The ensuing dialogue is more simply given by the same historian, ib. 79., who likewise informs us (ib. 57.), that the project of 'coming to an immediate action' was originally suggested by the Athenian Mnesiphilus, and unfairly appropriated by Themistocles.

[30] This stratagem was, to send a person to acquaint the enemy, that the Greeks were going to quit the straits of Salamis; and therefore, if the Persians were desirous to crush them at once, they

go and make it appear to Eurybiades, that there could be no safety for them without venturing a sea-fight in their present station: for he knew, that Aristides had much greater influence over him, than he. In the council of war assembled upon this occasion, Cleocritus the Corinthian said to Themistocles; "Your advice is not agreeable to Aristides, "since he is present, and says nothing." "You are "mistaken," said Aristides, "for I should not have "been silent, had not Themistocles' counsel been "the most eligible. And I now hold my peace, "not out of regard to the man, but because I approve his sentiments." This counsel, therefore, the Grecian officers adopted.

Aristides then perceiving that the little island of Psyttalia, which lies in the straits over-against Salamis, was full of the enemy's troops, put on board the small transports a number of the bravest and most resolute of his countrymen, and made a descent upon it; where he attacked the barbarians with such fury, that they were all cut in pieces, except some of the principal persons, who were made prisoners. Among the latter were three sons of Sandauce the king's sister, whom he sent immediately to Themistocles; and it is said that, in pursuance of some oracle adduced by Euphrantides the soothsayer, they were all sacrificed to Bacchus Omestes. After this, Aristides placed a strong guard round the island, to take notice of such as were driven ashore, that so none of his friends might perish nor any of the enemy escape. For about Psyttalia the battle raged the fiercest[31], and (as appears from the trophy erected there) the most strenuous efforts were made.

When the engagement was over, Themistocles by

---

must instantly fall upon them before their dispersion. See Herod. viii. 75. and the Life of Themistocles, I., 336., where likewise (p. 332.) a more detailed account is given of the barbarous sacrifice of the sons of Sandauce, or Sandace, mentioned below.

[31] The battle of Salamis was fought Ol. lxxv. 1., B. C. 480.

way of sounding Aristides said, "That though great "things were already achieved, greater still remained "behind; for they might conquer Asia in Europe, "by making all the sail they could to the Hellespont, to break down the bridge." Aristides however exclaimed against the proposal, and bade him think no more of it, but rather consider and inquire into the speediest means of driving the Persians out of Greece; lest finding themselves shut up with such immense forces, and no way left to escape, they should be impelled by necessity to fight with the most desperate courage. Upon this, Themistocles sent to Xerxes the second time by the eunuch Arnaces, one of the prisoners[32], to acquaint him privately that the Greeks were strongly inclined to proceed immediately to the Hellespont, with a view of destroying the bridge which he had left there; but that, in order to save his royal person, he was exerting his best endeavours to dissuade them from it. Xerxes, terrified by this intelligence, made all possible haste to the Hellespont; leaving Mardonius behind him with the land-forces, which consisted of three hundred thousand of his best troops.

In the strength of such an army, Mardonius was very formidable; and the fears of the Greeks were heightened by his menacing letters, which were in the following stile: "At sea, in your wooden towers, "you have defeated landmen unpractised at the oar; "but there are still the wide plains of Thessaly, "and the fair fields of Bœotia, where both horse "and foot may fight to the best advantage." To the Athenians he wrote separately, being authorised by the king to assure them that their city should be rebuilt, large sums bestowed upon them, and the sovereignty of Greece placed in their hands, if they would take no farther share in the war[33].

---

[32] This expedient answered two purposes. It drove the king of Persia out of Europe; and at the same time in appearance conferred an obligation upon him, which might be remembered to Themistocles' advantage, whenever he came to have an occasion for it. His first measure had been sent by Sicinus (see the Life of Themistocles, I. 330.), and the same person likewise, according to Herod. viii. 110., was the bearer of the second.

As soon as the Lacedæmonians received intelligence of these proposals[34], they were much alarmed, and despatched embassadors to Athens to entreat the people to send their wives and children to Sparta, and to accept from them whatever was necessary for the support of such as were in years: for the Athenians, having lost both their city and their country, were in great distress. Yet when they had heard what the embassadors had to say, they gave them such an answer, by the direction of Aristides, as can never be sufficiently admired. They said, "They could "easily forgive their enemies for thinking that every "thing was to be purchased with silver and gold, "because they had no idea of any thing more excellent; but they could not help being displeased, "that the Lacedæmonians should regard only "their present poverty and want, and forgetful of "their virtue and magnanimity, call upon them to "fight the battles of Greece for the paltry consideration of a supply of provisions." Aristides having drawn up this answer in the form of a decree, and summoned all the embassadors to an audience in full assembly, bade those of Sparta tell the Lacedæmonians, "That the people of Athens would not, "for all the gold either above or under ground, "barter the liberties of Greece."

---

[33] He made these proposals by Alexander king of Macedon, who delivered them in a set speech, which was answered by the Spartan envoys. (Herod. ib. 140, 141.)

[34] Or rather, as Herodotus says, suspecting Alexander's errand and trembling on account of some old oracles, which predicted the expulsion of themselves and all the Dorians from Peloponnesus by the Persians and Athenians.* Neither did they propose to the Athenians to send their wives and children to Sparta, but only offered to maintain them during the war. They observed, that the original quarrel was between the Persians and the Athenians; that the Athenians were always wont to be the foremost in the cause of liberty; and that there was no reason to believe, the Persians would observe any terms with a people whom they hated. (Id. ib. 142.)

As for those of Mardonius, he pointed to the sun and told them, "As long as this luminary shines, "so long will the Athenians carry on war with the "Persians for their country which has been laid "waste, and for their temples which have been profaned and burnt." He likewise procured an order, that the priest should solemnly execrate all who should dare to propose an embassy to the Persians, or even talk of deserting the alliance of Greece.

When Mardonius had entered Attica the second time, the Athenians again retired to Salamis. And Aristides, who upon that occasion went embassador to Sparta, complained to the Lacedæmonians of their delay and neglect in abandoning Athens once more to the barbarians; and pressed them to hasten to the succour of that part of Greece, which had not yet fallen into the enemy's hands. The Ephori gave him indeed an audience[35], but seemed attentive only to mirth and diversion, for it was the festival of Hyacinthus[36]. At night however they selected five thousand Spartans, with orders to take each seven helots with him, and to march before morning unknown to the Athenians. When Aristides came to make his remonstrances again, they smiled and told him; "That he did but trifle or dream, since their "army was at that time advanced as far as Orestium "on their march against the foreigners," for so the Lacedæmonians called the barbarians. Aristides in reply said, "It was not a time to jest, or to put "their stratagems in practice upon their friends, "but against their enemies." This is the account, which Idomeneus gives of the matter; but in Aristides' decree, Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides are said to have gone upon the embassy, and not Aristides.

---

[35] They put off their answer from time to time, until they had gained ten days: in this time they had finished the wall across the Isthmus, which secured them against the barbarians.

[36] Among the Spartans this feast lasted three days; the first and last were days of mourning for Hyacinthus' death, but the second was a festival celebrated with all kinds of diversions. See the Life of Numa, I. 171., not. (12.)

Aristides, however, was appointed to command the Athenians in the expected battle, and marched with eight thousand foot to Platææ. There Pausanias, who was commander-in-chief of all the confederates, joined him with his Spartans, and the other Grecian troops arrived daily in great numbers. The Persian army, which was encamped along the river Asopus, occupied an immense tract of ground; and had fortified a spot, ten furlongs square, for their baggage and other things of value.

In the Grecian army there was a soothsayer of Elis, named Tisamenus[37], who foretold certain victory to Pausanias and the Greeks in general, if they forbore attacking the enemy and stood upon the defensive. And Aristides, having sent to Delphi to inquire of the oracle, received this answer: "The "Athenians shall be victorious, if they address their "prayers to Jupiter, to Juno of Cithæron, to Pan, "and to the nymphs Sphragitides[38]; if they sacrifice "to the heroes Androcrates, Leucon, Pisander, "Damocrates, Hypsion, Actæon, and Polyidus; "and if they fight only in their own country, on "the plain of the Eleusinian Ceres and of Proser-"pine." This oracle not a little perplexed Aristides. For the heroes, to whom he was commanded to sacrifice, were the ancestors of the Platæans, and the cave of the nymphs Sphragitides was in one of the summits of mount Cithæron, opposite the quarter where the sun sets in the summer; in which cave (it is said) there was formerly an oracle, where many who dwelt in those parts were inspired, and therefore called '*Nympholepti.*' On the other hand, to have the promise of victory only upon condition of fighting in their own country, on the plain of the Eleusinian Ceres, was calling the Athenians back to Attica, and removing the seat of war.

---

[37] The oracle having promised Tisamenus five great victories, the Lacedæmonians were desirous of having him for their soothsayer; but he demanded to be admitted a citizen of Sparta, which was at first refused. Upon the approach of the Persians, however, he obtained that privilege both for himself and his brother Hegias. This would scarcely have been worth mentioning, had not those two been the only strangers, who were ever made citizens of Sparta. (Id. ix. 32.)

[38] The nymphs of mount Cithæron were called 'Sphragitides' from the cave Sphragidion, so named probably from the silence observed in it by the persons, who went thither to be inspired; silence being described by 'sealing' the lips. (See Pausan. ix., Herod. ix. 69.)

In the mean time Arimnestus, general of the Platæans, dreamed[39] that Jupiter the Preserver inquired of him, "What the Greeks had determined "to do?" To which he answered, "To-morrow "they will decamp and march to Eleusis to fight "the barbarians there, agreeably to the oracle." Upon which the god replied, "They quite mistake "it's meaning; for the place intended by the oracle "is in the environs of Platææ, and if they seek for "it they will find it." The matter being so clearly revealed to Arimnestus, as soon as he awoke, he sent for the oldest and most experienced of his countrymen; and, having advised with them and made the best inquiry, he found that near Husiæ (at the foot of mount Cithæron) there was an ancient temple, called the temple of the Eleusinian Ceres and of Proserpine. Upon this he immediately conducted Aristides to the place, which appeared to be very commodious for drawing up an army of foot that was deficient in cavalry; because the bottom of mount Cithæron, extending as far as the temple, made the extremities of the field on that side inaccessible to the horse. In that place likewise stood the chapel of the hero Androcrates, quite covered with thick bushes and trees. And that nothing might be wanting to fulfil the oracle and confirm their hopes of victory, the Platæans resolved on the motion of Arimnestus to remove the boundaries between their country and Attica, and for the sake of Greece to make a grant of those lands to the Athenians, that according to the oracle they might fight in their own territories[40]. This generosity of the Platæans gained them so much renown, that many years afterward, when Alexander had conquered Asia, he ordered the walls of Platææ to be rebuilt, and proclamation to be made by a herald at the Olympic games; "That the king granted the Platæans this favour on account of their virtue and generosity, in having given up their lands to the Greeks in the Persian war, and otherwise behaved with the greatest spirit*.

---

[39] Or, to gain credit to his communication, pretended that he dreamed.*

When the confederates came to have their several posts assigned, there was a warm dispute between the Tegeatæ and the Athenians; the Tegeatæ insisting that, as the Lacedæmonians were posted in the right wing, the left belonged to themselves, and in support of their claim setting forth the gallant actions of their ancestors. As the Athenians expressed great indignation at this, Aristides stepped forward and said, "The time will not permit us to contest "with the Tegeatæ the renown of their ancestors, "and their personal bravery: but to the Spartans "and to the rest of the Greeks we say, that the "post neither gives valour nor takes it away; and "whatever post you assign us, we will endeavour to "do honour to it, and take care to reflect no disgrace upon our former achievements. For we "are come hither not to quarrel with our allies, but "to fight with our enemies; not to pronounce en-"comiums on our forefathers, but to approve our "own courage in the cause of Greece. And the "battle will soon show, what value our country "should set upon every state, every general, and "every private man." After this speech, the council of war declared in favour of the Athenians, and gave them the command of the left wing.

---

[40] This was, of course, clenching the oracle. But the obvious reference of the Pythoness was to the Attic ceremonies established at this place in honour of Ceres of Eleusis.*

* See the Life of Alexander, Vol. IV. p. 295.*

While the fate of Greece hung in this state of suspense, the affairs of the Athenians were in a very dangerous posture. For those of the best families and fortunes being reduced by the war, and seeing their political authority and distinction gone with their wealth, and others rising to honours and employments, assembled privately in a house at Platææ, and conspired to abolish the democracy; and, if that failed, to ruin the whole of Greece, and betray it to the barbarians. When Aristides received intelligence of the conspiracy thus entered into in the camp, and found that numbers were corrupted, he was much alarmed by it's happening at such a crisis, and unresolved at first how to proceed. At length he determined neither to leave the matter wholly unexamined, nor yet to sift it thoroughly; because he knew not how far the contagion had spread, and he thought it advisable to sacrifice justice in some degree to the public good, by forbearing to prosecute many of the guilty. He therefore caused eight persons only to be apprehended, and of those eight only two of the most guilty to be proceeded against, Æschines of Lampra and Agesias of Acharnæ; and even they made their escape during the prosecution [41]. The rest he discharged, and gave them and all their confederates an opportunity of recovering their spirits and changing their sentiments, as they might imagine that nothing was made out against them: but he admonished them at the same time, "That the battle was the great tribunal, where they "must clear themselves of the charge, and show "that they had never followed any counsels, but "such as were just and useful to their country."

After this [42] Mardonius, to make a trial of the

---

[41] Most probably by his connivance, lest the infliction of their punishment should cause some disturbance.*

[42] The battle of Platææ was fought Ol. lxxv. 2., B. C. 479, the year after that of Salamis. Herodotus was then about nine or ten

Greeks, ordered his cavalry, in which he was strongest, to skirmish with them. The Greeks were all encamped at the foot of mount Cithæron in strong and stony places; except the Megarensians, who to the number of three thousand were posted on the plain, and consequently suffered much by the enemy's horse, which charged them on every side. Unable to stand against such superior numbers, they despatched a messenger to Pausanias for assistance. Pausanias hearing their request, and seeing the camp of the Megarensians darkened with the shower of darts and arrows, and that they were forced to contract themselves within a narrow compass, was at a loss what to do; for he knew, that his heavy-armed Spartans were unfit to act against cavalry. He endeavoured therefore to awaken the emulation of the generals and other officers about him, that they might deem it a point of honour and rivalry voluntarily to undertake the succour of the Megarensians. But they all declined it, except Aristides; who made an offer of his Athenians, and gave immediate orders to Olympiodorus, one of the most active of his officers, to advance with his select band of three hundred men and some archers intermixed. These were all ready in a moment, and rushed forward to attack the barbarians. Masistius the general of the Persian horse, a man distinguished for his strength and graceful mien, no sooner saw them advancing, than he spurred his horse against them. The Athenians received him with great firmness, and a sharp conflict ensued; for they considered this as an earnest of the success of the whole battle. At last, Masistius' horse was wounded with an arrow, and threw his rider; who could not recover himself

---

years old, and had his accounts (at variance with those in the text) from persons, who were present in the battle. He informs us, that the circumstance here related by Plutarch happened before the Greeks left their camp at Erythræ, in order to encamp round to Platææ, and before the contest between the Tegeatæ and the Athenians took place. (ix. 19, 20., &c.)

because of the weight of his armour, nor yet be easily slain by the Athenians striving which should do it first, because not only his body and his head, but also his legs and arms were covered with plates of gold, brass, and iron. But the vizor of his helmet leaving part of his face open, one of them pierced him in the eye with the staff of his spear, and so despatched him. The Persians then left the body[43], and fled.

The importance of this achievement appeared to the Greeks, not from the number of their enemies lying dead upon the field (for that was but small) but from the mourning of the barbarians, who in their grief for Masistius cut off their hair and the manes of their horses and mules, and filled all the plain with their cries and groans, as having lost the man next to Mardonius in courage and authority.

