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H. E. BARKER  
*Lincolniana*  
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LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA



PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

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"The first authorized sketch of Lincoln's life was written by the late John L. Scripps of the "Chicago Tribune", who went to Springfield at Mr. Lincoln's request, and by him was furnished the data for a campaign biography. In a letter written to Mr. Herndon after the death of Lincoln, which Herndon turned over to me, Scripps relates that in writing his book he stated that Lincoln as a youth read Plutarch's "Lives". This he did simply because, as a rule, almost every boy in the West in the early days did read Plutarch. When the advance sheets of the book reached Mr. Lincoln, he sent for the author and said, gravely: "That paragraph wherein you state that I read Plutarch's "Lives" was not true when you wrote it, for up to that moment of my life I had never seen that early contribution to human history; but I want your book, even if it is nothing more than a campaign sketch, to be faithful to the facts; and in order that that statement might be literally true, I secured the book a few days ago, and have sent for you to tell you I have just read it through."

(Jesse W. Weik, in foot-note on page 71 of Ida M. Tarbell's "Early Life of Lincoln".

*H. E. Barker*









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# PLUTARCH'S LIVES

OF THE

MOST SELECT AND ILLUSTRIOUS CHARACTERS  
OF ANTIQUITY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GREEK ;

WITH

## NOTES,

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL,

BY

JOHN LANGHORNE, M. D.

AND

WILLIAM LANGHORNE, A. M.

AND OTHERS.

---

BY WILLIAM MA VOR, L. L. D.

*Rector of Stonefield, Vicar of Hurley, Chaplain to the Earl of Moria, &c. &c.*

---

**COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME.**

---

"To be ignorant of the lives of the most celebrated men of antiquity, is  
to continue in a state of childhood all our days."

---

ITHACA:

MACK, ANDRUS, & WOODRUFF,

OWEGO STREET.

1838.

"ENTERED according to Act of Congress, in the year 1831, by *William C. Borradaile*, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the Southern District of New-York"

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

**LORD FOLKESTONE.**

---

MY LORD,

THE style and genius of dedications, in general, have neither done honour to the patron nor to the author. Sensible of this, we intended to have published a work, which has been the labour of years, without the usual mode of soliciting protection. An accident has brought us into the number of dedicators. Had not you accompanied your noble father to our humble retreat, we should still have been unacquainted with your growing virtues,—your extraordinary erudition, and perfect knowledge of the Greek language and learning; and Plutarch would have remained as he did in his retirement at Chæronea, where he sought no patronage but in the bosom of philosophy.

Accept, my Lord, this honest token of respect, from men, who, equally independent and unambitious, wish only for the countenance of genius and friendship. Praise, my Lord, is the usual language of dedications: But will our praise be of value to you?—Will any praise be of value to you, but that

## DEDICATION.

of your own heart? Follow the example of the EARL OF RADNOR, your illustrious father. Like him maintain that temperate spirit of policy, which consults the dignity of government, while it supports the liberty of the subject. But we put into your hands the best of political preceptors,—a preceptor who trained to virtue the greatest monarch upon earth; and, by giving happiness to the world, enjoyed a pleasure something like that of the Benevolent Being who created it. We are, MY LORD,

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

Most obedient, and

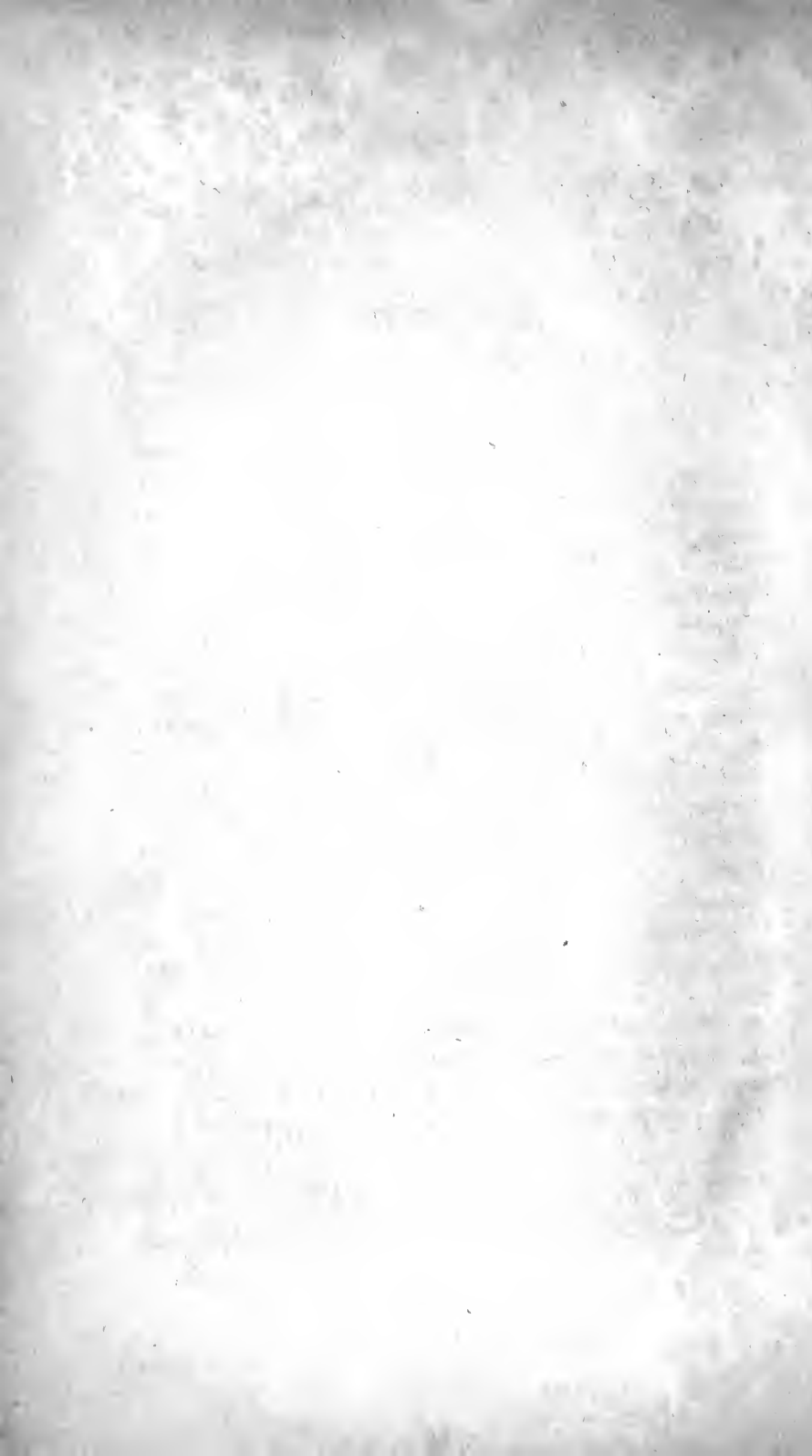
Very humble Servants,

J. & W. LANGHORNE.

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# PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

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THE

## LIFE OF ROMULUS.

*Flourished 753 years before Christ.*

FROM whom and for what cause, the city of Rome obtained a name, the glory of which has diffused itself over the world, historians are not agreed.\* The account which deserves the most credit, and has the most vouchers, is that published by Diocles the Peparenthian, whom Fabius Pictor commonly follows. The story is this: The kings of Alba descending lineally from Æneas, the succession fell to two brothers, Numitor and Amulius. The latter divided the whole inheritance into two parts, setting the treasures brought from Troy against the kingdom; and Numitor made choice of the kingdom. Amulius then having the treasures, and consequently being more powerful than Numitor, easily possessed himself of the kingdom too; and fearing the daughter of Numitor might have children, he appointed her priestess of Vesta, in which capacity she was always to live unmarried and a virgin.