After this engagement with the Persian cavalry, both sides for a long time forbore the combat; for the soothsayers from the entrails of the victims equally assured the Persians and the Greeks of victory, if they stood upon the defensive, and threatened a total defeat to the aggressors. At length however Mardonius, seeing but a few days' provision left, and that the Grecian forces daily increased by the arrival of fresh troops, grew uneasy at the delay, and resolved to pass the Asopus early next morning, and fall upon the Greeks, whom he hoped to find unprepared. For this purpose, he gave his orders over night. But at midnight a man on horseback softly approached the Grecian camp, and addressing himself to the centinels, bade them call to him Aristides the Athenian general. Aristides immediately came, and the unknown person said; " I am Alex-

---

[43] Herodotus, on the contrary, says (ix. 23.) that they charged again with great fury, in order to carry it off, though their attempt was unsuccessful. The custom of cutting off the hair, mentioned below, as a mark of grief, was not peculiar to the barbarians. See the Life of Pelopidas, p. 383., not. (52.)*

"ander king of Macedon, who for the friendship "which I bear you have exposed myself to the "greatest dangers, to prevent your fighting under "the disadvantage of a surprise. Mardonius will "give you battle to-morrow; not indeed induced "by any well-grounded hope or prospect of success, "but by the scarcity of provisions: for the sooth-"sayers by their ill-boding sacrifices and oracles "endeavour to divert him from it, but necessity "forces him either to hazard a battle, or to sit still "and see his whole army perish through want." Having thus opened himself to Aristides, Alexander desired him to take notice and avail himself of the intelligence, but not to communicate it to any other person[44]. Aristides however thought it wrong to conceal it from Pausanias, who was commander-in-chief: but he promised not to mention the affair to any one besides, till after the battle; and assured him at the same time that, if the Greeks proved victorious, the whole army should be acquainted with his friendly and glorious daring.

The king of Macedon having despatched this affair returned, and Aristides immediately went to Pausanias' tent, and laid the whole before him; upon which the other officers were sent for, and ordered to have the troops under arms and prepared for battle. At the same time, according to Herodotus, Pausanias informed Aristides of his design to alter the disposition of the army, by removing the Athenians from the left wing to the right, and setting them to oppose the Persians; against whom they would act with the greater bravery, because they had given proof of their manner of fighting, and with the firmer assurance of success, because they had already succeeded. As for the left wing, which would be engaged with those Greeks that had embraced the Median interest, he intended to command there himself. The other Athenian officers thought Pausanias carried it with a partial and high hand, in moving them up and down like so many Helots at his pleasure, to face the boldest of the enemy's troops, while he left the rest of the confederates in their posts[45]. But Aristides told them, that they were under a complete mistake: "You contended," said he, "a few days ago with the Tegeatæ for the command of the left wing, and valued yourselves upon "the preference; and now, when the Spartans "voluntarily offer you the right wing (which is, in "effect, surrendering to you the command of the "whole army), you are neither gratified with the "honour, nor sensible of the advantage of not being "obliged to fight against your countrymen and "those who have the same origin with yourselves, "but against barbarians your natural enemies."

---

[44] According to Herodotus, ix. 44., Alexander had excepted Pausanias out of this charge of secrecy; and this is most probable, because Pausanias was generalissimo of the Grecian army. (L.) The same historian likewise (ib.) assigns the motive of Alexander's regard for the Greeks, viz. his Grecian extraction. His descent indeed by the father's side from Hercules of Argos procured his admission as a competitor at the Olympic games, an honour scrupulously withheld from barbarians. (See also Herod. v. 22.)*

These words had such an effect upon the Athenians, that they readily agreed to change posts with the Spartans, and nothing was heard among them but mutual exhortations to act with bravery. They observed, "That the enemy brought neither better "arms, nor bolder hearts, than they had at Marathon; but came with the same bows, the same "embroidered vests and profusion of gold, the same "effeminate bodies, and the same unmanly souls. "For our part (continued they) we have the same "weapons and strength of body, together with additional spirits from our victories; and we do not "like them fight for a tract of land or a single city, "but for the trophies of Marathon and Salamis; "that the people of Athens, and not Miltiades and "Fortune, may have the glory of them."

---

[45] Herodotus says the contrary; namely, that all the Athenian officers were ambitious of that post, but did not propose it, from an apprehension of disobliging the Spartans. (Ib. 45.)

While they were thus encouraging each other, they hastened to their new post. But the Thebans, being informed of it by deserters, sent and acquainted Mardonius; who either out of fear of the Athenians, or from an ambition to try his strength with the Lacedæmonians, immediately moved the Persians to his right wing, and the Greeks who were of his party to the left, opposite to the Athenians. This change in the disposition of the enemy's army being known, Pausanias made another movement, and passed to the right; which Mardonius perceiving returned to the left, and so still faced the Lacedæmonians. Thus the day passed without any action at all. In the evening the Grecians held a council of war, in which they determined to decamp, and take possession of a place more commodious for water, because the springs of their present camp were disturbed and spoiled by the enemy's horse[46].

When night was come[47], and the officers began to march at the head of their troops to the place marked out for a new camp, the soldiers followed unwillingly, and could not without great difficulty be kept together: for they no sooner had left their first entrenchments, than many of them hurried to the city of Platææ; and either dispersing there, or pitching their tents without any regard to discipline, were in the utmost confusion. It happened that the Lacedæmonians alone, much against their will, were left behind. For Amompharetus an intrepid man, who had long been eager to engage, and was uneasy to see the battle so often put off and delayed, pronounced this decampment in plain terms a disgraceful flight; and declared, "That he would not quit

---

[46] See Herod. ib. 48—50., and for the ensuing account, 54, 55, &c. It was only the division of Lacedæmonians commanded by Amompharetus, which refused to move.*

[47] Upon this occasion Mardonius did not fail to insult Artabazus, reproaching him with his cowardly prudence, and his false notion of the Lacedæmonians, who as he pretended never fled before an enemy.

“ his post, but remain there with his troops and “ await Mardonius.” And when Pausanias represented to him, that the measure was adopted in pursuance of the counsel and determination of the confederates, he took up a large stone with both his hands, and throwing it at Pausanias' feet said, “ This is my ballot for a battle ; and I despise the “ timid counsels and resolves of others.” Pausanias was at a loss what to do : but at last he sent to the Athenians, who by this time were advancing, and desired them to halt a little, that they might all proceed in a body ; and marched at the same time with the rest of the troops toward Platææ, hoping thus to draw Amompharetus after him.

By this time, it was day ; and Mardonius[48], who was not ignorant that the Greeks had quitted their camp, put his army in order of battle and bore down upon the Spartans ; the barbarians shouting and clanking their arms, as if they expected to have only the plundering of fugitives, and not a battle. And, indeed, so it was likely to have turned out. For though Pausanias, upon seeing this motion of Mardonius, stopped and ordered every one to his post ; yet either confused by his resentment against Amompharetus, or by the sudden attack of the Persians, he forgot to give his troops the word : and hence they neither engaged readily, nor in a body, but continued scattered in small parties, even after the fight was begun.

Pausanias, in the mean time, offered sacrifice ; but seeing no auspicious tokens, he commanded the Lacedæmonians to lay down their shields at their feet, and to stand still and attend his orders without opposing the enemy. After this he offered other sacrifices, the Persian cavalry still advancing. They were now within bow-shot, and some of the Spartans were wounded; among others Callicrates, a man who for size and beauty exceeded the whole army, and who being shot with an arrow and at the point of death exclaimed, "He did not lament his dying, "because he came out resolved to shed his blood "for Greece; but he was sorry to die, without "having once drawn his sword against the enemy."

---

[48] Having passed the Asopus, he came up with the Lacedæmonians and Tegeatæ, who to the number of fifty-three thousand were separated from the body of the army. Pausanias, finding himself thus attacked by the whole Persian army, despatched a messenger to acquaint the Athenians, who had taken another route, with the danger he was in. The Athenians immediately marched to succour their distressed allies ; but were attacked, and to their great regret prevented, by those Greeks who sided with the Persians. The battle being thus fought in two different places, the Spartans were the first who broke into the centre of the Persian army, and after a most obstinate resistance put them to flight.

If the terror of this situation was great, the steadiness and patience of the Spartans was marvellous; for they made no defence against the enemy's charge, but waiting the time of heaven and their general, suffered themselves to be wounded and slain in their ranks.

Some say that, as Pausanias was sacrificing and praying at a little distance from the lines, certain Lydians coming suddenly upon him, seized and scattered the sacred utensils; and that Pausanias and those about him, having no weapons, drove them away with rods and scourges. And in imitation of this assault, according to them, the Spartans still celebrate a festival[49], in which boys are scourged round the altar, and which concludes with the 'Lydian march.'

Pausanias extremely afflicted at these circumstances, while the priest offered sacrifice upon sacrifice, turned toward the temple of Juno, and with tears trickling from his eyes and uplifted hands prayed to that goddess the protectress of Cithæron, and to the other tutelar deities of the Platæans; "That "if the fates had decreed the Grecians should not "conquer, they might at least be permitted to sell "their lives dear, and show the enemy by their

---

[49] Called διαμαϛιγωσις. The Lydian march, says M. Ricard, is not elsewhere mentioned.*

" deeds, that they had brave men and experienced " soldiers to deal with."

The very moment that Pausanias was uttering this prayer, favourable tokens appeared[50], and the soothsayers announced him victory. Orders were immediately issued to the whole army to come to action, and the Spartan phalanx had suddenly the appearance of some fierce animal erecting his bristles, and preparing to exert his strength. The barbarians then saw clearly that they had to do with men, who were ready to spill the last drop of their blood; and therefore, covering themselves with their targets, shot their arrows against the Lacedæmonians. The Lacedæmonians moving forward in a close compact body fell upon the Persians, and forcing their targets from them directed their pikes against their faces and breasts, and brought many of them to the ground. When they were down, however, they continued to give proofs of their strength and courage: for they laid hold on the pikes with their naked hands, and broke them; and then springing up betook themselves to their swords[51] and battle-axes, and wresting away their enemies' shields, and grappling close with them, made an obstinate resistance.

The Athenians all this while stood still, expecting the Lacedæmonians: but when the noise of the battle reached them, and an officer (as we are told) despatched by Pausanias gave them an account that the engagement was begun, they hastened to his assistance; and, as they were crossing the plain toward the place where the noise was heard, the Greeks who sided with the enemy advanced against them. As soon as Aristides saw them, he sprung forward a considerable way before his troops, and calling out to them with all his force conjured them by the gods of Greece, "To renounce this impious "war, and not oppose the Athenians, hastening as "they were to the succour of those, who were now "the foremost to hazard their lives for the safety "of their native land." But, finding that instead of hearkening to him they approached in a hostile manner, he quitted his design of going to assist the Lacedæmonians, and joined battle with these Greeks, who were about five thousand in number. But the chief part soon gave way and retreated, especially when they heard that the barbarians were put to flight. The hottest of the action is said to have been with the Thebans; among whom the first in quality and power, having embraced the Median interest, by their authority influenced the populace, though not of themselves so inclined.

---

[50] So Herod. ib. 61.*

[51] Τοις ακινακαις, the peculiar name of a short curved Median sword, (Hor. Od. I. xxvii. 5.) Upon the 'naked hands' of the text above, M. Dacier and Ricard agree in thinking the term 'naked' should be made to refer to their being without arms. (See Herod. ib.)*

The battle thus divided into two parts, the Lacedæmonians first broke and routed the Persians, and Mardonius[52] himself was slain by a Spartan named Arimnestus[53], who (as the oracle of Amphiaraüs had foretold him) broke his skull with a stone. For Mardonius had sent a Lydian to consult his oracle, and at the same time a Carian to the cave of Trophonius[54]. Trophonius' priest answered the Carian in his own language: but the Lydian, as he slept in the temple of Amphiaraüs[55], thought he saw a minister of the god approach him, who commanded him to be gone, and upon his refusal threw a great stone at his head, and killed him by the blow. Such is the account, which we have of that affair.

---

[52] Mardonius, mounted on a white horse, eminently distinguished himself, and at the head of a thousand chosen men slew a great number of the enemy; but, when he fell, the whole Persian army was easily routed. Herodotus does not specify the mode of his death (ib. 62.), and in his subsequent account of Mardonius' oracle-hunting differs in several particulars from Plutarch.

[53] In some copies he is called 'Diamnestus.' Arimnestus was general of the Platæans.

[54] The cave of Trophonius was near the city of Lebadia in Bœotia, above Delphi. Mardonius had sent to consult not only this oracle, but almost all the other oracles in the country, so restless and uneasy was he about the event of the war. (Id. ib. 134, 135.)

[55] Amphiaraüs, who had been swallowed up alive in his chariot during the war of the Seven Chieftains against Thebes, had a temple and oracle at Oropus in Attica, on the confines of Bœotia. He had

The barbarians, flying before the Spartans, were pursued to their camp, which they had fortified with wooden walls. And soon afterward the Athenians routed the Thebans, killing three hundred persons of the first distinction on the spot. Just as the Thebans began to give way, intelligence arrived, that the barbarians were shut up and besieged in their wooden fortification: the Athenians therefore, suffering the Greeks to escape, hastened to assist in the siege; and finding that the Lacedæmonians, unskilled in the storming of walls, made but a slow progress, attacked and took the camp[56] with a prodigious slaughter of the enemy. For it is said that, of three hundred thousand men, only forty thousand escaped with Artabazus[57]: whereas, of those who fought in the cause of Greece, not more were slain than one thousand three hundred and sixty; among whom were fifty-two Athenians, all (according to Clidemus) of the tribe of Aiantis, which greatly distinguished itself in that battle. And hence, by order of the Delphic oracle, the Aiantidæ offered a yearly sacrifice of thanksgiving for the victory to the nymphs Sphragitides, having the expense defrayed out of the public treasury. The Lacedæmonians lost ninety-one, and the Tegeatæ sixteen. It is sur-

---

in his life-time been a great interpreter of dreams, and therefore after his death gave his oracles by dreams: for which purpose those who consulted him slept in his temple, on the skin of a ram which they had sacrificed to him. See a former note.

[56] The spoil was immense, consisting of vast sums of money, of gold and silver cups, vessels, tables, bracelets, rich beds, and all sorts of furniture. Of all these they gave the tenth to Pausanias.

[57] Artabazus, who from Mardonius' imprudent conduct had but too well foreseen the misfortune that befel him, after having distinguished himself in the engagement, made a timely retreat with the forty thousand men whom he commanded, arrived safe at Byzantium, and thence passed over into Asia. Beside these, only three thousand others escaped. (Herod. ix. 31—69.)

prising, however, that [58] Herodotus should say these were the only Greeks who engaged the barbarians, and that no other were concerned in the action [59]. For both the number of the slain and the monuments evince, that it was the common achievement of the confederates; and the altar erected upon the occasion would not have had the following inscription, if only three states had been engaged, and the rest had sat still:

> The Greeks, their country freed, the Persians slain,
> Have rear'd this common altar on the plain,
> To freedom's patron, Jove.

This battle was fought on the fourth of Boëdromion [60], according to the Athenian way of reckoning; but, according to the Bœotian computation, on the twenty-fourth of the month Panemus. And upon that day, there is still a general assembly of the Greeks at Platææ, and the Platæans sacrifice to Jupiter 'the Patron of Freedom' for the victory. Neither is this difference of days in the Grecian months to be wondered at; since even now, when the science of astronomy is so much improved, the months begin and end differently in different places.

---

[58] Dacier has shown very clearly, that Plutarch misunderstood an expression of Herodotus (ix. 70.), and that this mistake of his own led him to impute one to that historian. The expression is, *αλλῳ μεν ουδενι εχω αποσημηνασθαι*, which Plutarch must have supposed to mean, 'I cannot bear witness for any other of the Greeks;' whereas it's real meaning is, 'of which I cannot give any other (or "better") proof.'

[59] Herodotus (ib. 69, 70.) names no others; but then he names only those, who most distinguished themselves. The others in fact had disbanded themselves, with the exception of the Corinthians and Megarensians: who, advancing to assist in the pursuit of the already-defeated Persians, were intercepted by the Theban cavalry, and driven back with great loss. The inscription below, which however 'proves nothing' in favour of Plutarch's argument, was written by Simonides. (Pausan. ix. 11.)*

[60] Dacier justly observes in a note, that an Athenian month does not answer exactly to one of ours, but to part of one and part of another. Neither does Plutarch seem to have been sure: for, in the Life of Camillus, Vol. I. p. 385., he says this battle was fought 'on the third of Boëdromion.' But we rather think some error has crept into the text, since being a Bœotian himself, he could not be ignorant upon what day the festival of that victory was celebrated. (L.) In the same Life likewise, ib., the Bœotian Panemus is represented as equivalent not to Boëdromion, but its immediate predecessor in the Grecian calendar (as arranged both by Scaliger and Petav.), Metageitnion. This, however (as Taylor has also observed, II. 701.), may be accounted for by Dacier's above-cited observation.*

This victory proved nearly the ruin of Greece. For the Athenians, unwilling to allow the Spartans the honour of the day, or to consent that they should erect the trophy, would have referred it to the decision of the sword, had not Aristides taken considerable pains to explain the matter and pacify the other generals, particularly Leocrates and Myronides; persuading them to leave it to the decision of the other Greeks. A council was accordingly summoned, in which Theogiton of Megara suggested "That those two states should give up the palm to "a third, if they wished to prevent a civil war." Upon this Cleocritus the Corinthian rose up, and it was expected that he was going to set forth the pretensions of Corinth to the prize of valour, as the city next in dignity to Sparta and Athens: but they were most agreeably surprised when they found that he spoke in behalf of the Platæans, and proposed; "That, all disputes laid aside, the palm should be "adjudged to them, since of them neither of the "contending parties could be jealous." Aristides was the first to give up the point for the Athenians, upon which Pausanias did the same for the Lacedæmonians[61].

The confederates thus reconciled, eighty talents were set apart for the Platæans, with which they built a temple and erected a statue to Minerva; adorning the temple with paintings, which to this day retain their original beauty. Both the Lacedæmonians and Athenians erected separate trophies; and sending to consult the oracle at Delphi, about the sacrifice which they were to offer, they were directed by Apollo, "To build an altar to Jupiter " 'the Patron of Freedom,' but not to offer any " sacrifice upon it, till they had extinguished all the " fire in the country (because it had been polluted " by the barbarians), and rekindled it pure from the " common altar at Delphi." Upon this the Grecian generals traversed the country, and caused the fires to be put out; and Euchidas a Platæan, undertaking to fetch fire with all imaginable speed from the altar of the god, went to Delphi, sprinkled and purified himself there with water, placed a crown of laurel upon his head, took fire from the altar, and then hastened back to Platææ, where he arrived before sun-set, having thus performed a journey of a thousand furlongs in one day. But, having saluted his fellow-citizens and delivered the fire, he fell down and died on the spot. The Platæans carried him to the temple of Diana surnamed Euclia, and buried him there, putting the following short inscription upon his tomb:

---

[61] As to individuals, when they came to determine which had behaved with the greatest courage, they all gave judgement in favour of Aristodemus, who was the only one that had saved himself at Thermopylæ, and now wiped off the blemish of his former conduct by a glorious death. But see Herod. ix. 70.

Euchidas, who ran to Delphi, reached Platææ the same day.

As for Euclia, the generality believe her to be Diana, and call her by that name; but some say, that she was daughter to Hercules and Myrto, the daughter of Menœceus and sister of Patroclus, and that dying a virgin she had divine honours paid to her by the Bœotians and Locrians. For in the market-place of every city of theirs she has a statue, and an altar where the betrothed of both sexes offer sacrifice before marriage[62].

---

[62] A judicious institution, to offer an ante-nuptial sacrifice to Diana 'of good report' (for that is implied by the epithet, Euclia), signifying, that the happiness of marriage is greatly dependent upon the preservation of an unblemished character.*

In the first general assembly of the Greeks after this victory, Aristides proposed a decree, "That "deputies from all the states of Greece should meet "annually at Platææ, to sacrifice to Jupiter 'the "Patron of Freedom,' and that every fifth year "they should celebrate the games of Liberty[63]: "that a general levy should be made throughout "Greece of ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, "and a hundred ships for the war against the barbarians; but that from this the Platæans should "be exempted, being set apart for the service of "the god to propitiate him in behalf of Greece, "upon which account their persons should be held "sacred."

These articles passing into a law, the Platæans undertook to celebrate the anniversary of those who were slain and buried in that place, and they continue it to this day. The ceremony is as follows: On the sixteenth day of Maimacterion, which with the Bœotians is the month Alalcomenius, the procession begins at break of day, preceded by a trumpet sounding the signal of battle. Then follow several chariots full of garlands and branches of myrtle, and next to the chariots is led a black bull. After that come some young men who are free-born, carrying vessels full of wine and milk for the libations, and cruets of oil and perfumed essences; no slave being allowed to participate in a ceremony, sacred to the memory of men who died for liberty. The procession closes with the archon of Platææ, who at other times is not allowed either to touch iron or to wear any garments except such as are white, but upon that day is clothed with a purple robe and girt with a sword: and carrying in his hand a water-pot, taken out of the public hall, walks through the midst of the city to the tombs. He then takes water in the pot out of a fountain, and with his own hands washes the little pillars of the monuments[64], and rubs them with essences. After this, he kills the bull upon a pile of wood; and, having made his supplications to the terrestrial Jupiter[65] and Mercury, he invites those brave men who fell in the cause of Greece, to the funeral banquet and the steams of blood. Last of all, he fills a bowl with wine, and pouring it out subjoins; "I present this bowl to the men, who "died for the liberty of Greece." Such is the ceremony still observed by the Platæans.

---

[63] See Pausan. ix. 11.

When the Athenians were returned home, Aristides observing that they used their utmost endeavours to make the government entirely democratical considered, on one side, that the people deserved some attention and respect on account of their gallant behaviour; and, on the other, that being elated with their victories, it would be difficult to make them renounce their purpose: and therefore he caused a decree to be passed, that all the citizens should have a share in the administration, and that the archons should be chosen out of their whole body.

Themistocles having one day declared to the general assembly, "That he had thought of an expe-"dient, which would be very salutary to Athens[66], "but which ought to be kept secret;" he was ordered to communicate it to Aristides only, and to abide by his judgement. He accordingly told him, "His project was to burn the whole fleet of the "confederates; by which means the Athenians "would be raised to the head and sovereignty of "all Greece." Aristides then returned to the assembly, and acquainted the Athenians, "That nothing "could be more advantageous than the project of "Themistocles—nor at the same time more unjust." And, upon his report of the matter, they commanded Themistocles to abandon all thoughts of it. Such regard had that people for justice, and so much confidence in Aristides' integrity.

---

[64] It appears from an epigram of Callimachus, that it was customary to place little pillars upon the monuments, which the friends of the deceased perfumed with essences and crowned with flowers. (L.) The interment appears to have taken place in the month after the action, as Maimacterion follows Boëdromion in the Grecian calendar.*

[65] The terrestrial Jupiter is Pluto, who like the celestial had his Mercury, or else borrowed the messenger of the gods from his brother. To be sure, there might as well be two Mercuries, as two Jupiters; but the conducting of souls to the shades below is reckoned part of the office of that Mercury, who waits upon the Jupiter of the skies.

[66] This was before the battle of Platææ, at the time when Xerxes was put to flight and driven back into Asia. See the Life of Themistocles, I. 341., and not. (77.)

Some time after this[67], he was joined in commission with Cimon, and sent against the barbarians; where, observing that Pausanias and the other Spartan generals behaved with excessive haughtiness, he chose a quite different manner, showing much mildness and condescension in his whole conversation and address, and prevailing upon Cimon to behave toward the whole league with equal goodness and affability. Thus he insensibly drew the chief command from the Lacedæmonians, not by force of arms or horses or ships, but by his gentle and obliging deportment. For the justice of Aristides and the mildness of Cimon having attached the confederates to the Athenians, their regard was increased by the contrast which they found in Pausanias' avarice and austerity. The latter never spoke to the officers of the allies, but with sharpness and anger; and he ordered many of their men to be flogged, or to stand all day with an iron anchor on their shoulders. He would not suffer any of them to provide themselves with forage or straw to lie upon, or to go to the springs for water before the Spartans were supplied, but placed his servants there with rods to drive away those who should attempt it. And when Aristides was going to remonstrate with him upon it, he knit his brows, and telling him " He was not at leisure," refused to hear him.

---

[67] Eight years afterward.

From that time the sea- and land-officers of the Greeks, particularly those of Chios, Samos, and Lesbos, pressed Aristides to take upon himself the command of the confederate forces, and to receive them into his protection; since they had long desired to be delivered from the Spartan yoke, and to act under the orders of the Athenians. He answered, " That he saw the necessity and justice of " what they proposed, but that the proposal ought " first to be confirmed by some act, which would " make it impossible for the troops to depart from " their resolution." Upon this Uliades of Samos and Antagoras of Chios, conspiring together, went boldly and attacked Pausanias' galley at the head of the fleet. Pausanias, resenting this insolence, cried out in a menacing tone; " He would soon show " those fellows, that they had offered this insult, not " to his ship, but to their own countries." But they told him, " The best thing which he could do " was to retire, and thank fortune that she had " fought for him at Platææ; for that nothing but " the regard which they had for that memorable " action, restrained the Greeks from wreaking their " just vengeance upon him." The conclusion was, that they quitted the Spartan banners, and ranged themselves under those of the Athenians.

Upon this occasion, the magnanimity of the Spartan people appeared with great lustre. For as soon as they perceived that their generals were corrupted by too much power, they sent no more, but voluntarily resigned their pretensions to the chief command; choosing rather to cultivate in their citizens a principle of modesty and tenaciousness of the customs of their country, than to possess the sovereignty of Greece.

While the Lacedæmonians were at the head of affairs, the Greeks paid a certain tax toward the war; and now, being desirous that every city might be more equally rated, they entreated the Athenians that Aristides might take it upon himself, and gave him instructions to inspect their lands and revenues, in order to proportion the burthen of each to his station and ability.

Aristides, invested with this authority, which made him master as it were of all Greece, did not abuse it. For though he went out poor, he returned poorer; having settled the quotas of the several states not only justly and disinterestedly, but with so much humanity, that his assessment was agreeable to all. And as the ancients praised the times of Saturn, so the allies of Athens blessed the imposts of Aristides, calling it 'the happy fortune of Greece:' a compliment, which soon afterward appeared still more just, when their amount was subsequently doubled, and even tripled. For the tax imposed by Aristides produced only four hundred and sixty talents; this Pericles increased almost one third; and Thucydides writes that, at the beginning of the (Peloponnesian) war, the Athenians received from their allies six hundred talents; and after the death of Pericles those who held the administration, raised it by little and little to thirteen hundred. Not that the war grew more expensive, either by it's length, or it's want of success; but because they had accustomed the people to receive distributions of money for the public spectacles and other purposes, and had made them fond of erecting magnificent statues and temples[68].

The great and illustrious character, which Aristides acquired by the equity of this taxation, piqued

---

[68] Pericles, in particular, generated this extravagant passion for architectural embellishment. The paying of two oboli likewise to those of the poorer classes, who attended the popular assemblies, was the still more mischievous regulation of this powerful statesman; who likewise instituted the theatrical fund, an establishment sacredly appropriated to it's pernicious destination of paying for the admission of the citizens to the public spectacles. The sum given to each for this purpose was two oboli, and this was subsequently tripled.*

Themistocles; and he endeavoured to turn the praise bestowed upon him into ridicule by saying, "It was "not the praise of a man, but of a money-chest, "to keep treasure without diminution." By this, however, he took but a feeble revenge for Aristides' sarcasm. For one day Themistocles happening to observe, "That he looked upon it as the principal "virtue of a general, to know and foresee the de-"signs of the enemy;" Aristides replied, "That is "indeed a necessary qualification, but there is ano-"ther very excellent one and really becoming a "general, and that is—to have clean hands."

When Aristides had settled the articles of alliance, he called upon the confederates to confirm them with an oath; which he himself took on the part of the Athenians, and while uttering the execration against those who should break them, he threw red-hot pieces of iron into the sea[69]. When the subsequent urgency of affairs, however, required the Athenians to govern Greece with a stricter hand than those conditions justified, he advised them to let the consequences of the perjury rest with him, and pursue the path which expediency pointed out[70]. Upon the whole, Theophrastus says, that in all his own private concerns and in those of his fellow-citizens he was inflexibly just; but that in affairs of state he did many things, according to the exigency of the case, to serve his country, which seemed often to demand the assistance of injustice*. And he relates that, when it was debated in council whether the treasure deposited at Delos should be brought to Athens (as the Samians had advised, though contrary to treaties) on it's coming to his turn to speak, he said; "It is not "just, but it is expedient[71]."

---

[69] As much as to say, 'As the fire in these pieces of iron is extinguished in a moment, so may the days be extinct of those, who break this covenant.' (L.) Of this custom many instances occur among the ancients, and particularly that of the Phocensians, when to avoid the arms of Cyrus' præfect Harpagus, they abandoned their country, and founded Marseilles, Ol. lx. 2., B. C. 539. See Hor. Epod. xvi. 18. 25., where the story is copied from Herod. i. 165., and the expression *saxa* is interpreted by Baxter of '*ferrum è lapide liquefacto conflatum*,' or iron-ore.*

[70] Thus even Aristides 'the Just' made a distinction between his private and his political conscience: a distinction which has no manner of foundation in truth or reason, and which in the end will be productive of ruin, rather than of advantage; as all those nations will find, who avail themselves of injustice to serve a present occasion. For so much reputation is so much power; and states, as well as private persons, are respectable only by their character. (L.) Dr. Langhorne does not seem to have anticipated any emergency, which could justify the capture of Copenhagen (1807).*

It must be admitted however, that though he extended the domination of Athens over so many people, he himself still continued poor, and esteemed his poverty no less a glory, than all his laurels. The following is a clear proof of it: Callias the torch-bearer, who was his near relation, was prosecuted in a capital cause by his enemies. When they had adduced their charge against him, which was nothing very flagrant, they launched out into irrelevant matter, and thus addressed the judges; "You know "Aristides the son of Lysimachus, who is justly the "admiration of all Greece. When you see with "what a garb he appears in public, in what manner "do you think he must live at home? Must not "that man, who shivers here with cold for want of "clothing, be there almost famished, and destitute "of all necessaries? Yet this is he, whom Callias, "his cousin-german and the richest citizen in "Athens, absolutely neglects, and leaves with his "wife and children in complete wretchedness; "though he has often made use of him, and availed

---

* In this principle, says Parr, he was not followed by Mr. Fox. Bayle indeed, who quotes this passage, is fair enough to refer his readers to the more favourable account which Cicero gives of Aristides, De Off. iii. 11. There is, however, too much truth (he adds) in what Bayle has said concerning the religion of a sovereign, in not. H. on *art.* Agesilaus II. (Character of Fox, II. 530.)

[71] This reply, though the subject of it was certainly a less flagrant invasion of general rights than Themistocles' proposal to burn the confederate fleet, p. 482., is yet too much at variance with Aristides' answer upon the latter occasion, to permit us to consider him as a consistent character. But M. Ricard will not believe the present story, though it unfortunately harmonises but too well with the advice given just above.*

" himself of his interest with you." Callias, perceiving that this point affected and exasperated his judges more than any thing else, called for Aristides to testify before the court, that he had often offered him considerable sums and strongly pressed him to accept them, but that he had always refused them in such terms as these; " It better becomes Aristides " to glory in his poverty, than Callias in his riches: " for we see every day many people make a good as " well as a bad use of riches, but it is hard to find " one who bears poverty with a noble spirit; and " they only are ashamed of it, who are poor against " their will." When Aristides had given his evidence, there was not a man in the court, who did not leave it with an inclination rather to be poor with him, than rich with Callias. This particular we have from Æschines, the disciple of Socrates. And Plato, among all that were accounted great and illustrious men in Athens, judges none but Aristides worthy of real esteem. As for Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, they filled the city with porticoes, and wealth, and superfluities; but virtue was the only object, which Aristides had in view during the whole course of his administration.

We have extraordinary instances of the candour, with which he behaved toward Themistocles. For though he was his constant enemy in all affairs of government, and the cause of his banishment, yet when that general was accused of capital crimes against the state, and he had an opportunity of retaliating, he indulged not the least revenge; but while Alcmæon, Cimon, and many others were accusing him and driving him into exile, Aristides alone neither did nor said any thing to his disadvantage: for, as he had not formerly envied his prosperity, so now he did not rejoice in his misfortunes.