Some say her name was Ilia, some Rhea, and others Sylvia. But she was soon discovered to be pregnant, contrary to the law of the Vestals. Antho, the king's daughter, by much entreaty, prevailed with her father that she should not be capitally punished. She was confined, however, and excluded from society. When her time was completed, she was delivered of two sons of uncommon size and beauty; whereupon Amulius, still more alarmed, ordered one of his servants to destroy them. Pursuant to his orders, he put the children into a small trough or cradle, and went

\* Such is the uncertainty of the origin of imperial Rome, and indeed of most cities and nations that are of any considerable antiquity. That of Rome might be the more uncertain, because its first inhabitants, being a collection of mean persons, fugitives and outlaws from other nations, could not be supposed to leave histories behind them. Livy, however, and most of the Latin historians, agree that Rome was built by Romulus, and both the city and people named after him: while the vanity of the Greek writers wants to ascribe almost every thing, and Rome among the rest, to a Grecian original.

down towards the river, with a design to cast them in ; but seeing it very rough, and running with a strong current, he was afraid to approach it. He therefore laid them down near the bank, and departed. The flood increasing continually, set the trough afloat, and carried it gently down to a pleasant place, formerly called Germanum, denoting that the two brothers arrived there.

Near this place was a wild fig-tree, which they called *Ruminalis*, either on account of Romulus, as is generally supposed, or because the cattle there ruminated, or chewed the cud, during the noontide, in the shade ; or rather because of the suckling of the children there ; for the ancient Latins called the breast *ruma*, and the goddess who presides over the nursery *Rumilia*,\* whose rites they celebrated without wine, and only with libations of milk. The infants, as the story goes, lying there, were suckled by a she-wolf, and fed and taken care of by a wood-pecker. These animals are sacred to Mars ; and the wood-pecker is held in great honour and veneration by the Latins. Such wonderful events contributed not a little to gain credit to the mother's report, that she had the children by Mars. Some say, the ambiguity of the nurse's name gave occasion to the fable ; for the Latins called not she-wolves, but prostitutes, *lupæ* ; and such was *Acca Larentia*, the wife of *Faustulus*, the foster-father of the children.

*Faustulus*, *Amulius*'s herdsman, brought up the children entirely undiscovered ; or rather, as others with greater probability assert, *Numitor* knew it from the first,† and privately supplied the necessaries for their maintenance. It is also said, that they were sent to *Gabii*, and there instructed in letters, and other branches of education suitable to their birth : that they had the names of *Romulus* and *Remus*, from the teat of the wild animal which they were seen to suck. The beauty and dignity of their persons, even in their childhood, promised a generous disposition ; and as they grew up, they both discovered great courage and bravery, with an inclination to hazardous attempts, and a spirit which nothing could subdue. But *Romulus* seemed more to cultivate the powers of reason, and to excel in political knowledge ; while by his deportment among his neighbours, in the department of pasturage and hunting, he convinced them that he was born to command rather than to obey. To their equals and inferiors they behaved very courteously ; but they despised the king's bailiffs and chief herdsman, as not superior to themselves in courage, though they were in authority, disregarding at once their threats and their anger. They applied themselves to generous exercises and pursuits,

\* The Romans called that goddess, not *Rumilia*, but *Rumina*.

† *Numitor* might build upon this the hopes of his re-establishment ; but his knowing the place where the children were brought up, and supplying them with necessaries, is quite inconsistent with the manner of their discovery when grown up, which is the most agreeable part of the story.



looking upon idleness and inactivity as illiberal, but on hunting, running, banishing or apprehending robbers, and delivering such as were oppressed by violence, as the employments of honour and virtue. By this conduct they gained great renown.

A dispute arising between the herdsmen of Numitor and Amulius, and the former having driven away some cattle belonging to the latter, Romulus and Remus fell upon them, put them to flight, and recovered the greatest part of the booty. At this conduct Numitor was highly offended; but they little regarded his resentment. The first steps they took on this occasion were to collect, and receive into their company, persons of desperate fortunes, and a great number of slaves; a measure which gave alarming proofs of their bold and seditious inclinations. It happened that when Romulus was employed in sacrificing, to which and divination he was much inclined, Numitor's herdsmen met with Remus, as he was walking with a small retinue, and fell upon him. After some blows exchanged, and wounds given and received, Numitor's people prevailed, and took Remus prisoner. He was carried before Numitor, and had several things laid to his charge; but Numitor did not choose to punish him himself, for fear of his brother's resentment. To him, therefore, he applied for justice, which he had all the reason in the world to expect; since, though brother to the reigning prince, he had been injured by his servants, who presumed upon his authority. The people of Alba, moreover, expressing their uneasiness, and thinking that Numitor suffered great indignities, Amulius, moved with their complaints, delivered Remus to him, to be treated as he should think proper.

When the youth was conducted to his house, Numitor was greatly struck with his appearance, as he was very remarkable for size and strength, he observed, too, his presence of mind and the steadiness of his looks, which had nothing servile in them, nor were altered with the sense of his present danger; and he was informed, that his actions and whole behaviour were suitable to what he saw. But above all, some divine influence, as it seems, directing the beginnings of the great events that were to follow, Numitor, by his sagacity, or by a fortunate conjecture, suspecting the truth, questioned him concerning the circumstances of his birth; speaking mildly at the same time, and regarding him with a gracious eye. He boldly answered, "I will hide nothing from you, for you behave in a more princely manner than Amulius, since you hear and examine before you punish: but he has delivered us up without inquiring into the matter. I have a twin-brother, and heretofore we believed ourselves the sons of Faustus and Larentia, servants to the king. But since we were accused before you, and so pursued by slander, as to be in danger of our lives, we hear nobler things concerning our birth. Whether

they are true, the present crisis will show.\* Our birth is said to have been secret; our support in our infancy miraculous. We were exposed to birds and wild beasts, and by them nourished; suckled by a she-wolf, and fed by the attentions of a wood-pecker, as we lay in a trough by the great river. The trough is still preserved, bound about with brass bands, and inscribed with letters partly faded; which may prove, perhaps, hereafter very useful tokens to our parents, when we are destroyed." Numitor hearing this, and comparing the time with the young man's looks, was confirmed in the pleasing hope he had conceived, and considered how he might consult his daughter about this affair; for she was still kept in close custody.