As to the death of Aristides, some say it happened in Pontus, whither he had sailed on business of the state; others, that he died at Athens full of days, and equally honoured and admired by his fellow-citizens: but Craterus the Macedonian[72] gives us a still different account. He informs us, that after Themistocles' banishment, the insolence of the people gave encouragement to a number of unprincipled informers, who attacking the best and greatest men rendered them obnoxious to the populace, now puffed up with prosperity and power. Aristides himself was not spared, but on a charge brought against him by Diophantus of Amphitrope was condemned for having received a bribe of the Ionians, at the time when he imposed the tax. He adds that, being unable to pay his fine, which was fifty minæ, he sailed to some part of Ionia, and there died. But Craterus gives us no written proof of this assertion, neither does he refer to any register of court or decree of the people; though upon other occasions he is full of such proofs, and constantly cites his author. The other historians without exception, who have given us accounts of the unjust behaviour of the people of Athens toward their generals, among many other instances dwell upon the banishment of Themistocles, the imprisonment of Miltiades, the fine imposed on Pericles, and the death of Paches, who on receiving sentence killed himself in the judgement-hall at the foot of the tribunal; neither do they forget Aristides' exile, but they say not one word of this condemnation.

Besides, his monument is still to be seen at Phalerum, and is said to have been erected at the public charge, because he did not leave enough to defray the expenses of his funeral. They inform us likewise, that the city provided for the marriage of his daughters, and that each of them had three thousand drachmæ as her portion out of the treasury: and to his son Lysimachus the people of Athens gave a hundred minæ of silver, and a plantation of as many acres of land, with a pension of four drachmas a day[73]; the whole being confirmed to him by a decree, which Alcibiades drew up. Callisthenes adds that, Lysimachus at his death leaving a daughter named Polycrite, the people ordered her the same subsistence with those, who had conquered at the Olympic games[74]. Demetrius the Phalerean, Hieronymus of Rhodes, Aristoxenus the musician, and Aristotle himself (if the Treatise upon Nobility is to be reckoned among his genuine works) relate that Myrto, a grand-daughter of Aristides, was married to Socrates the philosopher; who had another wife at the same time[75], but took her likewise, because she was in extreme want, and remained a widow on account of her poverty. But this is sufficiently confuted by Panætius, in his Life of that philosopher.

---

[72] Who lived not long after Aristides. Vossius (Hist. Græc. iii.) thinks him the person of that name, who accompanied Alexander the Great to the East. Aristides died Ol. lxxviii. 1., B. C. 467.*

The same Demetrius, in his account of Socrates, informs us that he remembered one Lysimachus grandson to Aristides, who plied constantly near the temple of Bacchus, having certain tables by which he interpreted dreams for a livelihood; and that he himself procured a decree, by which his mother and his aunt had three oboli a day each allowed for their subsistence[76]. He farther acquaints us that, when he subsequently undertook to reform the Athenian laws, he ordered each of those women a drachma a day. Nor is it a subject of wonder, that this people took so much care of those who lived with them in Athens: when having heard that a grand-daughter of Aristogiton[77] lived in mean circumstances in Lemnos, and continued unmarried on account of her poverty, they sent for her to Athens, and married her to a man of a considerable family, giving her for a portion an estate in the borough of Potamos. That city, even in our days[78], continues to give so many proofs of her benevolence and humanity, that she is deservedly the object of admiration and applause.

---

[73] Though this may seem no extraordinary matter to us, being only about half-a-crown of our money, yet in those days it was considerable. For an embassador, as appears from the Acharnenses of Aristophanes, I. ii. 65., was allowed only two drachmas a day. The poet indeed is speaking of one sent to the king of Persia, at whose court, as we learn from other passages in our author, an embassador was pretty sure to be enriched.

[74] These were maintained in the Prytaneum at the public expense, receiving a fixed daily allowance, for the remainder of their lives.*

[75] Cecrops had indeed interdicted polygamy at Athens; but a decree was enacted there, in Socrates' time, giving the rights of the city to children born of concubines, in consequence of the great depopulation which had taken place. M. Ricard however thinks that Panætius' Life of Socrates, if extant, would have confuted this story.*

[76] Provisions, as we have seen (Life of Solon, I. 252.), were very cheap in the market of Athens.*

---

[77] This hero in conjunction with Harmodius gave the first blow to the tyranny of the Pisistratidæ, by killing Hipparchus, one of the sons of Pisistratus, Ol. lxvi. 4., B. C. 513., for which they were instantly executed by Hippias the survivor. The latter maintained his authority nearly four years longer, and was driven out of Athens, at the same time that the Tarquins were expelled from Rome. See Thucyd. vi. 54—59., and Alcæus' Ode. The latter has been translated, with congenial spirit, by sir William Jones.*

[78] Implying, from the time of Aristides, a lapse of nearly six centuries—a most honourable proof of their perseverance in the practice of an eminent public virtue! The English likewise, not to mention innumerable and most liberal pensions paid on account of public service, have their *Herculeus Lar* at Blenheim, and will probably soon have an equally magnificent and equally merited Trafalgar.*

THE

LIFE

OF

CATO THE CENSOR.

SUMMARY.

His ancestors. Origin of the name of Cato. His eloquence and bravery. He profits by the example of Curius, and the instruction of Nearchus the philosopher. Valerius draws him to Rome. He attaches himself to Fabius Maximus, and refuses to attend Scipio into Africa. His eloquence and primitiveness of manners gain him the admiration of the Romans. His excessive economy. Kindness of the Athenians, even to animals. His integrity in the government of Sardinia. His stile; and memorable sayings. His remonstrances to the Romans: bon mots: his consulship and expedition into Spain. He is superseded by Scipio. His triumph. His campaigns in Thrace and Greece. He retains the Greek cities in their subjection. He sends to reconnoitre the Straits of Thermopylæ. Difficulties in passing them. His zeal for justice, and against the vicious. He stands for the office of censor. Apprehensions of the higher classes, by whom he is ineffectually opposed. He gains his election, and displays great severity in the discharge of his duty. Incurs the odium of the wealthy by his imposts upon articles of luxury: braves their resentment, and defeats their hostility. The people erect a statue to his honour, for having reformed the public manners. His domestic virtues. The education, which he himself gives his son, and it's success. His treatment of his slaves. He gives up agriculture for commerce. Arrival of Carneades, and Diogenes the stoic at Rome. Cato's opinions upon Greek literature, philosophy, and medicine. His second marriage. He loses his son: his fortitude under this calamity. His mode of *life in the country. He is sent to Carthage, to make up a quarrel between Masinissa and the inhabitants of that city. He excites the third Punic war. His death, and posterity.*

MARCUS CATO (it is said) was born at Tusculum, of which place his family originally was, and before he was concerned in civil or military affairs, lived upon an estate which his father had left him near the country of the Sabines. Though his ancestors were reckoned to have been persons of no note, yet Cato himself boasts of his father, as a brave man and an excellent soldier; and assures us that his great grand-father Cato received several military rewards, and that having had five horses killed under him, he had the value of them paid him out of the treasury, as an acknowledgement of his gallant behaviour. As the Romans always gave the appellation of 'New Men[1]' to those who, having no honours transmitted to them from their ancestors, were the first of their family to distinguish themselves, they designated Cato by the same term: but he used to say, that he was 'new' indeed with respect to offices and dignities, but with regard to the services and virtues of his ancestors, very ancient.

His third name, at first, was not Cato, but Priscus. It was subsequently changed to that of Cato, on account of his remarkable wisdom; for the

---

[1] The *jus imaginum* was annexed to the great offices of state, and none had their statues or pictures, but such as had borne those offices. He therefore, who had the pictures of his ancestors, was called 'noble;' he who had only his own, a 'new man;' and he, who had neither the one nor the other, 'ignoble.' So says Asconius. But it does not appear that a man who had borne a great office, the consulate for instance, was 'ignoble' because he had not his statue or picture; for he might not choose it. Cato himself did not choose it: his reason, we suppose, was because he had none of his ancestors, though he himself assigned another. (See A. Gell. xiii. 19.)

Romans call wise men 'Catos[2].' He had red hair and grey eyes, as the following little epigram ill-naturedly enough declares:

> With eyes so grey and hair so red,
>   With tusks[3] so sharp and keen,
> Thou'lt fright the shades when thou art dead,
>   And hell won't let thee in.

Inured to labour and temperance, and brought up as it were in camps, he had an excellent constitution with respect to strength, as well as health. Eloquence he considered as a kind of second body, an instrument of great things, not only useful but necessary for every man, who does not choose to live obscure and inactive. Hence he exercised and improved that talent in the neighbouring boroughs and villages, by undertaking the causes of such as applied to him; so that he was soon allowed to be an able pleader, and afterward a good orator.

From this time, all who conversed with him discovered in him such a gravity of behaviour, such a dignity and depth of sentiment, as qualified him for the greatest affairs in the most respectable government in the world. For he was not only so disinterested as to plead without reward, but it appeared that even the honour to be gained in these contests was not his principal view. His ambition was military glory; and, when yet but a youth, he had fought in so many battles, that his breast was full of scars. He himself informs us that he made his first campaign at seventeen years of age, when Annibal in the height of his prosperity was laying Italy waste with fire and sword[4]. In battle he stood with a firm and steadfast foot, a powerful arm, and a fierce countenance, and spoke to his enemy in a threatening and dreadful accent; for he rightly judged, and endeavoured to convince others, that such a kind of behaviour often strikes an adversary with more terror than the sword itself. He always marched on foot, and carried his own arms, followed only by one servant who carried his provisions. And he never, it is said, was angry or found fault with that servant, whatever he set before him; but, when he was at leisure from military duty, would ease and assist him in dressing it. All the time he was in the army, he drank nothing but water, except that when almost consumed with thirst, he would ask for a little vinegar[5], or when he found his strength exhausted, he would take a little wine.

---

[2] The Latin word *catus* signifies 'prudent:' and he appears to have been the first, who bore it as a proper name.

[3] The epigrammatist, when he says that he was πανδακετης, 'one that bit every thing which came in his way,' plays upon his name of *Porcius* (qu. *Porcus*, 'Hog.')

[4] If we refer this to the year of the battle of Cannæ, A. U. C. 538., we shall find Cato, as Cicero states, was born A. U. C. 521. M. Ricard, from Cic. de Senect. iv., infers his birth to have taken place A. U. C. 519., and his first campaign A. U. C. 539.*

Near his country-seat was a cottage formerly belonging to Manius Curius[6], who was thrice honoured with a triumph. Cato often walked thither, and reflecting on the smallness of the farm and the meanness of the dwelling, used to meditate upon the peculiar virtues of the man who (though he was the most illustrious character in Rome, had subdued the fiercest nations, and driven Pyrrhus out of Italy) cultivated this little spot of ground with his own hands, and after three triumphs retired to this cottage. Here the embassadors of the Samnites found him in the chimney-corner dressing turnips, and offered him a large present of gold: but he absolutely refused it, remarking, " A man, who can be satisfied

---

[5] Οξος ψυκτικον, says Hippocrates; and, on account of this it's cooling quality, it was usually given to labourers in the harvest. (See Ruth, ii. 14.)*

[6] Manius Curius Dentatus triumphed twice in his first consulate (see Hor. I. xii. 41., Flor. i. 15.); over the Samnites, and over the Sabines. And eight years after that, in his third consulate, he triumphed over Pyrrhus. He, subsequently, led up an Ovation for his victory over the Lucanians. (L.) This great man, after so many achievements and honours, pronounced that citizen a pernicious one, who did not find seven acres of land (the quantity prescribed upon the expulsion of the kings) sufficient for his subsistence. (Plin. H. N. xviii. 3.)*

" with such a supper, has no need of gold; and I " think it more glorious to conquer the possessors " of it, than to possess it myself." Full of these thoughts, Cato returned home; and taking a view of his own estate, his servants, and his manner of living, increased his labour and retrenched his expenses.

When Fabius Maximus took the city of Tarentum, Cato, who was then very young[7], served under him. Happening at that time to lodge with a Pythagorean philosopher, named Nearchus, he desired to hear some of his doctrine; and learning from him the same maxims which Plato advances, " That pleasure " is the strongest incentive to evil; that the heaviest " burthen to the soul is the body, from which she " cannot disengage or preserve herself, but by such " a wise use of reason as shall wean and separate her " from all corporeal passions," he became still more attached to frugality and temperance. Yet it is said that he learned Greek very late, and was considerably advanced in years when he began to read the writers in that language, from whom he improved his eloquence, somewhat by Thucydides, but by Demosthenes much more. His own writings, indeed, are sufficiently adorned with precepts and examples borrowed from the Greek; and among his Maxims and Sentences we find many, which are literally translated from the same originals.

At that time there flourished a Roman nobleman of great eminence, called Valerius Flaccus, whose penetration enabled him to distinguish a youth of rising virtue, and whose benevolence inclined him to encourage and conduct him in the path of glory. This nobleman had an estate contiguous to Cato's, where he often heard his servants speak of his neighbour's laborious and temperate manner of life. They told him, that he was accustomed to go early in the morning to the little towns in the neighbourhood, and defend the causes of such as applied to him: that thence he would return to his farm, where in a coarse frock[8] if it was winter, and naked if it was summer, he would labour with his domestics, and afterward sit down with them, and partake of their bread and wine. They related also many other instances of his condescension and moderation, and mentioned several of his short sayings, full of wit and good sense. Valerius, charmed with his character, sent him an invitation to dinner. From that time, by frequent conversation he found in him so much sweetness of temper and ready wit, that he considered him as an excellent plant, which only required cultivation, and deserved to be removed to a better soil. He therefore advised and persuaded him to go to Rome, and apply himself to affairs of state.

---

[7] Fabius Maximus took Tarentum in his fifth consulate, A. U. C. 545. Cato was then twenty-three years old; but he had made his first campaign under the same Fabius five years before.

There, his pleadings soon procured him friends and admirers; the interest of Valerius, likewise, greatly assisted his rise to preferment: so that he was first made a tribune of the soldiers, and afterward quæstor. And having gained considerable reputation and honour in those employments, he was joined with Valerius himself in the highest dignities, being his collegue both as consul and as censor.

Among all the ancient senators, he attached himself chiefly to Fabius Maximus; not so much however on account of his reputation and power, as for the sake of his life and manners, which Cato considered as the best of models. So that he made no scruple of differing from the great Scipio, who though at that time but a young man, was yet through a spirit of emulation the person most hostile to Fabius' authority. For being sent quæstor with Scipio to the war in Africa, and perceiving that he indulged himself as usual in unbounded expenses, and lavished the public money upon the troops, he took the liberty to remonstrate: observing, "That the prodigality itself was not the chief evil, but the consequence of that prodigality; since it corrupted the ancient simplicity of the soldiery, who when they had more money than was necessary for their subsistence, were sure to squander it in luxury and riot." Scipio replied, "That he had no need of an excessively frugal treasurer, because he intended to spread all his sails in the ocean of war, and because his country expected from him an account of services performed, not of money expended." Upon which Cato left Sicily, and returned to Rome; where, in conjunction with Fabius, he loudly complained to the senate "Of Scipio's immense profusion, and of his passing his time like a boy in wrestling-rings and theatres, as if he had been sent out, not to make war, but to exhibit shows." In consequence of this, tribunes were sent to examine into the affair; with orders, if the accusation proved true, to bring Scipio back to Rome. Scipio represented to them, "That success depended entirely upon the magnitude of the preparations;" and made them sensible, "That though he spent his hours of leisure in a cheerful manner with his friends, his liberal mode of living had not caused him to neglect any serious or important business." With this defence the commissioners were satisfied, and he set sail for Africa.

---

[8] Εξωμις, a short and strait garment simply covering the shoulders. See A. Gell. vii. 12. In this summer-costume we have the *nudus ara* of Virgil, Georg. i. 299.*

As for Cato, he continued to gain so much authority by his eloquence, that he was commonly called 'the Roman Demosthenes;' but he was still more celebrated for his manner of living. His excellence as a speaker awakened a general emulation among the youth, to distinguish themselves in the same way, and to surpass each other: but few were willing to imitate him in the ancient custom of tilling the field with their own hands, or eating a dinner prepared without fire, and a spare frugal supper; few like him could be satisfied with a plain dress and a poor cottage, or think it more honourable not to want the superfluities of life, than to possess them. For the commonwealth now no longer retained it's primitive purity and integrity, on account of the vast extent of it's dominions; the many different affairs under it's management, and the infinite number of people subject to it's command, had introduced an amazing variety of customs and modes of living. Justly therefore was Cato entitled to admiration, when the other citizens were frightened at labour and enervated with pleasure, and he alone remained unconquered by either; not only while young and ambitious, but in his age and grey hairs, after his consulship and triumph: like a brave wrestler, who after he has come off conqueror, observes the common rules, and continues his exercises to the last.

He himself informs us, that he never wore a garment, which cost him more than a hundred drachmas; that, even when prætor or consul, he drank the same wine with his slaves; that a dinner never cost him from the market above thirty *ases:* and that he was thus frugal for the sake of his country, in order to enable himself to endure the harder service in war. He adds that, having found among some goods, to which he was heir, a piece of Babylonian tapestry, he immediately sold it; that the walls of his country-houses were neither plaistered, nor white-washed; that he never gave more for a slave than fifteen hundred drachmas, as not requiring in his servants delicate shapes and fine faces, but strength and ability to labour, that they might be fit to be employed as grooms and neat-herds; and these he thought proper to sell again when they grew old[9], that he might have no useless persons to maintain. In a word, he thought nothing cheap, that was superfluous; that what a man has no need of, is dear even at a penny; and that it is much better to have fields, where the plough goes or cattle feed, than fine gardens and walks, that require much watering and sweeping.

---

[9] He himself says in express terms, 'A master of a family should sell his old oxen, and all the horned cattle that are of a delicate frame; all his sheep that are not hardy, their wool, their very pelts; his old waggons, and the old instruments belonging to his husbandry; such likewise of his slaves, as are old or infirm, and every thing else that is useless. A master of a family should love to sell, not to buy.' What a fine contrast there is between the spirit of

Some imputed these things to a narrowness of spirit, while others supposed that he betook himself to this contracted manner of living, in order to correct by his example the growing luxury of the age. For my part, I cannot but charge his using his servants like so many beasts of burthen, and turning them off or selling them when grown old, to the account of a mean and ungenerous spirit, which accounts the sole tie between man and man interest or necessity. But goodness moves in a larger sphere than justice: the obligations of law and equity reach only to mankind, whereas mercy and beneficence should be extended to creatures of every species; and these still flow from the breast of a well-natured man, as streams that issue from a copious fountain. A good man will take care of his horses and dogs, not only while they are young, but when old and past service. Thus the people of Athens, when they had finished the temple called Hecatompedon[10], set at liberty the beasts of burthen which had been chiefly employed in that work, suffering them to pasture at large free from any farther service. It is said, that one of these subsequently came of it's own accord to work, and placing itself at the head of the labouring cattle, marched before them to the citadel. This pleased the people, and they made a decree, that it should be kept at the public charge as long as it lived. The graves of Cimon's mares, with which he thrice conquered at

---

this old stoic, and that of the liberal-minded and benevolent Plutarch! (L.) Yet Washington, the *tertius Cato* of these latter times, is said to have sold his old charger!*

[10] See the Life of Pericles, p. 23.

the Olympic games, are still to be seen near his own tomb. Many have shown particular marks of regard in burying the dogs, which they had brought up and cherished; and among the rest Xanthippus of old, whose dog swam by the side of his galley to Salamis, when the Athenians were forced to abandon their city, and was subsequently interred by his master upon a promontory to this day called 'the Dog's Grave[11].' We certainly ought not to treat living creatures like shoes or household goods, which when worn out with use, we throw away; and, were it only to teach benevolence to human kind, we should be tender and merciful to other creatures. For my own part, I would not sell even an old ox, which had laboured for me[12]; much less would I banish as it were, for the sake of a little money, a man grown old in my service from his usual place and accustomed diet; since he could be of no more use to the buyer, than he was to the seller. But Cato, as if he took a pride in these things, informs us that when consul he left his war-horse in Spain, to save the public the charge of his freight. Whether such things as these are instances of greatness or littleness of soul, let the reader judge for himself.

He was, however, a man of wonderful temperance. For, when general of the army, he took no more from the public for himself and those about him than three Attic medimni of wheat a month, and less than a medimnus and a half of barley for his horses[13]. And when he was governor of Sardinia, where his predecessors had occasioned the province enormous expenses for pavilions, bedding, and apparel, and still more by the number of their friends and attendants, and their sumptuous feasts and amusements, he on the contrary was as remarkable for his frugality. He put the public, indeed, to no kind of charge. Instead of making use of a carriage, he walked from one town to another attended only by a single officer, who carried his robe and a vessel for libations. But, if in these things he appeared plain and easy to those who were under his command, in every thing else he preserved great gravity and severity. For he was inexorable in whatever related to public justice, and inflexibly rigid in the execution of his orders; so that the Roman government had never before appeared to that people either so aweful, or so amiable[14].

---

[11] Cynos-sema. See the Life of Themistocles, I. 328.

[12] This, as M. Ricard justly observes, is surely carrying the principle too far; and would eventually do more harm than good. Gentle usage during their useful life, and a gentle dismission from it, is all that humanity or christianity claims at our hands, especially for such animals as are obviously intended for our subsistence.*

[13] See the Life of Lycurgus, I. 123.

This contrast was found not only in his manners, but in his stile, which was elegant, facetious, and familiar, and at the same time grave, sententious, and vehement. Thus Plato informs us, "The out-"side of Socrates was that of a satyr and a buffoon; "but his soul was all virtue, and from within him "issued such divine and pathetic things, as drew "tears from the hearers, and melted every heart[15]." And as the same may justly be affirmed of Cato, I cannot comprehend the meaning of those, who compare his language to that of Lysias. This, however, I leave to the decision of those, who are more capable than myself of estimating the several sorts of stile used among the Romans: and, being persuaded that a man's disposition may be discovered much better by his speech, than by his looks (though some are of a different opinion), I shall record some of Cato's remarkable sayings.

---

[14] His only amusement was to hear the instructions of the poet Ennius, under whom he learned the Greek sciences. He banished usurers from his province, and reduced the interest upon loans almost to nothing.

[15] Sympos. The effect of Socrates' eloquence upon Alcibiades is stated in the Life of the latter, p. 116. Lysias' character, which it is not requisite here to extract, may be collected from Cic. de Clar. Orat. ix., Dion. Halic. in his Life of that orator, and Quintilian x. 1. The latter writer in particular compares his eloquence to, not the rapid course of a great river, but the quiet flow of a limpid rivulet.*

One day when the Romans were making an unseasonable clamour for a division and distribution of corn, to dissuade them from it he thus began his address; "It is a difficult task, my fellow-citizens, "to speak to the belly, because it has no ears." At another time, complaining of the luxury of the Romans, he said, "It is a hard matter to save that "city from ruin, where a fish is sold for more than "an ox[16]." Upon another occasion he observed, "The Roman people are like sheep; for as those "can scarcely be brought to stir singly, but all in a "body readily follow their leaders, just such (said "he) are ye. The men, whose counsel you would "not take as individuals, lead you with ease in a "crowd." Speaking of the power of women, he remarked, "All men naturally govern the women, "we govern all men, and our wives govern us." But this is derived from the Apophthegms of Themistocles[17]. For his son directing in most things through his mother, he said, "The Athenians govern "the Greeks; I govern the Athenians; you, wife, "govern me, and your son governs you: let him "then use with moderation that power, which, child "as he is, sets him above all the Greeks." Another of Cato's sayings was, "That the Roman people "fixed the value, not only of the several kinds of "colours, but of the arts and sciences. For (added "he) as the dyers dye that sort of purple, which is "most agreeable to you, so our youth only study "and strive to excel in such things as you com"mend." Exhorting the people to virtue, he said,

---

[16] Luxury was now rapidly making it's way at the tables of Rome. Athenæus vi. 19. states, after Polybius, that salt-fish from the Black Sea sold for nearly twelve guineas a-piece! But see, for instances of still greater extravagance in Tiberius' time in epicurism, spectacles, furniture, &c., Suet. Tib. xxxiv.*

[17] See his Life, I. 339.

" If it is by virtue and temperance, that you are " become great, change not for the worse; but, if " by intemperance and vice, change for the better: " for you are already great enough by such means " as these." Of persons perpetually soliciting for high offices he observed, " Like men, who know " not their way, they want lictors always to conduct " them." He found fault with the people, for often choosing the same persons consuls; " You either " (said he) think the consulate of small worth, or " that there is but a small number worthy of the " consulate." Concerning one of his enemies, who led a very profligate and infamous life, he remarked; " His mother takes it for a curse, and not a prayer, " when any one wishes her son may survive her." Pointing to a man, who had sold a paternal estate near the sea-side, he pretended to admire him, as one who was stronger than the sea itself; " For " (said he) what the sea could not have swallowed " without difficulty, this man has taken down with " all imaginable ease." When king Eumenes came to Rome, the senate received him with extraordinary respect, and the principal citizens strove which should do him the most honour, but Cato visibly neglected and shunned him. Upon which somebody inquired, " Why do you shun Eumenes, who " is so good a man, and so great a friend to the " Romans?" " That may be," answered Cato, " but I look upon a king as a creature that feeds " upon human flesh[18]; and, of all kings who have " been so much celebrated, I find not one to be " compared with an Epaminondas, a Pericles, a " Themistocles, a Manius Curius, or with Hamilcar " Barcas." He used to say, that " His enemies " hated him, because he neglected his own concerns, " and rose before day to mind those of the public. " But that he would rather his good actions should

---

[18] This jest is taken from the phrase in Homer (Il. i. 231.) δημοβορος βασιλευς, ' a people-devouring king.'

"go unrewarded, than his bad ones unpunished; "and that he pardoned every body's faults with "greater ease than his own." The Romans having sent three embassadors to the king of Bithynia, of whom one had the gout, another had his skull trepanned, and the third was accounted little better than a fool, Cato smiled and observed; "They had "sent an embassy, which had neither feet, head, "nor heart[19]." When Scipio applied to him at the request of Polybius in behalf of the Achæan exiles[20], and the matter was much canvassed in the senate, some speaking in favour of their restoration and some against it, Cato rose up and said; "As if we "had nothing else to do, we sit here all day debating, whether a few poor old Greeks shall be buried "by our grave-diggers, or by those of their own "country?" The senate then decreed, that the exiles should return home; and Polybius some days afterward endeavoured to procure another meeting of that body, to restore those exiles to their former honours in Achaia. Upon this affair he sounded Cato, who answered smiling, "This was just as if "Ulysses should have wished to enter the Cyclops' "cave again for a hat and a belt, which he had left "behind!" It was a saying of his, "That wise "men learn more from fools, than fools from wise "men; for the wise avoid the errors of fools, "while fools do not profit by the examples of the "wise." Another of his sayings was, "That he "liked a young man who blushed, more than one "who turned pale: and that he did not approve a "soldier, who moved his hands in marching and

---

[19] Some ancients, says M. Ricard, particularly Aristotle and the stoics, placed the soul or understanding in the heart.*

[20] The Achæans had entered into measures for delivering up their country to the king of Persia: but, being detected, a thousand of them were seized, and compelled to live exiles in Italy. There they continued seventeen years; after which about three hundred, who were still living, were restored by a decree of the senate specially enacted in favour of Polybius, one of the number. (See Supp. Liv. xlix. 3.)

" his feet in fighting, and who snored louder in bed " than he shouted in battle." Jesting upon a very fat man, he asked, " Of what service to his country " can such a body be, which from the throat to the " groin is nothing but belly?" When an epicure desired to be admitted into his friendship, he remarked, " He could not live with a man, whose " palate had quicker sensations than his heart." He used to say, " The soul of a lover lived in the body " of another:" And that, " In all his life, he had " never repented but of three things: the first, that " he had trusted a woman with a secret; the second, " that he had gone by sea when he might have gone " by land; and the third, that he had passed one " day without having a will by him[21]." To an old debauchee he observed, " Old age has deformities " enow of it's own; do not add to it that of vice." A tribune of the people, who had the character of a poisoner, proposing a bad law and strenuously exerting himself to get it passed, Cato said to him, " Young man, I know not whether is the " more dangerous; to drink what you mix, or to " enact what you propose." Being scurrilously treated by a man, who had led a dissolute and infamous life, he said, " It is upon very unequal terms " that I contend with you; for you are accustomed " to hear reproach, and can utter it with pleasure; " but with me it is disagreeable to utter, and unusual to hear it." Such was the manner of his repartees, and short sayings.

Being appointed consul along with his friend Valerius Flaccus, the government of that part of Spain which the Romans call *Citerior*, ' Hither,' fell to his lot[22]. While he was subduing some of the nations there by arms, and winning others by kindness, a large army of barbarians fell upon him, and he was in danger of being driven out with dishonour. Upon this occasion, he sent to desire succours of his neighbours the Celtiberians, who demanded two hundred talents for that service. All the officers of his army thought it intolerable, that the Romans should be obliged to purchase assistance of the barbarians. But Cato said, "It is no such great hardship: for if "we conquer, we shall pay them at the enemy's ex-"pense; and, if we are conquered, there will be no-"body either to pay or to make the demand." He gained the battle, and every thing subsequently succeeded to his wish. Polybius informs us, that the walls of all the Spanish towns on this side the river Bætis were rased by his command in one day[23], notwithstanding their numbers and the bravery of their inhabitants. Cato himself informs us, that he took more cities than he spent days in Spain, nor was it a false boast; for they were actually not fewer than four hundred[24]. Though this campaign afforded the soldiers much booty, he gave each of them a pound weight of silver besides; saying, "It is better that

---

[21] Αδιαϑετος. This has been misunderstood by all the translators who have agreed in rendering it, ' that he had passed one day idly.' (L.) M. Ricard follows the old interpretation. Langhorne's is after Meiziriac.*

[22] As Cato's troops consisted for the most part of raw soldiers, he took great pains to discipline them; knowing that they had to

---

deal with the Spaniards, who in their wars with the Romans and Carthaginians had learned the military art, and were naturally brave and courageous. Before he came to action, he sent away his fleet, that his soldiers might place all their hopes in their valour. With the same view, when he came near the enemy, he made a circuit, and posted his army behind them in the plain; so that the Spaniards were between him and his camp. The province here spoken of constituted nearly the northern half of Spain.

[23] As the dread of his name procured him great respect in all the provinces beyond the Iberus (*hod.* Ebro), he wrote on the same day private letters to the commanders of several fortified towns, ordering them to demolish without delay their fortifications; and assuring them, that he would pardon none, but such as readily complied with his orders. Every one of the commanders, believing the orders to be sent only to himself, immediately beat down their walls and towers. (Liv. xxxiv. 15.)

[24] This number is more agreeable to the calculation of Ptolemy, who computes the cities, &c. of old Spain at three hundred and eighty, than to that of Pliny, who only makes them amount to one hundred and eighty-four.

“ many of the Romans should return with silver in “ their pockets, than a few with gold.” And for his own part he assures us, that of the whole of what was taken in the war, nothing came to his share but what he eat and drank: “ Not that I blame (says “ he) those, who seek their own advantage in these “ things; but I had rather contend for valour with “ the brave, than for wealth with the rich, or in “ rapaciousness with the covetous.” And he not only kept himself free from extortion, but all those likewise who were under his immediate direction. He had five servants with him in this expedition, one of whom, named Paccus, had purchased three boys from among the prisoners: but when he understood that his master was informed of it, unable to meet his eye, he hanged himself. Upon which Cato sold the boys, and put the money into the public treasure.

While he was settling the affairs of Spain, Scipio the Great, who was his enemy, and wished to interrupt the course of his success and to have the finishing of the war himself, managed matters so as to get himself appointed his successor. After which, he made all possible haste to take from him the command of the army. But Cato, hearing of his march, set off with five companies of foot and five hundred horse, as a convoy to attend upon Scipio; and on his way defeated the Lacetanians [22], and took among them six hundred Roman deserters, whom he caused to be put to death. And, upon Scipio’s expressing his displeasure at this, he answered ironically; “ Rome would be great indeed, if men of “ birth would not yield the palm of virtue to ple- “ beians, and if plebeians like himself would contend “ for excellence with men of birth.” Besides, as the senate had decreed that nothing should be disturbed or altered which Cato had established, the post which Scipio had so anxiously solicited rather

[25] A small Catalonian tribe, near the foot of the Pyrenees.*

tarnished his own glory, than that of Cato; for he continued inactive during that government.