Meanwhile Faustulus, having heard that Remus was taken and delivered up to punishment, desired Romulus to assist his brother, informing him then clearly of the particulars of his birth; for before, he had only given dark hints about it, and signified just so much as might take off the attention of his wards from every thing that was mean. He himself took the trough, and in all the tumult of concern and fear carried it to Numitor. His disorder raised some suspicion in the king's guards at the gate, and that disorder increasing while they looked earnestly upon him, and perplexed him with their questions, he was discovered to have a trough under his cloak. There happened to be among them one of those who had it in charge to throw the children into the river, and who was concerned in the exposing of them. This man seeing the trough, and knowing it by its make and inscription, rightly guessed the business; and thinking it an affair not to be neglected, immediately acquainted the king with it. In these great and pressing difficulties, Faustulus did not preserve entirely his presence of mind, nor yet fully discover the matter. He acknowledged that the children were saved indeed, but said that they kept cattle at a great distance from Alba; and that he was carrying the trough to Ilia, who had often desired to see it, that she might entertain the better hopes that her children were alive. Whatever persons perplexed and actuated with fear or anger use to suffer, Amulius then suffered; for in his hurry he sent an honest man, a friend of Numitor's, to inquire of him whether he had any account that the children were alive.

When the man was come, and saw Remus almost in the embraces of Numitor, he endeavoured to confirm him in the persuasion that the youth was really his grandson; begging him, at the same time, immediately to take the best measures that could be thought of, and offering his best assistance to support their party. The occasion admitted of no delay, if they had been in-

\* For if they were true, the god who miraculously protected them in their infancy, would deliver Remus from his present danger.

clined to it ; for Romulus was now at hand, and a good number of the citizens were gathered about him, either out of hatred or fear of Amulius. He brought also a considerable force with him, divided into companies of a hundred men each, headed by an officer who bore a handful of grass and shrubs upon a pole. These the Latins call *Manipuli*; and hence it is, that soldiers of the same company were called *Manipulares*. Remus then, having gained those within, and Romulus assaulting the palace without, the tyrant knew not what to do, or whom he should consult, but amidst his doubts and perplexity, was taken and slain.

Amulius being dead, and the troubles composed, the two brothers were not willing to live in Alba, without governing there ; nor yet to take the government upon themselves during their grandfather's life. Having, therefore, invested him with it, and paid due honours to their mother, they determined to dwell in a city of their own, and, for that purpose, to build one in the place where they had their first nourishment. This seems, at least, to be the most plausible reason of their quitting Alba ; and perhaps too it was necessary, as a great number of slaves and fugitives was collected about them, either to see their affairs entirely ruined, if these should disperse, or with them seek another habitation ; for the people of Alba refused to permit the fugitives to mix with them, or to receive them as citizens.

As soon as the foundation of the city was laid, they opened a place of refuge for fugitives, which they called the Temple of the Asylæan god.\* Here they received all that came, and would neither deliver up the slave to his master, the debtor to his creditor, nor the murderer to the magistrate ; declaring that they were directed by the Oracle of Apollo to preserve the Asylum from all violation. Thus the city was soon peopled ; for it is said that the houses at first did not exceed a thousand.

While they were intent upon building, a dispute soon arose about the place. Romulus having built a square, which he called Rome, would have the city there ; but Remus marked out a more secure situation on Mount Aventine, which, from him, was called Remonium.† The dispute was referred to the decision of augury, and for this purpose they sat down in the open air, when Remus, as they tell us, saw six vultures, and Romulus twice as many. Some say that Remus's account of the number he had

\* It is not certain who this God of Refuge was. Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us, that in his time, the place where the asylum had been, was consecrated to Jupiter. Romulus did not at first receive the fugitives and outlaws within the walls, but allowed them the hill Saturnius, afterward called Capitoliuss, for their habitation.

† Most of the Trojans, of whom there still remained fifty families in Augustus's time, chose to follow the fortune of Romulus and Remus, as did also the inhabitants of Pallantium and Saturnia, two small towns.

seen was true, and that of Romulus not so; but when Remus came up to him, he did really see twelve.

When Remus knew that he was imposed upon, he was highly incensed, and as Romulus was opening a ditch round the place where the walls were to be built, he ridiculed some parts of the work, and obstructed others. At last, as he presumed to leap over it, some say he fell by the hands of Romulus, others, by that of Celer, one of his companions; Faustulus also fell in the scuffle, and Plistinus, who being brother to Faustulus, is said to have assisted in bringing Romulus up.

Romulus buried his brother Remus, together with his foster-fathers, in Remonia,\* and then built his city, having sent for persons in Hetruria, who, according to stated ceremonies and written rules, were to order and direct how every thing was to be done. First a circular ditch was dug, and the first fruits of every thing that is reckoned either good by use, or necessary by nature, were cast into it; and then, each bringing a small quantity of the earth of the country whence he came, threw it in promiscuously.† This ditch had the name of Mundus, the same with that of the universe. In the next place they marked out the city like a circle round this centre, and the founder having fitted to a plough a brazen ploughshare, and yoked a bull and cow, himself drew a deep furrow round the boundaries. The business of those who followed was to turn all the clods raised by the plough inwards to the city, and not to suffer any to remain outwards. This line described the compass of the city, and between it and the walls is a space called by contraction *Pomcerium*, as lying behind or beyond the wall. Where they designed to have a gate, they took the ploughshare out of the ground, and lifted up the plough, making a break for it. Hence they look upon the whole wall as sacred, except the gateways. If they considered the gates in the same light as the rest, it would be deemed lawful either to receive the necessaries of life by them, or to carry out what is unclean.

The day on which they began to build the city is universally allowed to be the twenty-first of April, and was celebrated annually by the Romans as the birthday of Rome. At first we are

\* The Hetrurians or Tuscans had, as Festus informs us, a sort of ritual wherein were contained the ceremonies that were to be observed in building cities, temples, altars, walls, and gates. They were instructed in augury and religious rites by Tages, who is said to have been taught by Mercury.

† Ovid does not say it was a handful of the earth each had brought out of his own country, but of the earth each had taken from his neighbours; which was done to signify that Rome would soon subdue the neighbouring nations. But Isidorus (lib. xxv. cap. 2.) is of opinion, that by throwing the first fruits and a handful of earth into the trench, they admonish the heads of the colony, that it ought to be their chief study to procure for their fellow-citizens all the conveniences of life, to maintain peace and union among a people come together from different parts of the world, and by this to form themselves into a body never to be dissolved.

told, that they sacrificed nothing that had life, persuaded that they ought to keep the solemnity sacred to the birth of their country pure and without bloodshed. On that day too, we are informed, there was a conjunction of the sun and moon, attended with an eclipse, the same day that was observed by Antimachus the Teian poet, in the third year of the sixth Olympiad.