In the mean time, Cato was honoured with a triumph. But he did not afterward remit or lessen his efforts like those, whose ambition is only for fame, and not for virtue; and who having reached the highest honours, borne the office of consul, and led up triumphs, withdraw from public business and give the rest of their days to ease and pleasure. On the contrary, like those who are just entered upon business, and thirst for honour and renown, he exerted himself as if he were beginning his race anew; his services being always ready both for his friends in particular, and for the citizens in general, either at the bar or in the field. For he went with the consul Tiberius Sempronius to Thrace and the Danube [26], as his lieutenant. And he attended Manius Acilius Glabrio as a legionary tribune into Greece, in the war against Antiochus the Great; who, next to Annibal, was the most formidable opponent the Romans ever encountered. For having recovered almost all the provinces of Asia which Seleucus Nicanor had possessed, and reduced many warlike nations of barbarians, he was so much elated, as to think the Romans the only enemies worthy of his prowess. Accordingly he crossed the sea with a powerful army, colouring his design with the specious pretence of restoring liberty to the Greeks; of which however they stood in no need, having been lately rescued by the kindness of the Romans from the yoke of Philip and the Macedonians [27], and rendered independent.

---

[26] The year after his consulship. Examples of this condescension, in generals and men of consular quality, abound in Roman history. Epaminondas, after having several times filled the high appointment of bœotarch, stooped to accept a small police-office, and discharged it with the most scrupulous attention and punctuality.*

[27] By Titus Quinctius Flaminius, who proclaimed the independence of Greece at the Isthmian games, A. U. C. 558. See his Life, III. 43.

Upon his approach, all Greece was in the utmost commotion, and unresolved how to act; being corrupted with the splendid hopes infused by the orators, whom Antiochus had gained. Acilius, therefore, sent embassadors to the several states; Titus Flaminius appeased the disturbances, and as I have related in his Life, without having recourse to any violent means, retained most of the Greeks in the Roman interest; and Cato confirmed the people of Corinth, as well as those of Patræ and Ægium, in their duty. He also made a considerable stay at Athens; and there is still extant (it is said) a speech of his, which he delivered to the Athenians in Greek, expressing his admiration of the virtue of their ancestors, and his satisfaction in beholding the beauty and grandeur of their city. But this account is not true, for he spoke to them by an interpreter. Not that he was ignorant of Greek; but he chose to adhere to the customs of his country, and laugh at those who admired nothing but what was Greek. He therefore ridiculed Posthumius Albinus, who had written a history in that language and apologised for his improprieties of expression; saying, "He "ought to be excused, if he wrote it by command "of the Amphictyons." We are assured, that the Athenians admired the strength and conciseness of his language; for what he delivered in few words, the interpreter was obliged to make use of many, fully to explain; so as to convince them, that the expressions of the Greeks flowed only from the lips, while those of the Romans came from the heart[23].

Antiochus having blocked up the narrow pass of Thermopylæ with his troops, and added walls and entrenchments to the natural fortifications of the place, sat down there unconcerned, thinking the war could not touch him. And, indeed, the Romans despaired of forcing the pass. But Cato, recollecting the circuit which the Persians had taken upon a like occasion[29], set out in the night with a proper detachment.

---

[23] There cannot be a stronger instance than this, that the brief expression of the Spartans was owing to the native simplicity of their manners and the sincerity of their hearts. It was the expression of nature. Artificial and circumlocutory expressions, like licentious paintings, are the consequences of licentious life.

When they had advanced a considerable height, the guide who was one of the prisoners missed his way, and wandering about among impracticable places and precipices, threw the soldiers into inexpressible dread and despair. Cato, observing the danger, ordered his forces to halt; while he with one Lucius Manlius, who was dextrous in climbing the steep mountains[30], went forward with great difficulty and at the hazard of his life at midnight without any moon, scrambling among wild olive-trees and steep rocks, which still more impeded his view and added darkness to the obscurity. At last, they hit upon a path, which seemed to lead down to the enemy's camp. There they set up marks on some of the most conspicuous rocks upon the top of the mountain Callidromus, and returning the same way took the whole party with them; conducting them by the direction of the marks, and thus regaining the path which they had left, where they made a proper disposition of the troops. They had marched but a little farther, when the path failed them, and they saw nothing before them but a precipice, which distressed them still more; for they could not yet perceive, that they were near the enemy.

The day now began to appear, when one of them thought he heard the sound of human voices, and soon afterward they saw the Grecian camp and the advanced guard at the foot of the rock. Cato therefore made a halt, and sent to acquaint the Firmians, that he wished to speak with them in private[31]. These were troops, whose fidelity and courage he had experienced upon the most dangerous occasions. They immediately hastened into his presence, when he thus addressed them: "I am desirous of taking "one of the enemy alive, to learn from him who "they are that compose this advanced guard, and "how many in number; and to be informed what "is the disposition and order of their whole army, "and what preparations they have made to receive "us. But the business requires the speed and impetuosity of lions, who rush into a herd of timorous beasts."

---

[29] In the Persian war, Leonidas with only three hundred Spartans sustained the shock of an innumerable multitude in the pass of Thermopylæ, until the barbarians taking a circuit round the mountains by bye-ways came upon him from behind, and cut his party in pieces.

[30] The mountains to the east of the straits of Thermopylæ are comprehended under the name of Œta, and the highest of them is called Callidromus, at the foot of which is a road sixty feet broad. (Liv. xxxvi. 15., and Strabo ix.)

When Cato had finished speaking, the Firmians without farther preparation poured down the mountain, surprised the advanced guard, dispersed them, took one armed man, and brought him to Cato. This prisoner told him, that the main body of the army was encamped with the king in the narrow pass, and that the detachment which guarded the heights consisted of six hundred select Ætolians. Cato despising these troops, on account as well of their number as of their negligence[32], drew his sword the first, and rushed upon them with all the alarm of voices and trumpets. The Ætolians no sooner saw him descend from the precipices, than they fled to the main body, and threw the whole into the utmost confusion.

At the same time, Manius forced Antiochus' entrenchments below, and poured into the pass with his army. Antiochus himself being wounded in the mouth with a stone, and having some of his teeth struck out, the anguish obliged him to turn his horse and retire. After his retreat, no part of his army could withstand the shock of the Romans; and though there appeared no hopes of escaping by flight, on account of the straitness of the road, the deep marshes on one side and the rocky eminences on the other, they yet crowded along through those narrow passages, and pushing each other down from fear of being destroyed by the Romans, miserably perished.

---

[31] Firmium was a Roman colony in the Picene, *hod.* the March of Ancona.

[32] The ολιγοτης and ολιγωρια of the original include a *jeu de mot*, which can hardly ever be preserved in a version.*

Cato, who was never sparing in his own praises, and thought boasting a natural attendant on great actions, is very pompous in his account of this exploit: "Those, who saw him charging the enemy "(he states), routing and pursuing them, declared "that Cato owed less to the people of Rome, than "the people of Rome to Cato; and that the consul "Manius himself, coming hot from the fight, took "him in his arms as he likewise came in panting "with exertion, and embracing him a long time "cried out in a transport of joy, that 'Neither he "nor the whole Roman people could sufficiently "reward Cato's merit.'"

Immediately after the battle, the consul sent him with an account of it to Rome, that he might be the first to carry the news of his own achievement. He had a favourable wind to Brundusium: thence he reached Tarentum in one day; and, having travelled four days more, arrived at Rome the fifth day after he landed, and was the first who brought the intelligence of the victory. His arrival filled the city with sacrifices and other testimonies of joy, and gave the people so high an opinion of themselves, that they now believed there could be no bounds by sea or land to their empire.

These are the most remarkable of Cato's actions. With respect to civil affairs, he appears to have thought the impeaching of offenders and bringing them to justice, a thing which well deserved his attention. For he prosecuted several, and encouraged and assisted others in carrying on their prosecutions. Thus he set up Petilius against Scipio the Great:

but, secure in the dignity of his family and his own magnanimity, Scipio treated the accusation with the utmost contempt. Cato, perceiving that he would not be capitally condemned, dropped the prosecution: but, in concert with some other accusers, he impeached his brother Lucius Scipio, who was sentenced to pay a fine beyond his ability, so that he was in danger of imprisonment; and it was not without great difficulty, by appealing to the tribunes, that he was dismissed[33].

We have also an account of a young man, that had procured a verdict against an enemy of his father who was lately dead, and got him stigmatised. Cato met him, as he was passing through the Forum, and taking him by the hand addressed him in these words: "It is thus that we are to sacrifice to the "*manes* of our parents, not with the blood of goats "and lambs, but with the tears and condemnation "of their enemies."

Cato, however, did not escape these attacks; but, whenever in the business of the state he gave the least handle, he was invariably prosecuted, and sometimes in danger of being condemned. For it is said, that nearly fifty impeachments were brought against him; the last, when he was eighty-six years of age: upon which occasion he made use of the memorable expression, "It is hard that I, who have "lived with men of one generation, should be ob- "liged to make my defence to those of another." Neither was this the end of his contests at the bar; for four years afterward, at the age of ninety[34], he impeached Servilius Galba: so that like Nestor he lived three generations, and like him too was always in action. In short, after having constantly opposed Scipio in matters of government, he lived until the time of Scipio the Younger his adopted grandson, and the son of Paulus Æmilius who conquered Perseus and the Macedonians.

---

[33] This unbounded privilege of impeachment, like all great advantages, was liable to great perversion: and even Cato himself does not seem, in exercising it, to have uniformly kept his eye upon the public interest.*

[34] Plutarch here is not consistent with himself. Toward the beginning of this life he says, that Cato was but seventeen years old at the time of Annibal's success in Italy; and at the conclusion he informs us, that he died at the beginning of the third Punic war. But the battle of Cannæ took place A. U. C. 538; and the third Punic war broke out, A. U. C. 605. According to this computa-

Ten years after his consulship, Cato stood for the office of censor, the apex of all civil honour, and the winding up as it were of all the dignities of state. For, beside the other authority with which this office was invested, it gave the magistrate a right of inquiry into the lives and manners of the citizens. The Romans did not think it proper, that any one should be left to follow his own inclinations without inspection or control, either in marriage, in the procreation of children, in his table, or in his society. But, convinced that in these private scenes of life a man's real character was much more distinguishable than in his public and political transactions, they appointed two magistrates, the one out of the patricians and the other out of the plebeians, to inspect, regulate, and chastise such as they found inclined to dissipation and licentiousness, and deserting the ancient and established modes of living. These great officers were called Censors, and invested with power to deprive a Roman knight of his horse, or to expel a senator who led a vicious and disorderly life. They likewise took an estimate of each citizen's estate, and enrolled them according to their pedigree and condition.

This office has several other great prerogatives annexed to it[35]: and therefore, when Cato solicited it, the principal senators opposed him. The motive to this opposition, with some of the patricians, was envy; for they regarded it as a disgrace to the no-

---

tion, Cato could not be more than eighty-five years old when he died, A. U. C. 606; and this account is confirmed by Cicero de Clar. Orat. xx. See also Plin. H. N. xxix. 1.

[35] See the Life of Camillus, I. 363., not. (5.)

bility, that persons of a mean and obscure origin should be elevated to the highest honour in the state. With others, it was fear; for, conscious that their lives were vicious, and that they had departed from the ancient simplicity of manners, they dreaded the austerity of Cato, because they apprehended that he would be stern and inexorable in his office. Having consulted and prepared their measures, they set up seven competitors in opposition to him; and, imagining that the people wished to be governed with an easy hand, soothed them with the hopes of a mild censorship. Cato on the contrary, without condescending to the least complaisance, in his speeches from the Rostrum professed his resolution to punish every instance of vice; and loudly declaring that the city required thorough reformation, conjured the people, if they were wise, to choose not the mildest, but the severest physician. He told them, that he himself was one of that character, and among the patricians Valerius Flaccus was another; and that with him for his collegue, and him alone, he could hope to render good service to the commonwealth, by effectually cutting off and searing the hydra-like luxury and effeminacy of the times. He added, that he saw others pressing into the censorship, in order to exercise it negligently, because they were afraid of such as would discharge it faithfully.

The Roman people upon this occasion showed themselves truly great, and worthy of the best of leaders: for, far from dreading the severity of this inflexible man, they rejected those smoother candidates who seemed ready to consult their pleasure in every thing, and chose Valerius Flaccus with Cato; attending to the latter, not as one who solicited the office of censor, but as one who, already possessed of it, gave out his orders by virtue of his authority.

Cato then named his friend and collegue Lucius Valerius Flaccus chief of the senate, and expel many others from the house; particularly Quinctius, who had been consul seven ye and (what was a still higher honour) was brother to Titus Flaminius, the conqueror of king Philip.

The cause of his expulsion was the following: Lucius was strongly attached to a favourite boy, whom he always kept near him, and carried with him even when he commanded armies, and who had greater influence and interest with him than any of his most intimate friends. When Lucius was resident in his proconsular province, one day as they were drinking, this boy (who sat next him, as usual) among other fulsome attentions to his master, a man easily manageable in his cups, said; "I love you "so tenderly, that I left at home a show of gladia- "tors, which I had never seen before, in order to "come to you, though I long to see a man killed." "In return for this favour," he replied, "you shall "not sit uneasily at my table: I will soon cure "your longing." Upon which, he ordered a convict to be brought into the room, where they were carousing: and sending for one of his lictors with an ax, he again asked his minion, whether he wished to see the execution; and, on his answering in the affirmative, commanded the criminal's head to be struck off. The story is thus told by most writers, and Cicero (in his Dialogue on Old Age) introduces Cato giving this account of the matter. Livy however states, that the person slain was a Gaulish deserter, and that Lucius killed him not by the lictor, but with his own hand; and for this, he quotes the authority of Cato himself.

Lucius being thus expelled from the senate by Cato, his brother indignantly appealed to the people, and summoned Cato to assign his reason for the expulsion. And, while he was relating in full detail the transaction of the banquet, Lucius[37] attempted to deny the thing; but upon Cato's tendering to him an oath, he shrunk from it, and his expulsion was therefore pronounced valid. On a subsequent exhibition of shows however, the people had pity upon him, as he passed by the consular seat and placed himself as far from it as he could, and called him back; to the utmost of their power correcting, and healing, what had taken place.

---

[37] It seems probable, from a subsequent and nearly identical ac- [illegible] this expulsion (in the Life of Flaminius, III. 55.), that we [illegible] 'Titus' in this place. See also Livy xxxix. 41. The [illegible] by a capricious delicacy in Langhorne, is omitted in [illegible] inserted almost *verbatim* in the Life just quoted.*

He expelled also Manilius another senator, whom the general opinion had marked out for consul, because he had given his wife a kiss in the day-time in the sight of his daughter. "For his own part," he said, "his wife never embraced him, except "when it thundered dreadfully;" adding, by way of joke, "That he was happy, when Jupiter was "pleased to thunder."

He was censured as having merely indulged his envy in degrading Lucius, who was brother to Scipio the Great, and had been honoured with a triumph; for he took from him his horse, and it was believed he did it to insult the memory of Scipio Africanus. But there was another thing, which rendered him more generally obnoxious; and that was the reformation, which he introduced with respect to luxury. To begin his attack upon it openly was impossible, because the whole body of the people was infected, and he therefore took an indirect method. He caused an estimate to be made of all apparel, carriages, female ornaments, furniture, and utensils; and whatever exceeded fifteen hundred drachmas in value, he rated at ten times as much, and imposed a tax according to that valuation. For every thousand *ases*, he made them pay three; in order that those who found themselves burthened with the tax, while the modest and frugal with equal substance paid much less to the public, might be induced to retrench their appearance. This procured him many enemies, not only among those, who rather than part with their luxury submitted to the impost, but among those likewise who lessened their expenses to avoid it. For the generality of mankind think, that a prohibition to show their wealth is the same thing as taking it away; and that opulence is seen in the superfluities, not in the necessaries of life. And this (we are told) was what surprised Aristo the philosopher; for he could not comprehend, why those who are possessed of superfluities should be accounted happy, rather than those who abound in what is necessary and useful. But Scopas the Thessalian, when one of his friends asked him for something which could be of little use or convenience to him, and gave that as a reason why he should grant his request, replied; "It is in these "useless and superfluous things, that I am rich and "happy." Thus the desire of wealth, far from being a natural passion, is an adventitious and foreign one, arising from vulgar opinion.

Cato paid no regard to these complaints, but rather increased his rigour. He cut off the pipes, by which people conveyed water from the public fountains into their houses and gardens, and demolished all the buildings which projected into the streets. He lowered the price of public works, and farmed out the public revenues at the highest rent which they could bear. By these things he brought himself into great odium: so that Titus Flaminius and his party attacked him, and prevailed upon the senate to annul the contracts, which he had made for repairing the temples and public buildings, as detrimental to the state. They farther incited the boldest of the tribunes to accuse him to the people, and fine him two talents. They likewise vehemently opposed him with regard to a hall, which he built at the public charge below the senate-house by the Forum, called 'the Porcian Hall.'