When the city was built, Romulus divided the younger part of the inhabitants into battalions. Each corps consisted of three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and was called a Legion, because the most warlike persons were selected. The rest of the multitude he called The People. An hundred of the most considerable citizens he took for his council, with the title of Patricians,\* and the whole body was called the Senate, which signifies an Assembly of Old Men. Its members were styled Patricians, because as some say they were *fathers* of freeborn children; or rather, according to others, because they themselves had fathers to show, which was not the case with many of the rabble that first flocked to the city. But we shall be nearer the truth, if we conclude that Romulus styled them Patricians, as expecting these respectable persons would watch over those in humble stations with a paternal care and regard; and teaching the commonalty in their turn not to fear or envy the power of their superiors, but to behave with love and respect, both looking upon them as Fathers, and honouring them with that name. For, at this very time, foreign nations call the Senators Lords, but the Romans themselves call them Conscript Fathers, a style of greater dignity and honour, and withal much less invidious. At first, indeed, they were called Fathers only; but afterwards, when more were enrolled in their body, Conscript Fathers. With this venerable title, then, he distinguished the senate from the people. He likewise made another distinction between the nobility and the commons, calling the former Patrons, and the other Clients, which was the source of mutual kindness and many good offices between them; for the Patrons were, to those they had taken under their protection, counsellors and advocates in their suits at law, and advisers and assistants on all occasions. On the other hand, the Clients failed not in their attentions, whether they were to be shown in deference or respect, or in providing their daughters portions, or in satisfying their creditors, if their circumstances happened to be narrow. No law or magistrate obliged the Patron to be evidence against his Client, or the Client against his Patron. But in after times, though the claims continued in full force, it was

\* The choice of these three hundred persons was not made by the king himself; each tribe chose three senators, and each of the thirty curæ the like number, which made in all the number of ninety nine: so that Romulus named only the hundredth, who was the head, or prince of the senate, and the chief governor of the city, when the king was in the field.

law, and advisers and assistants on all occasions. On the other hand, the Clients failed not in their attentions, whether they were to be shown in deference and respect, or in providing their daughters portions, or in satisfying their creditors, if their circumstances happened to be narrow. No law or magistrate obliged the Patron to be evidence against his Client, or the Client against his Patron. But in after times, though the claims continued in full force, it was looked upon as ungenerous for persons of condition to take money of those below them.

In the fourth month, after the building of the city,\* as Fabius informs us, the rape of the Sabine women was put in execution. Some say Romulus himself, who was naturally warlike, and persuaded by certain oracles, that the Fates had decreed Rome to obtain her greatness by military achievements, began hostilities against the Sabines, and seized only thirty virgins, being more desirous of war than of wives for his people. But this is not likely. For, as he saw his city soon filled with inhabitants, very few of whom were married, the greatest part consisting of a mixed rabble of mean and obscure persons, to whom no regard was paid, and who were not expecting to settle in any place whatever, the enterprise naturally took that turn; and he hoped that from this attempt though not a just one, some alliance and union with the Sabines would be obtained, when it appeared that they treated the women kindly. In order to this, he first gave out that he had found the altar of some god, which had been covered with earth. This deity they called Consus, or God of Counsel.

Upon this discovery, Romulus by proclamation appointed a day for a splendid sacrifice, with public games and shows. Multitudes assembled at the time, and he himself presided, sitting among his nobles clothed in purple. As a signal for the assault, he was to rise, gather up his robe, and fold it about him. Many of his people wore swords that day, and kept their eye upon him, watching for the signal, which was no sooner given than they drew them, and rushing on with a shout, seized the daughters of the Sabines, but quietly suffered the men to escape. Some say only thirty were carried off, who each gave name to a tribe; but Valerius Antias makes their number, five hundred and twenty-seven, and according to Juba,† there were six hundred and eighty-three, all virgins. This was the best apology for Romulus: for they had taken but one married woman, named Hersilia, who was afterwards chiefly concerned in reconciling them, and her they took by mistake, as they were not incited to this violence by lust or injustice, but by their desire to conciliate and unite the two nations in the strongest tie.

\* Gellius says, it was in the fourth year.

† This was the son of Juba, king of Mauritania, who, being brought very young a

The Sabines were a numerous and warlike people, but they dwelt in unwall'd towns, thinking it became them, who were a colony of the Lacedæmonians, to be bold and fearless. But as they saw themselves bound by such pledges, and were very solicitous for their daughters, they sent ambassadors to Romulus with moderate and equitable demands—that he should return them the young women, and disavow the violence, and then the two nations should proceed to establish a correspondence, and contract alliances in a friendly and legal way. Romulus, however, refused to part with the young women, and entreated the Sabines to give their sanction to what had been done, whereupon some of them lost time in consulting and making preparations. But Acron, king of the Ceninensians, a man of spirit, and an able general, suspected the tendency of Romulus's first enterprises; and, when he had behaved so boldly in the rape, looked upon him as one who would grow formidable, and indeed insufferable to his neighbours, except he were chastised. Acron therefore went to seek the enemy, and Romulus prepared to receive him. When they came in sight, and had well viewed each other, a challenge for a single combat was mutually given, their forces standing under arms in silence. Romulus on this occasion made a vow, that if he conquered his enemy, he would himself dedicate his adversary's arms to Jupiter; in consequence of which, he both overcame Acron, and after battle was joined, routed his army, and took his city. But he did no injury to its inhabitants, unless it were such to order them to demolish their houses and follow him to Rome, as citizens entitled to equal privileges with the rest. Indeed, there was nothing that contributed more to the greatness of Rome, than that she was always uniting and incorporating with herself those whom she conquered.

Romulus having considered how he should perform his vow in the most acceptable manner to Jupiter, and withal make the procession most agreeable to his people, cut down a great oak that grew in the camp, and hewed it into the figure of a trophy; to this he fastened Acron's whole suit of armour, disposed in its proper form. Then he put on his own robes, and wearing a laurel crown on his head, his hair gracefully flowing, he took the trophy erect upon his right shoulder, and so marched on, singing the song of victory before his troops, which followed completely armed, while the citizens received him with joy and admiration. This procession was the origin and model of future triumphs. The trophy was dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius, so called from the Latin word *ferire*,\* to smite; for Romulus had prayed that he might have power to smite his adversary and kill him.

captive to Rome, was instructed in the Roman and Grecian literature, and became an excellent historian. Dionysius of Halicarnassus has followed his account.