The people, however, appear to have been highly pleased with his behaviour in this office. For when they erected his statue in the temple of Health, they made no mention on the pedestal of his victories and his triumph, but the inscription was to this effect: " In honour of Cato the Censor, who when the Roman commonwealth was declining and leaning to decay, set it upright again by salutary discipline and wise ordinances and institutions."

Before this, he had ridiculed those who were fond of such honours, and said; " They were not aware " that they plumed themselves upon the workman- " ship of founders, statuaries, and painters, while " the Romans bore about a more glorious image of " him in their hearts." And to those who expressed their wonder that, while many persons of little note had their statues, Cato had none, he replied; " He " had much rather it should be asked, why he had " not a statue, than why he had one." In short, he was of opinion that a good citizen should not even accept his due praise, unless it tended to the advantage of the community. Yet, of all men, he was the most forward to commend himself: for he informs us that those who were guilty of misdemeanors, and afterward reproved for them, used to say, " They " were excusable; they were not Catos[38]:" and that such as imitated some of his actions, but did it awkwardly, were called ' left-handed Catos.' He adds, " That the senate in dangerous times cast " their eyes upon him, as passengers in a ship do " upon the pilot in a storm:" and " That, when " he happened to be absent, they frequently defer- " red the consideration of matters of importance." These particulars, indeed, are confirmed by other writers; for his life, his eloquence, and his age, gave him great authority in Rome.

He was a good father, a kind husband, and an excellent economist. And as he did not think the care of his family a mean and trifling thing, demanding only a superficial attention, it may be of use to give some account of his conduct in that respect.

---

[38] Thus had his name become proverbial for moral correctness. Witness, too, the

Tertius è cœlo cecidit Cato. (Juv. ii. 40.)

He chose his wife rather for her family, than her fortune; persuaded that, though women of both descriptions have their pride and self-consequence, yet those of good families are more ashamed of any base action, and more obedient to their husbands in every thing that is honourable. He used to say, that they who beat their wives or children, laid their sacrilegious hands on the most sacred things in the world; and that he preferred the character of a good husband to that of a great senator. And he admired nothing more in Socrates, than his having lived in an easy and quiet manner with an ill-tempered wife and stupid children. When he had a son born, no business however urgent, except it related to the public, could hinder him from being present while his wife washed and swaddled the infant. For she suckled it herself; nay, she often gave the breast to her servants' babes, to inspire them with a brotherly regard for her own.

As soon as the dawn of understanding appeared, Cato took upon himself the office of schoolmaster to his son, though he had a slave named Chilo, who was a respectable grammarian and taught several other children. But he did not choose (he informs us) that his son should be reprimanded by a slave, or pulled by the ears if he happened to be slow in learning, or indebted to so mean a person for his education. He was, therefore, himself his preceptor in grammar, in law, and in the necessary exercises. For he taught him not only how to throw a dart, to fight hand to hand, and to ride, but to box, to endure heat and cold, and to swim in the roughest and most rapid parts of the river. He wrote histories for him, he farther acquaints us, with his own hand in large characters; so that, without stirring out of his father's house, he might gain a knowledge of the illustrious actions of the ancient

Romans and of the customs of his country. He was as careful not to utter an indecent word[39] before his son, as he would have been in the presence of the vestal virgins; neither did he ever bathe with him. A regard to decency in this respect was, indeed, at that time general among the Romans: for even sons-in-law avoided bathing with their fathers-in-law, not choosing to appear undressed and naked before them. The Greeks however subsequently taught them not to be so scrupulous in uncovering themselves, and they in their turn taught the Greeks to bathe naked even before the women.

While Cato was adopting such excellent measures for forming his son to virtue, he found him naturally ductile both in genius and inclination; but as his body was too weak to undergo much hardship, his father was obliged to relax the severity of his discipline, and to indulge him a little in point of diet. Yet even with this constitution he was an excellent soldier, and particularly distinguished himself under Paulus Æmilius in the battle against Perseus. Upon this occasion his sword happening to be struck from his hand, the moisture of which prevented him from grasping it firmly, he turned to some of his companions with deep concern, and implored their assistance in recovering it. He then rushed with them into the midst of the enemy, and having with extraordinary efforts cleared the place where the sword was lost, he at last found it under heaps of arms and dead bodies of friends, as well as enemies, piled upon each other[40]. Paulus Æmilius admired this gallant action of the young man; and there is a letter still extant, written by Cato to his son, in which he extremely commends his activity and high sense of honour expressed in the recovery of that sword.

---

[39] How strongly does Juvenal press this most important particular upon a parent's notice!

Maxima debetur puero reverentia, &c.

(Sat. xiv. 47.)*

[40] See the Life of Paulus Æmilius, p. 309.*

The young man subsequently married Tertia, daughter to Paulus Æmilius and sister to young Scipio; the honour of which alliance was as much owing to his own, as to his father's merit. Thus Cato's care in the education of his son answered the end proposed.

He had many slaves whom he purchased among the captives taken in war, always choosing the youngest and such as were most capable of instruction, like whelps or colts that may be trained at pleasure. None of these slaves ever went into any other man's house, except they were sent by Cato or his wife; and if any of them was asked what his master was doing, he always answered, "He did not know." For it was a rule with Cato, to have his slaves either employed in the house, or asleep; and he liked those best who slept the most kindly, believing that they were better-tempered than such as enjoyed less of that refreshment, and fitter for any kind of business. And, as he knew that slaves will stick at nothing to gratify their passion for women, he allowed them to have the company of his female slaves, upon paying a certain price, but under a strict prohibition of approaching any other women.

When he was a young soldier, and as yet in low circumstances, he never found fault with any thing that was served up to his table, but thought it a shame to quarrel with a servant on account of his palate. Yet afterward, when he was possessed of an easy fortune and made entertainments for his friends and the principal officers, as soon as dinner was over, he never failed to correct with leathern thongs such of his slaves as had not given due attendance, or had suffered any thing to be spoiled. He contrived means to raise quarrels among his servants, and to keep them at variance, ever suspecting and fearing some bad consequence from their unanimity[41]. And when any of them were guilty of a capital crime, he gave them a formal trial, and in the presence of their fellow-servants put them to death.

---

[41] These were surely discreditable instances of petty vanity, or mean suspicion, and wholly unworthy of a great man.*

As his thirst after wealth increased, and he found agriculture rather amusing than profitable, he turned his thoughts to surer dependences; and employed his money in purchasing ponds, hot-baths, places proper for fullers, and estates in good condition having pasture-ground and wood-lands. From these he derived a great revenue; "such a one (he used to "say) as Jupiter himself could not disappoint "him of[42]."

He practised the most blameable kind of usury, that upon ships. His method was to insist, that those whom he furnished with money should take a great number into partnership. When there were at least fifty of them and as many ships, he demanded one share for himself, to be managed by Quintio his freedman, who sailed and trafficked along with them. Thus, though his gain was considerable, he did not risk his capital, but only a small part of it.

He likewise lent money to such of his slaves, as chose it; and they employed it in purchasing boys, who were subsequently instructed and fitted for service at Cato's expense; and being sold at the year's end by auction, Cato took several of them himself at the price of the highest bidder, deducting it out of what he had lent. To incline his son to the same economy, he told him, "That to diminish his sub-"stance was not the part of a man, but of a widow." Yet he carried the thing to extravagance, when he ventured to assert, "That the man truly wonderful "and godlike, and fit to be registered in the lists of "glory, was he, from the final balance of whose ac-"counts it appeared, that he had more than doubled "what he had received from his ancestors."

When Cato was far advanced in years, there arrived at Rome two embassadors from Athens[43], Carneades the academic, and Diogenes the stoic. These envoys were sent to negociate the remission of a fine of five hundred talents, which had been imposed upon the Athenians for contumacy by the Sicyonians, at the suit of the people of Oropus[44]. On the arrival of these philosophers, such of the Roman youth as had a taste for learning waited upon them, and heard them with wonder and delight. Above all, they were charmed with the graceful manners of Carneades; the force of whose eloquence, accompanied by an adequate reputation, had drawn an audience of the politest and most considerable persons in Rome, and the sound of whose fame like a mighty wind had filled the whole city. The report ran, that there was come from Greece a man of astonishing faculties, whose more than human powers could soothe and soften the fiercest passions, and who had made so strong an impression upon their youth, that forgetting all other pleasures and diversions they were quite seized by an enthusiastic love of philosophy.

---

[42] By hail-stones, excessive rains, droughts, &c.*

The Romans were transported to find it so; nor could they without uncommon pleasure behold their sons thus fondly embrace the Grecian literature, and follow these wonderful teachers. But Cato, from the beginning, was alarmed at it. He no sooner perceived this passion for the Grecian learning begin to prevail, than he was afraid that the young men would turn their ambition that way, and prefer the glory of eloquence to that of deeds of arms. But when he found that the reputation of these philosophers rose still higher, and that their first speeches were translated[45] into Latin by Caius Acilius a senator of great distinction, who had earnestly begged the favour of interpreting them, he lost all patience, and resolved upon some specious pretence, to procure their dismission.

---

[43] Aulus Gellius (vii. 14.) mentions a third, Critolaüs the Peripatetic.

[44] The Athenians had plundered the city of Oropus. Upon complaint made by the inhabitants, the affair was referred to the determination of the Sicyonians, and the Athenians not attending to justify themselves were fined five hundred talents. See Suppl, Liv. xxvii. 24., and Pausan. vii. 2.

He went therefore to the senate, and complained against the magistrates for so long detaining embassadors, who could persuade the people to whatever they pleased: "You ought," said he, "to determine "their affair as speedily as possible; that returning "to their schools they may declaim to the youth of "Greece, and that ours may give attention as before "to the laws and the magistrates." This he did, induced not by any particular pique to Carneades (which some suppose to have been the case) but by his aversion from philosophy, and his making it a point to show his contempt of the polite studies and learning of the Greeks. Nay, he scrupled not to affirm, "That Socrates himself was a prating "seditious fellow, who used his utmost endeavours "to tyrannise over his country by abolishing it's "customs, and seducing the people to opinions "contrary to the laws[46]." And, to ridicule the slow methods of Isocrates' teaching, he said, "His "scholars grew old in learning their art, as if they "intended to exercise it in pleading causes in the "shades below." Nay, to dissuade his son from those studies, he told him in a louder tone than could be expected from a man of his age, and as it were in an oracular and prophetic way, "That when

---

[45] The translators of Plutarch have not suffered this testimony, in favour of *translation*, to escape their notice. They even quote another instance of the honour, in which it was held; when the Roman senate voted their thanks to Pompey, for having published a version of some treatises of Hippocrates, &c., found in the strong-box of Mithridates.*

[46] Surely, as M. Ricard observes, a most unjust censure! as no one could show more respect to the laws than he, who refused to break them by escaping from prison—even to save his life. The customs and opinions, which he sought to supersede, were notoriously pernicious; and, in endeavouring to effect his purpose, he used only the legitimate arms of persuasion and example.*

“ the Romans came thoroughly to imbibe the Gre- “ cian literature, they would lose the empire of the “ world.” But time has shown the emptiness of that invidious assertion; for Rome was never at a higher pitch of grandeur, than when she was most perfect in the Grecian erudition, and most attentive to all kinds of learning[47].

Neither was Cato an enemy to the Grecian philosophers alone; he looked upon the physicians, also, with a suspicious eye. He had heard, it seems, of the answer which Hippocrates returned to the king of Persia, when he sent for him and offered him a reward of many talents; “ I will never make “ use of my art in favour of barbarians, who are “ enemies to the Greeks.” This (he said) was an oath, which all the physicians had taken, and he therefore advised his son to beware of them all. He added that he himself had written a little treatise, in which he had set down his own method of cure[48] and the regimen he prescribed, when any of his family were sick: that he never recommended fasting, but allowed them herbs, with duck, pigeon, or hare; such kinds of diet being light and suitable for sick people, having no inconvenience except that of producing dreams; and that with these remedies, and this regimen, he had preserved himself and his family. But his self-sufficiency in this respect did not go unpunished: for he lost both his wife, and his son. He himself, indeed, by his strong make and good habit of body lasted long; so that even when old, he frequently indulged his inclination for the sex, and at an unseasonable age took a young woman to wife.

---

[47] Rome had indeed a very extensive empire in the Augustan age, but at the same time she had lost her ancient constitution and her liberty. Not that the learning of the Romans contributed to that loss: their irreligion, their luxury, and their corruption occasioned it.

[48] Cato was a complete quack. His medical receipts, which may be found in his Treatise upon Country-affairs, are either very simple or very dangerous; and fasting, which he exploded, is better than them all. Duck, pigeon, and hare, which (if we may believe Plutarch) he gave his sick people as a light diet, are certainly the strongest and most indigestible kinds of food, and their producing dreams was a proof of it. (L.) He has even preserved the formula, sect. 160., of a charm for dislocations!*

This was on the following pretence: After the death of his wife, he married his son [as mentioned above] to the daughter of Paulus Æmilius, the sister of Scipio: and continued himself a widower, but had a young female slave that came privately to his bed. It could not however remain long a secret in a small house, with a daughter-in-law in it; and one day as the favourite slave seemed haughtily to flaunt by in this contracted mansion, young Cato gave her a severe look and turned his back upon her, but said not a word. The old man was quickly informed of this circumstance; and finding that this kind of commerce displeased his son and his daughter-in-law, he did not expostulate with them, nor take the least notice. Next morning he went to the Forum, according to custom, with his friends about him; and as he walked along he called aloud to one Salonius, who had been his secretary and was now one of his train, and asked him, "Whether or not he had provided a "husband for his daughter?" Upon his answering, "That he had not, and should not without consult-"ing his best friend:" Cato said, "Why then I "have found out a very fit one for her, if she can "bear with the disparity of age; for in other re-"spects he is unexceptionable, but he is very, very "old." Salonius replying, "That he left the dis-"posal of her entirely to him, for she was under his "protection, and had no dependence but upon his "bounty;" Cato without farther ceremony said, "Then I will be your son-in-law." The man at first, as may easily be imagined, was astonished at the proposal: believing Cato past the time of life for marrying, and regarding himself as far beneath an alliance with a family, which had been honoured with the consulate and a triumph. But when he saw that Cato was in earnest, he embraced the offer with joy, and the marriage-contract was signed as soon as they reached the Forum.

While they were busied in preparing for the nuptials, young Cato taking his relations with him went, and asked his father; "What offence he had com-
"mitted, that he was to have a stepmother put upon
"him?" Upon which Cato exclaimed, "Ask not such
"a question, my son; for, instead of being offended,
"I have reason to praise your whole conduct: I
"am only desirous of having more such sons, and
"leaving more such citizens to my country." But this answer is said to have been given, long before, by Pisistratus the Athenian tyrant; who, when he had sons by a former wife already grown up, married Timonassa of Argos, by whom he is stated to have had two other sons, Iöphon and Thessalus.

By this wife Cato had a son, whom he called after his mother's father Salonius. As for his eldest son Cato, he died in his prætorship. His father often mentions him in his writings, as a brave and worthy man. He bore his loss however with the moderation of a philosopher, applying himself with his usual activity to affairs of state. For he did not, like Lucius Lucullus at a subsequent period and Metellus Pius, think age an exemption from the service of the public, but considered that service as his indispensable duty; nor yet did he behave as Scipio Africanus had done, who finding himself opposed by envy in his course of glory quitted the administration, and spent the remainder of his days in inaction. But, as one told Dionysius that the most honourable death was to die in possession of sovereign power, so Cato esteemed that the most honourable old age, which was spent in serving the commonwealth. The amusements, in which he passed his leisure-hours, were writing books and tilling the ground: and this is the reason of our having so many treatises on various subjects, and histories of his composing[50].

---

[50] Beside upward of a hundred and fifty Orations, which he left behind him, he wrote a Treatise upon Military Discipline, and Books

In his younger days he applied himself to agriculture, with a view to profit; for he used to say, that he had only two ways of increasing his income, labour and parsimony: but, as he grew old, he regarded it solely in the light of theory and amusement. He wrote a book concerning country affairs[51], in which among other things he gives rules for making cakes, and preserving fruit; for he was desirous to be thought curious and particular in every thing. He kept a better table in the country, than in the town; for he always invited some of his acquaintance in the neighbourhood to sup with him. With these he passed the time in cheerful conversation, making himself agreeable not only to those of his own age, but to the young: for he had a thorough knowledge of the world, and had collected a variety of facts and anecdotes, which were highly entertaining. He looked upon the table, as one of the best means of forming friendships; and, at his, the conversation generally turned upon the praises of great and excellent men among the Romans. Of the profligate and the unworthy no mention was made; for he would not allow in his company one word, either good or bad, to be spoken of them[52].

The last service, which he is said to have rendered the public, was the destruction of Carthage. The younger Scipio, indeed, gave the finishing stroke to that work; but it was undertaken chiefly by the advice, and at the instance, of Cato. The occasion of the rupture was as follows: the Carthaginians and Massinissa king of Numidia being at war with each other, Cato was despatched into Africa to investigate the causes of the quarrel. Massinissa from the first

---

of Antiquities: in two of these he examines the foundation of the cities of Italy; the other five contained the Roman history, particularly a narrative of the first and second Punic war.

[51] *De Re Rusticâ.* This is the only work of his, which remains entire. Among other 'curious and particular' subjects, it treats of the fatting of geese, poultry, and pigeons! &c.*

[52] See Hor. Sat. II. vi. 71., &c.*

had been a friend to the Romans; and the Carthaginians had been admitted into their alliance[53] after the signal overthrow which they received from Scipio the Elder, but upon terms which deprived them of a considerable part of their dominions, and imposed a heavy tribute[54]. When Cato arrived at Carthage, he found that city not in the exhausted and humble condition which the Romans imagined, but full of effective men, abounding in money, arms, and warlike stores, and not a little elated by the thought of it's being so well provided. He concluded, therefore, that it was now time for the Romans to endeavour to settle the points in dispute between the Numidians and Carthage; and that if they did not soon make themselves masters of that city, which as their old enemy retained strong resentments of her late usage, and was prodigiously increased in power, they would soon be exposed afresh to all their former dangers. For this reason he returned in all haste to Rome, where he informed the senate; "That the "defeats and other misfortunes, which had happened "to the Carthaginians, had not so much drained "them of their forces, as cured them of their folly: "and that in all probability, instead of a weaker, "they had made them a more skilful enemy. "That their war with the Numidians was only a "prelude to future combats with the Romans; "and that the late peace was a mere name, for "they had considered it only as a suspension of "arms, of which they were willing to avail them"selves simply till they had a favourable opportunity "of renewing the war."

At the conclusion of his speech (it is said) he shook the lap of his gown, and purposely dropped some Lybian figs; and when he found the senators admired them for their size and beauty, he told them, "That the country where they grew was but three "days' sail from Rome." But what is a stronger instance of his enmity to Carthage, he never gave his opinion in the senate upon any point whatever, without adding these words, "And my opinion is, "that Carthage should be destroyed[55]." Publius Scipio, surnamed Nasica, made it a point to maintain the contrary, and concluded all his speeches thus; "And my opinion is, that Carthage should be left "standing." This illustrious man most probably, perceiving the people hurried by feelings of insolence into the most wanton excesses, so that in the pride of prosperity they could not be restrained by the senate, but through their overgrown power were able to draw the government what way they pleased, thought it best that Carthage should remain to curb and moderate their presumption. For he saw, that the Carthaginians were not strong enough to conquer the Romans, and yet were too respectable to be despised by them. On the other hand Cato deemed it dangerous, while the people were thus inebriated and giddy with power, to suffer a city which had always been great, and which was now grown sober and wise through it's misfortunes, to lie on the watch for every advantage against them. It appeared to him, therefore, the wisest course to have all outward perils removed from the commonwealth, that it might be at leisure to guard against internal corruption.

---

[53] Or rather, say the late editors of Amyot's French translation, 'to a peace;' as they never were admitted to make with the Romans an offensive and defensive, or even a simply defensive alliance.*

[54] Scipio Africanus obliged the Carthaginians, at the conclusion of the second Punic war, A. U. C. 552., to deliver up their fleet to the Romans, to cede to Massinissa part of Syphax's dominions, and to pay into the public treasury ten thousand talents.

Thus Cato, we are told, occasioned the third and last war against the Carthaginians. But as soon as it began, he died, having first prophesied of the person that should put an end to it; who was then a young man, and had only a tribune's command in the army, but was giving extraordinary proofs of his conduct and valour. The news of these exploits being brought to Rome, Cato cried out,

---

[55] Hence *Delenda est Carthago* passed into a species of proverb.*

———He is the soul of council;
The rest like shadows glide[56].

This, Scipio soon confirmed by his actions.

Cato left one son by his second wife (who, as we have already observed, was surnamed Salonius) and a grandson by the son of his first wife, who died before him. Salonius died in his prætorship, leaving a son named Marcus, who came to be consul, and who was the father[57] of Cato the philosopher, the best and most illustrious man of his time.

ARISTIDES AND CATO

COMPARED.

HAVING thus given a detail of the most memorable actions of these eminent men, if we compare the whole life of the one with that of the other, it will not be easy to discern the difference between them, the eye being attracted by so many striking resemblances. But if we distinctly examine the several parts of their lives, as we do a poem or a picture, we shall find in the first place this circumstance common to them both; that they rose to high stations and great honour in their respective commonwealths, not by the help of family-connexions, but merely by their own virtue and abilities. It is true that, at the time when Aristides raised himself, Athens was not in her grandeur, but the demagogues and chief magistrates were men of moderate and nearly equal fortunes. For estates of the highest class were then only five hundred medimni; of those of the second order, who were knights, three hundred; and of those of the third order, who were called Zeugitæ, two hundred[58]. But Cato from a little village and a country-life launched into the Roman government, as into a boundless ocean, at a time, not when it was conducted by the Curii, the Fabricii, and the Hostilii, and received for it's magistrates and orators men of narrow circumstances, who held with their own hands the plough and the spade; but when it was accustomed to regard considerations of family, opulence, distributions among the people, and servility in courting their favour: for the Romans, elated with their power and importance, loved to humble those, who stood candidates for the high offices of state. And it was not the same thing to be rivalled by a Themistocles, who was neither distinguished by birth nor fortune (for he is said not to have been worth more than three, or at the most five talents, when he first applied himself to public affairs), as to have to contend with a Scipio Africanus, a Servius Galba, or a Quintius Flaminius without any assistance or support, except a tongue accustomed to speak with freedom in the cause of justice[59].

---

[56] This verse is by Homer applied to Tiresias, Od. x. 495., where Circe advises Ulysses to visit the shades.*

[57] The pedigree stands thus:

Cato the Censor
|
Cato Salonius, by his second marriage
|
Marcus Cato the consul
|
Cato of Utica, the philosopher.

Besides, Aristides was only one among ten, who commanded at Marathon and Platææ: whereas Cato was chosen one of the two consuls, from a number of competitors; and one of the two censors, though opposed by seven candidates, and those some of the noblest and most illustrious men in Rome.

---

[58] See the Life of Solon, I. 242.*

[59] M. Ricard justly observes, that if Plutarch shows any partiality in this passage, it certainly is not in favour of the Greek: though he has been frequently charged with that propensity, and might here, if anywhere, have indulged it with impunity in favour of Aristides, one of the greatest and most virtuous men of antiquity.*

It should be observed likewise, that Aristides was never principal in any action; for Miltiades had the chief honour of the victory at Marathon, Themistocles of that at Salamis, and the palm of the important day at Platææ (as Herodotus informs us) was adjudged to Pausanias. Nay, even the second place was disputed with Aristides by Sophanes, Aminias, Callimachus, and Cynægirus, who eminently distinguished themselves upon that occasion. On the other hand, Cato not only stood first in courage and conduct during his own consulate, and in the war with Spain; but when he acted at Thermopylæ only as a tribune, under the auspices of another, he engrossed the glory of the victory: for it was he who unlocked the pass for the Romans to rush upon Antiochus, and they brought the war upon the back of the king, who attended only to what was before him. That victory, which was manifestly the work of Cato, drove Asia out of Greece, and subsequently opened a passage for Scipio to that continent.

Both of them were equally victorious in war: but Aristides miscarried in the administration, being banished and oppressed by the faction of Themistocles[60]; while Cato, though he had for antagonists almost all the greatest and most powerful men in Rome, who kept contending with him even in his extreme old age, like a skilful wrestler invariably held his footing. Often impeached before the people, and often the manager of an impeachment, he generally succeeded in his prosecution of others, and was never himself condemned, secure in that bulwark of life, the defensive and offensive armour of eloquence; and to this, much more justly than to fortune or his guardian genius, we may ascribe his having maintained his dignity unblemished to the last. For Antipater bestowed a similar encomium upon Aristotle the philosopher, in what he wrote concerning him after his death, that 'among his other qualities he had the very extraordinary one, of persuading people to whatever he pleased.'

---

[60] This however will not be imputed to Aristides as a fault, when we recollect the merit which attracted, the malignity which impelled, and the ease which accompanied, the ban of the Ostracism.*

That the art of governing cities and commonwealths is the chief excellence of man, admits not a doubt; and it is generally agreed, that the art of governing a family is no small ingredient in that excellence[61]. For a city, which is only a collection and system of families, cannot generally prosper, unless it's constituent families be flourishing. And Lycurgus, when he banished gold and silver out of Sparta, and gave the citizens instead of it money made of iron which had been spoiled for other uses by the fire, designed not to excuse them from attending to frugality, but only to prevent luxury, which is a tumour and inflammation caused by riches, in order that every one might have the greater abundance of the necessaries and conveniences of life. From this establishment it appears, that he saw farther into futurity than any other legislator; since he was sensible, that every society has more to apprehend from it's needy, than from it's wealthy members. Hence Cato was as attentive to the management of his domestic concerns, as to that of public affairs; and not only increased his own estate, but became a guide to others in economy and agriculture, upon which he collected many useful rules.

But Aristides by his indigence brought a disgrace upon justice itself, as if it were the ruin and impoverishment of families, and a quality profitable to any one rather than to the owner. Hesiod, however, has abundantly exhorted us both to equity and to frugality, and inveighs against idleness as the source of injustice[62]. The same is well represented by Homer[63];

---

[61] See the early chapters of Aristot. Polit. How often indeed have deranged finances, a consequence perhaps of the private improvidence of the minister, led to the ruin of mighty empires! *

The culture of the field, the home employ,
Which rears the smiling progeny, no joy
Could boast for me: to view upon the flood
The bounding ship, to hear the tale of blood,
To point the polish'd spear, and hurl the lance,
Were mine.

By which the poet intimates, that those who neglect their own affairs generally support themselves by violence and injustice. For what the physicians say of oil (that used outwardly it is beneficial, but pernicious when taken inwardly) is inapplicable to the just man; neither is the statement correct, that he is useful to others, and unprofitable to himself and his family. The politics of Aristides seem therefore to have been defective in this respect, if it be true (as most writers assert) that he left not enough behind him either for the portions of his daughters, or for the expenses of his funeral.

Thus Cato's family produced prætors and consuls to the fourth generation, for his grandsons and their children bore the highest offices; whereas, though Aristides was one of the most eminent men in Greece, yet the most distressful poverty prevailing among his descendents, some of them were forced to support themselves by jugglers' tricks, others to receive public alms, and not one of them entertained a feeling or a sentiment worthy of their illustrious ancestor.

This point, it is true, is liable to some dispute:

---

[62] Plutarch here refers to a line of that poet, alluded to before in the beginning of his Life of Solon, I. 220.*

[63] Od. xiv. 222.

for poverty is not dishonourable in itself, but only when it is the effect of idleness, intemperance, prodigality, and folly. When, on the contrary, it is associated with all the virtues in the sober, the industrious, the just, and the valiant statesman, it speaks a noble and an elevated mind. For an attention to little things renders it impossible to do any thing truly great; neither can that man provide for the wants of others, who has numerous and importunate wants of his own. The main provision for a statesman is, not riches but a contented mind, which requiring no superfluities for itself, leaves a man at full liberty to serve the commonwealth. God is absolutely exempt from wants; and the virtuous man, in proportion as he reduces his wants, approaches nearer to the Divine Perfection. For as a body well framed for health needs nothing exquisite, either in food or clothing; so a rational way of living, and a well-governed family, demand only a very moderate support. Our possessions, indeed, should be proportioned to the use which we make of them. He who amasses much, and uses but little, is far from being satisfied with his abundance: for if, while he is solicitous to increase it, he has no desire of those things which wealth can procure, he is foolish; and if he does desire, and yet out of meanness of spirit will not allow himself to enjoy them, he is miserable.

I would fain ask Cato himself, "If riches are to "be enjoyed, why when possessed of much, he "plumed himself upon being satisfied with little." If it be a commendable thing (as indeed it is) to be contented with coarse bread, and such wine as our servants and labouring people drink, and not to covet purple and elegantly-plaistered houses; then Aristides, Epaminondas, Manius Curius, and Caius Fabricius were perfectly right, in neglecting to acquire what they did not think it proper to use. For it was by no means necessary, that a man who like Cato could make a delicious meal on turnips, and loved to boil them himself while his wife baked the bread, should talk so very much about a farthing, and write by what means a man might most expeditiously acquire wealth. Simplicity and frugality indeed are then only great things, when they free the mind from all desire and care about superfluities. Hence it was, that Aristides in the trial of Callias said, "None should be ashamed of poverty, but "those who were poor against their wills: they, "who like himself were poor out of choice, might "glory in it." For it is ridiculous to suppose, that the poverty of Aristides was to be imputed to sloth; since he might without the least baseness have raised himself to opulence, by the spoil of a single barbarian, or the plunder of a single tent. But enough of this.

As to military achievements, those of Cato added but little to the Roman empire, which was already very extensive; whereas the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Platææ, the most glorious and important actions of the Greeks, are numbered among those of Aristides[64]. And surely Antiochus is not worthy to be mentioned with Xerxes, nor the demolishing of the walls of the Spanish towns with the destruction of so many thousands of barbarians both by sea and land. Upon these signal occasions, Aristides was inferior to none in real service: but he left the glory and the laurels, as he did the wealth, to others who had more need of them, because he was above them.

I do not blame Cato for perpetually boasting and giving himself the preference to others, though in one of his pieces he says, "It is absurd for any per"son either to commend, or to depreciate himself:"

---

[64] Here, perhaps, a little of the Grecian biographer begins to appear. For had he not before stated, that Aristides divided the glory of Marathon and Platææ with nine others? And yet, it must be admitted, he was certainly entitled to more than his numerical quota of that glory. In their conduct likewise toward their respective enemies (Themistocles, and Scipio) mentioned below, the Roman falls infinitely below the Athenian hero.*

but I think the man, who is often praising himself, less complete in virtue than the modest man, who does not even wish to be praised by others. For modesty is a very proper ingredient in the mild and engaging manner necessary for a statesman; on the other hand, he who demands extraordinary respect is difficult to please, and liable to envy. Cato was very subject to this fault, and Aristides entirely free from it. For Aristides, by co-operating with his enemy Themistocles in his greatest actions, and becoming as it were a guard to him while he had the command, restored the affairs of Athens; whereas Cato, by counteracting Scipio, nearly blasted and ruined that expedition of his against Carthage, which brought down the before-invincible Annibal. Nay, he continued to raise suspicions against him, and to persecute him with calumnies, till at last he drove him out of Rome, and got his brother stigmatised with the shameful crime of having embezzled the public money.

As for temperance, which Cato always extolled as the highest of virtues, Aristides preserved it in it's utmost purity and perfection; while Cato, by marrying so much beneath himself and at an unseasonable time of life, stood justly impeached in that respect. For it was by no means decent, at his advanced age, to bring home to his son and daughter-in-law a young wife, the daughter of his secretary, a man who was receiving wages from the public purse. Whether he did it merely to gratify his appetite, or to revenge the affront which his son had offered to his favourite slave, both the thing and the pretext were dishonourable. And the reason, which he assigned to his son upon the occasion, was ironical and groundless. For if he was desirous of having more children like him, he should have looked out previously for some woman of family, and not have deferred the thoughts of marrying again, till his commerce with so mean a creature was detected: and after it was detected, he ought to have chosen for his father-in-law, not one who would most readily accept his proposals, but one whose alliance would have done him the greatest honour.

END OF VOL. II.

Printed by C. Baldwin, New Bridge-street, London.

BINDING SECT. APR 27 1973

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

DE
7
P55
1813
v.2

Plutarchus
Lives