\* Or from the word *ferre*, to carry, because Romulus had himself carried to the

After the defeat of the Ceninenses, while the rest of the Sabines were busied in preparations, the people of Fidenæ, Crustumæ, and Antemnæ, united against the Romans. A battle ensued, in which they were likewise defeated, and surrendered to Romulus their cities to be spoiled, their lands to be divided, and themselves to be transplanted to Rome. All the lands thus acquired he distributed among the citizens, except what belonged to the parents of the stolen virgins; for those he left in possession of their former owners. The rest of the Sabines, enraged at this, appointed Tattius their general, and carried war to the gates of Rome. The city was difficult of access, having a strong garrison on the hill where the capitol now stands, commanded by Tarpeia. Tarpeia, the governor's daughter, charmed with the golden bracelets of the Sabines, betrayed the fort into their hands, and asked, in return for her treason, what they wore on their left arms. Tattius agreeing to the condition, she opened one of the gates by night, and let in the Sabines. It seems it was not the sentiment of Antigonus alone, who said "He loved men while they were betraying, but hated them when they had betrayed;" nor of Cæsar, who said, in the case of Rhymitalces the Thracian, "He loved the treason, but hated the traitor;" but men are commonly affected towards villains, whom they have occasion for, just as they are towards venomous creatures, which they have need of for their poison and their gall. While they are of use they love them, but abhor them when their purpose is effected. Such were the sentiments of Tattius with regard to Tarpeia, when he ordered the Sabines to remember their promise, and to grudge her nothing which they had on their left arms. He was the first to take off his bracelet, and throw it to her and with that his shield.\* As every one did the same, she was overpowered by the gold and shields thrown upon her, and, sinking under the weight, expired. Tarpeia, too, was taken and condemned by Romulus for treason, as Juba writes, after Sulpitius Galba.

The Sabines thus possessed of the fort, Romulus in great fury offered them battle, which Tattius did not decline, as he saw he had a place of strength to retreat to, in case he was worsted; and, indeed, the spot on which he was to engage, being surrounded with hills, seemed to promise on both sides a sharp and bloody contest, because it was so confined, and the outlets were so narrow, that it was not easy either to fly or to pursue. It happened, too, that a few days before, the river had overflowed, and left a

temple of Jupiter the armour of the king he had killed; or, more probably from the Greek word *phereton*, which Livy calls in latin *ferculum*, which properly signifies a trophy.

\* Piso and other historians say, that Tattius treated her in this manner, because she acted a double part, and endeavoured to betray the Sabines to Romulus, while she was pretending to betray the Romans to them.



deep mud on the plain where the forum now stands, which, as it was covered with a crust, was not easily discoverable by the eye, but at the same time was soft underneath, and impassible. The Sabines, ignorant of this, were pushing forward into it, but by good fortune were prevented. For Curtius, a man of high distinction and spirit, being mounted on a good horse, advanced a considerable way before the rest;\* presently his horse plunged into the slough, and for a while he endeavoured to disengage him, encouraging him with his voice, and urging him with blows; but, finding all ineffectual, he quitted him, and saved himself. From him the place, to this very time, is called the Curtian Lake. The Sabines, having escaped this danger, began the fight with great bravery. The victory inclined to neither side, though many were slain, among the rest Hostilius, who, they say, was husband to Hersilia, and grandfather to that Hostilius who reigned after Numa. It is probable that there were many other battles in a short time, but the most memorable was the last; in which Romulus having received a blow upon the head with a stone was almost beaten down to the ground, and no longer able to oppose the enemy; then the Romans gave way, and were driven from the plain as far as the Palatine Hill. By this time Romulus recovering from the shock, endeavoured by force to stop the men in their flight, and loudly called upon them to stand and renew the engagement. But when he saw the rout was general, and that no one had courage to face about, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and prayed to Jupiter to stop the army, and to re-establish and maintain the Roman cause, which was now in extreme danger. When the prayer was ended, many of the fugitives were struck with reverence for their king, and their fear was changed into courage. They first stopped where now stands the Temple of Jupiter Stator, so called from his putting a stop to their flight. There they engaged again, and repulsed the Sabines as far as the palace now called Regia, and the temple of Vesta.

When they were preparing here to renew the combat with the same animosity as at first, their ardour was repressed by an astonishing spectacle. The daughters of the Sabines, that had been

\* Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus relate the matter otherwise. They tell us, that Curtius at first repulsed the Romans; but being in his turn overpowered by Romulus, and endeavouring to make good his retreat, he happened to fall into the lake, which from that time bore his name; for it was called *Lacus Curtius*, even when it was dried up, and almost in the centre of the Roman forum. Procius says, that the earth having opened, the Aruspices declared it necessary, for the safety of the republic, that the bravest man in the city should throw himself into the gulf; whereupon one Curtius, mounting on horseback, leaped (armed) into it, and the gulf immediately closed. Before the building of the common sewers, this pool was a sort of sink, which received all the filth of the city. Some writers think that it received its name from Curtius the consul, colleague to M. Genucius, because he caused it to be walled in, by the advice of the Aruspices, after it had been struck with lightning. Varro de Ling Lat. l. iv.

forcibly carried off, rushed with loud cries and lamentations, like persons distracted, amidst the drawn swords, and over the dead bodies, to come at their husbands and fathers, some carrying their infants in their arms, and some darting forward with dishevelled hair, but all calling by turns both upon the Sabines and Romans by the tenderest names. Both parties were extremely moved, and room was made for them between the two armies. Their lamentations pierced to the utmost ranks, and all were deeply affected, particularly when their upbraiding and complaints ended in supplication and entreaty. "What great injury have we done you," said they, "that we have suffered, and do still suffer so many miseries? We were carried off, by those who now have us, violently and illegally; after this violence we were so long neglected by our brothers, our fathers, and relations, that we were necessitated to unite in the strongest ties with those that were the objects of our hatred, and we are now brought to tremble for the men that had injured us so much, when we see them in danger, and to lament them when they fall. For you came not to deliver us from violence while virgins, or to avenge our cause; but now you tear the wives from their husbands, and the mothers from their children, an assistance more grievous to us than all your neglect and disregard. Such love we experienced from them, and such compassion from you. Were the war undertaken in some other cause, yet surely you would stop its ravages for us, who have made you fathers-in-law and grand-fathers, or otherwise placed you in some near affinity to those whom you seek to destroy. But if the war be for us, take us, with your sons-in-law and their children, and restore us to our parents and kindred; but do not, we beseech you, rob us of our children and husbands, lest we become captives again." Hersilia having said a great deal to this purpose, and others joining in the same request, a truce was agreed upon, and the generals proceeded to a conference. In the mean time the women presented their husbands and children to their fathers and brothers, brought refreshments to those that wanted them, and carried the wounded home to be cured. Here they showed them, that they had the ordering of their own houses, what attention their husbands paid them, and in what respect and indulgence they were treated. Upon this a peace was concluded, the conditions of which were, that such of the women as chose to remain with their husbands should be exempt from all labour and drudgery except spinning; that they city should be inhabited by the Romans and Sabines in common, with the name Rome from Romulus; but that all the citizens, from Cures, the capital of the Sabines, should be called Quirites;\* and that the regal power,

\* The word *Quiris*, in the Sabine language, signified both a dart, and a warlike deity armed with a dart. It is uncertain whether the god gave name to the dart, or

and the command of the army, should be equally shared between them.

The city having doubled the number of its inhabitants, an hundred additional senators were elected from among the Sabines, and the legions were to consist of six thousand foot, and six hundred horse.\* The people, too, were divided into three tribes, called Rhamnenses, from Romulus; Tatienses from Tattius; and Lucerenses, from the *Lucus* or Grove, where the asylum stood, whither many had fled, and were admitted citizens. That they were precisely three, appears from the very name of Tribes, and that of their chief officers, who were called Tribunes. Each tribe contained ten *Curia*, or Wards, which some say were called after the Sabine women. But this seems to be false, for many of them have their names from the several quarters of the city which were assigned to them. Many honourable privileges, however, were conferred upon the women, some of which were these: That the men should give them the way, wherever they met them: that they should not mention an obscene word, or appear naked before them; that, in case of their killing any person, they should not be tried before the ordinary judges; and that their children should wear an ornament about their necks, called *Bulla*,† from its likeness to a bubble, and a garment bordered with purple. The two kings did not presently unite their councils, each meeting, for some time, their hundred senators apart; but afterwards they all assembled together. Tattius dwelt where the temple *Moneta* now stands, and Romulus by the steps of the fair Shore as they are called, at the descent from the Palatine Hill to the Great Circus.

the dart to the god; but however that be, this god *Quiris* or *Quirinus*, was either Mars or some other god of war, and was worshipped in Rome till Romulus, who, after his death, was honoured with the name *Quirinus*, took his place.

\* Ruault, in his animadversions upon Plutarch, has discovered two considerable errors in this place. The first is, that Plutarch affirms there were six hundred horse put by Romulus in every legion; whereas there never were, at any time, so many in any of the legions. For there were at first two hundred horse in each legion; after that, they rose to three hundred, and at last to four hundred, but never came up to six hundred. In the second place, he tells us, that Romulus made the legion to consist of six thousand foot: whereas, in his time, it was never more than three thousand. It is said by some, that Marius was the first who raised the legion to six thousand; but Livy informs us, that that augmentation was made by Scipio Africanus, long before Marius. After the expulsion of the kings, it was augmented from three to four thousand, and some time after to five, and at last by Scipio (as we have said) to six. But this was never done but upon pressing occasions. The stated force of a legion was four thousand foot, and two hundred horse.

† The young men, when they took upon them the *Toga virilis*, or man's robe, quitted the *Bulla*, which is supposed to have been a little hollow ball of gold, and made an offering of it to the *Dii Lares*, or household gods. As to the *Prætexta*, or robe edged with purple, it was worn by girls, till their marriage, and by boys till they were seventeen. But what in the time of Romulus was a mark of distinction for the children of the Sabine women, became afterwards very common; for even the children of the *Liberti*, or freedmen, wore it.

The Sabines received the Roman months. All that is of importance on this subject is mentioned in the life of Numa. Romulus on the other hand, adopted their shields, making an alteration in his own armour, and that of the Romans, who before wore bucklers in the manner of the Greeks. They mutually celebrated each other's feats and sacrifices, not abolishing those of either nation, but over and above appointing some new ones; one of which was the *Matronalia*,\* instituted in honour of the women, for their putting an end to the war, and another the *Carmentalia*.†

In the fifth year of the reign of Tattius, some of his friends and kinsmen meeting certain ambassadors who were going from Laurentum to Rome,‡ attempted to rob them on the road, and, as they would not suffer it, but stood in their own defence, killed them. As this was an atrocious crime, Romulus required that those who committed it should immediately be punished, but Tattius hesitated and put it off. This was the first occasion of any open variance between them; for till now they had behaved themselves as if directed by one soul and the administration had been carried on with all possible unanimity. The relations of those that were murdered finding they could have no legal redress from Tattius, fell upon him and slew him, at Lavinium, as he was offering sacrifice with Romulus:§ but they conducted Romulus back with applause, as a prince who paid a proper regard to justice. To the body of Tattius he gave an honourable interment, at Armitrium,|| on mount Aventine; but he took no care to revenge his death on the persons who killed him. Some historians write,

\* During this feast, such of the Roman women as were married, served their slaves at table, and received presents from their husbands, as the husbands did from their wives in the time of the Saturnalia. As the festival of the *Matronalia* was not only observed in honour of the Sabine women, but consecrated to Mars, and, as some will have it, to Juno Lucina, sacrifices were offered to both these deities. This feast was the subject of Horace's Ode, *Martii caelebs quid agam calendis*, &c. and Ovid describes it at large in the Third Book of *Fasti*. Dacier says, by mistake, that this feast was kept on the 1st of April, instead of the 1st of March, and the former English annotator has followed him.

† This is a very solemn feast, kept on the 11th of January, under the Capitol, near the Carmental gate. They begged of this goddess to render their women fruitful, and to give them happy deliveries.

‡ Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, they were ambassadors from Lavinium, who had been at Rome to complain of the incursions made by some of Tattius's friends, upon their territories; and that as they were returning, the Sabines lay in wait for them on the road, stripped them, and killed several of them. Lavinium and Laurentum were neighbouring towns in Latium.

§ Probably this was a sacrifice to the *Dii Indigeni* of Latium, in which Rome was included. But Licio writes, that Tattius went not thither with Romulus, nor on account of the sacrifice, but that he went alone to persuade the inhabitants to pardon the murderers.

|| The place was so called, because of a ceremony of the same name, celebrated every year on the 19th of October, when the troops were mustered, and purified by sacrifices.

that the Laurentians in great terror gave up the murderers of Tatius: but Romulus let them go, saying, "Blood with blood should be repaid." This occasioned a report, and indeed a strong suspicion, that he was not sorry to get rid of his partner in the government. None of these things, however, occasioned any disturbance or sedition among the Sabines; but partly out of regard for Romulus, partly out of fear of his power, or because they revered him as a god, they all continued well affected to him. This veneration for him extended to many other nations. The ancient Latins sent ambassadors, and entered into a league and alliance with him. Fidencæ, a city in the neighbourhood of Rome, he took, as some say, by sending a body of horse before, with orders to break the hinges of the gates, and then appearing unexpectedly in person. Others will have it, that the Fidenates first attacked and ravaged the Roman territories, and were carrying off considerable booty, when Romulus lay in ambush for them, cut many of them off, and took their city. He did not, however, demolish it, but made it a Roman colony, and sent into it two thousand five hundred inhabitants on the thirteenth of April.

After this, a plague broke out, so fatal, that people died of it, without any previous sickness; while the scarcity of fruits, and barrenness of the cattle added to the calamity. It rained blood too in the city; so that their unavoidable sufferings were increased with supernatural terrors: and when the destruction spread itself to Laurentum, then all agreed it was for neglecting to do justice to the murderers of the ambassadors and of Tatius, that the Divine vengeance pursued both cities. Indeed, when those murderers were given up and punished by both parties, their calamities visibly abated; and Romulus purified the city with lustrations, which they tell us, are yet celebrated at the Ferentine gate. Before the pestilence ceased, the people of Cameria\* attacked the Romans, and over-ran the country, thinking them incapable of resistance by reason of the sickness. But Romulus soon met them in the field, gave them battle, in which he killed six thousand of them, took their city, and transplanted half its remaining inhabitants to Rome; adding, on the first of August, to those he left in Cameria, double their number from Rome. So many people had he to spare in about sixteen years time from the building of the city. Among other spoils, he carried from Cameria a chariot of brass, which he consecrated in the temple of Vulcan, placing upon it his own statue crowned by Victory.

His affairs thus flourishing, the weaker part of his neighbours submitted, satisfied, if they could but live in peace: but the more powerful, dreading or envying Romulus, thought they should not

\* This was a town which Romulus had taken before. Its old inhabitants took this opportunity to rise in arms, and kill the Roman garrison.

by any means let him go unnoticed, but oppose and put a stop to his growing greatness. The Veientes, who had a strong city and extensive country,\* were the first of the Tuscans who began the war, demanding Fidenæ as their property. But it was not only unjust, but ridiculous, that they who had given the people of Fidenæ no assistance in the greatest extremities, but had suffered them to perish, should challenge their houses and lands now in the possession of other masters. Romulus, therefore, gave them a contemptuous answer; upon which they divided their forces into two bodies; one attacked the garrison of Fidenæ, and the other went to meet Romulus. That which went against Fidenæ, defeated the Romans, and killed two thousand of them; but the other was beaten by Romulus with the loss of more than eight thousand men. They gave battle, however, once more at Fidenæ; where all allow the victory was chiefly owing to Romulus himself, whose skill and courage were then remarkably displayed and whose strength and swiftness appeared more than human. But what some report, is entirely fabulous, and utterly incredible, that there fell that day fourteen thousand men, above half of whom Romulus slew with his own hand. For even the Messenians seem to have been extravagant in their boasts, when they tell us Aristomenes offered a hecatomb three several times, for having as often killed a hundred Lacedæmonians.† After the Veientes were thus ruined, Romulus suffered the scattered remains to escape, and marched directly to their city. The inhabitants could not bear up after so dreadful a blow, but humbly suing for a peace, obtained a truce for a hundred years, by giving up a considerable part of their territory called Septempagium, which signifies a district of seven towns, together with the salt pits by the river; besides which, they delivered into his hands fifty of their nobility as hostages. He triumphed for this on the fifteenth of October, leading up, among many other captives, the general of the Veientes, a man in years, who seemed on this occasion, not to have behaved with the prudence which might have been expected from his age. Hence it is, that, to this day, when they offer a sacrifice for victory, they lead an old man through the forum to the capitol, in a boy's robe, edged with purple, with a bulla about his neck; and the herald cries "Sardians to be sold;"‡

\* Veii, the capital of Tuscany, was situated on a craggy rock, about one hundred furlongs from Rome: and is compared by Dionysius of Halicarnassus to Athens for extent and riches.

† Pausanias confirms this account, mentioning both the time and place of these achievements, as well the hecatombs offered on account of them to Jupiter Ithomates. Those wars between the Messenians and Spartans, were about the time of Tullus Hostilius.

‡ The Veientes, with the other Etrurians, were a colony of Lydians, whose metropolis was the city of Sardis. Other writers date this custom from the time of the conquest of Sardinia by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, when such a number

for the Tuscans are said to be a colony of the Sardians, and Veii is a city of Tuscany.

This was the last of the wars of Romulus. After this he behaved as almost all men do, who rise by some great and unexpected good fortune to dignity and power; for, exalted with his exploits, and loftier in his sentiments, he dropped his popular affability, and assumed the monarch to an odious degree. He gave the first offence by his dress; his habit being a purple vest, over which he wore a robe bordered with purple. He gave audience in a chair of state. He had always about him a number of young men called *Celeres*,\* from their despatch in doing business; and before him went men with staves to keep off the populace, who also wore thongs of leather at their girdles, ready to bind directly any person he should order to be bound.

When his grandfather, Numitor, died in Alba, though the crown undoubtedly belonged to him, yet, to please the people, he left the administration in their own hands; and over the Sabines† (in Rome) he appointed yearly a particular magistrate; thus teaching the great men of Rome to seek a free commonwealth without a king, and by turns to rule and obey. For now the patricians had no share in the government, but only an honourable title and appearance, assembling in the senate-house more for form than business. There, with silent attention, they heard the king give his orders, and differed only from the rest of the people in this, that they went home with the first knowledge of what was determined. This treatment they digested as well as they could; but when, of his own authority, he divided the conquered lands among the soldiers, and restored the Veientes their hostages without the consent or approbation of the senate, they considered it as an intolerable insult. Hence arose strong suspicions against them, and Romulus soon after unaccountably disappeared. This happened on the 7th of July.

As no part of his body, or even his garments could be found, some conjectured, that the senators who were convened in the temple of Vulcan, fell upon him and killed him; after which each carried a part away under his gown. Others say, that his death did not happen in the temple of Vulcan, nor in the presence of the senators only, but while he was holding an assembly of the people without the city, at a place called the Goat's-Marsh. The air on that occasion was suddenly convulsed and altered in a

of slaves was brought from that island, that none were to be seen in the market but Sardinians.

\* Romulus ordered the *Curia* to chouse him a guard of three hundred men, ten out of each *Curia*; and these he called *Celeres*, for the reason which Plutarch has assigned.

† Xylander and H. Stephanus are rationally enough of opinion, that instead of Sabines we should read Albans; and so the Latin translator renders it.

wonderful manner; for the light of the sun failed,\* and they were involved in an astonishing darkness, attended on every side with dreadful thunderings, and tempestuous winds. The multitude then dispersed and fled, but the nobility gathered into one body. When the tempest was over, and the light appeared again, the people returned to the same place, and a very anxious inquiry was made for the king; but the patricians would not suffer them to look closely into the matter. They commanded them to honour and worship Romulus, who was caught up to Heaven, and who, as he had been a gracious king, would be to the Romans a propitious deity. Upon this the multitude went away with great satisfaction, and worshipped him, in hopes of his favour and protection. Some, however, searching more minutely into the affair, gave the patricians no small uneasiness; they even accused them of imposing upon the people a ridiculous tale, when they had murdered the king with their own hands.

While things were in this disorder, a senator, we are told of great distinction, and famed for sanctity of manners, Julius Proculus by name,† who came from Alba with Romulus, and had been his faithful friend, went into the Forum, and declared upon the most solemn oaths, before all the people, that as he was travelling on the road, Romulus met him, in a form more noble and august than ever, and clad in bright and dazzling armour. Astonished at the sight, he said to him, “For what misbehaviour of ours, O king, or by what accident have you so untimely left us, to labour under the heaviest calumnies, and the whole city to sink under unexpressible sorrow!” To which he answered, “It pleased the gods, my good Proculus, that we should dwell with men for a time; and after having founded a city which will be the most powerful and glorious in the world, return to heaven, from whence he came. Farewell then, and go, tell the Romans, that, by the exercise of temperance and fortitude, they shall attain the highest pitch of human greatness, and I, the god Quirinus, will ever be propitious to you.” This, by the character and oath of the relater, gained credit with the Romans, who were caught with the enthusiasm, as if they had been actually inspired; and far from contradicting what they had heard, bade adieu to all their suspicions of the nobility, united in the deifying of Quirinus, and addressed their devotions to him. Romulus is said to have been fifty-four years of age, and in the thirty-eighth of his reign, when he was taken from the world.

\* Cicero mentions this remarkable darkness in a fragment of his sixth book *de Repub.* And it appears from the astronomical tables, that there was a great eclipse of the sun in the first year of the sixteenth Olympiad, supposed to be the year that Romulus died, on the 26th of May; which, considering the little exactness there was then in the Roman calendar, might very well coincide with the month of July.

† A descendant of Iulus, or Ascanius.



## LYCURGUS.\*

*Flourished 777 years before Christ.*

Of Lycurgus, the lawgiver, we have nothing to relate that is certain and uncontroverted. For there are different accounts of his birth, his travels, his death, and especially of the laws and form of government which he established. But least of all are the times agreed upon when this great man lived. We shall therefore endeavour to select such circumstances as are related by authors of the greatest credit.

Simonides, the poet, tells us, that Prytanis, not Eunomus, was father to Lycurgus. But most writers give us the genealogy of Lycurgus and Eunomus in a different manner; for, according to them, Sous was the son of Patrocles, and grandson of Aristodemus; Eurytion the son of Sous, Prytanis of Eurytion, and Eunomus of Prytanis; to this Eunomus was born Polydectes, by a former wife, and by a second, named Dianassa, Lycurgus. Eutychedas, however, says Lycurgus was the sixth from Patrocles, and the eleventh from Hercules. The most distinguished of his ancestors was Sous, under whom the Lacedæmonians made the *Helotes* their staves,† and gained an extensive tract of land from the Arcadians. Of this Sous it is related, that, being besieged by the Clitorians in a difficult post where there was no water, he agreed to give up all his conquests, provided that himself and all his army should drink of the neighbouring spring. When these conditions were sworn to, he assembled his forces, and offered his kingdom to the man that would forbear drinking; not one of them, however, could deny himself, but they all drank. Then Sous went down to the spring, and having only sprinkled his face in sight of the enemy, he marched off, and still held the country, because *all* had not drank. Though he was highly honoured for this, the

\* The life of Lycurgus was the first which Plutarch published, as he himself observes in the life of Theseus. He seems to have had a strong attachment to the Spartans and their customs, as Xenophon likewise had: for, besides this life, and those of several other Spartan chiefs, we have a treatise of his on the laws and customs of the Lacedæmonians, and another of Laconic Apophthegms. He makes Lycurgus in all things a perfect hero, and alleges his behaviour as a proof, that the wise man, so often described by the philosophers, was not a mere ideal character, unattainable by human nature. It is certain, however, that the encomiums bestowed upon him and his laws by the Delphic oracle, was merely a contrivance between the Pythoness and himself; and some of his laws, for instance, that concerning the women, were unexceptionable.

† The *Helotes*, or *Ilotes*, were inhabitants of Helos, a maritime town of Laconia. The Lacedæmonians having conquered and made slaves of them, called not only them, but all the other slaves they happened to have, by the name of *Helotes*. It is certain, however, that the descendants of the original *Helotes*, though they were extremely ill treated, and some of them assassinated, subsisted many ages in Laconia.

family had not their name from him, but from his son were called *Eurytionidæ* :\* and this, because Eurytion seems to be the first who relaxed the strictness of kingly government, inclining to the interest of the people, and ingratiating himself with them. Upon this relaxation, their encroachments increased, and the succeeding kings, either becoming odious, treating them with greater rigour, or else giving way through weakness, or in hopes of favour, for a long time anarchy and confusion prevailed in Sparta ; by which one of its kings, the father of Lycurgus, lost his life. For while he was endeavouring to part some persons who were concerned in a fray, he received a wound by a kitchen knife, of which he died, leaving the kingdom to his eldest son Polydectes.

But he also dying soon after, the general voice called Lycurgus to ascend the throne ; and he actually did so, till it appeared that his brother's widow was pregnant. As soon as he perceived this, he declared that the kingdom belonged to her issue, provided it were male, and he kept the administration in his hands only as his guardian. Soon after the queen made him a private overture, that she would destroy her child upon condition that he would marry her when king of Sparta. Though he detested her wickedness, he said nothing against the proposal, but, pretending to approve it, charged her not to take any drugs lest she should endanger her own health or life ; for he would take care that the child, as soon as born, should be destroyed. Thus he artfully drew on the woman to her full time, when he sent persons to attend and watch her, with orders, if it were a girl, to give it to the women, but if a boy, to bring it to him, in whatever business he might be engaged. It happened that he was at supper with the magistrates when she was delivered of a boy, and his servants, who were present, carried the child to him. When he received it, he is reported to have said to the company, *Spartans, see here your new-born king*. He then laid him down upon the chair of state, and named him Charilaus, because of the joy and admiration of his magnanimity and justice, testified by all present. Thus the reign of Lycurgus lasted only eight months. But the citizens had a great veneration for him on other accounts, and there were

\* It may be proper here to give the reader a short view of the regal government of Lacedæmon, under the Herculean line. The Heracidæ having driven out Tisamenes the son of Orestes, Eurysthenes and Procles, the sons of Aristodemus, reigned in that kingdom. Under them the government took a new form, and, instead of one sovereign became subject to two. These two brothers did not divide the kingdom between them, neither did they agree to reign alternately, but they resolved to govern jointly, and with equal power and authority. What is surprising is, that notwithstanding their mutual jealousy, this diarchy did not end with these two brothers, but continued under a succession of thirty princes of the line of Eurysthenes, and twenty seven of that of Procles. Eurysthenes was succeeded by his son Agis, from whom all the descendants of that line were surnamed Agidæ, as the other line took the name of Eurytionidæ, from Eurytion, the grandson of Procles, Petrocles, or Protocles.—Pausan. Strab. et. al.

more that paid him their attentions, and were ready to execute his commands, out of regard to his virtues, than those that obeyed him as a guardian to the king, and director of the administration. There were not, however, wanting those that envied him, and opposed his advancement, as too high for so young a man; particularly the relations and friends of the queen-mother, who seemed to have been treated with contempt. Her brother Leonidas one day boldly attacked him with virulent language, and scrupled not to tell him, that he was well assured that he would soon be king; thus preparing suspicions, and matter of accusation against Lycurgus, in case any accident should befall the king. Insinuations of the same kind were likewise spread by the queen-mother. Moved with this ill-treatment, and fearing some dark design, he determined to get clear of all suspicion, by travelling into other countries, till his nephew should be grown up, and have a son to succeed him in the kingdom.

He set sail, therefore, and landed in Crete. There, having observed the forms of government, and conversed with the most illustrious personages, he was struck with admiration of some of their laws,\* and resolved at his return to introduce them into Sparta. Some others he rejected. Among the friends he gained in Crete, was Thales,† whom he had interest enough to persuade to go and settle at Sparta. Thales was famed for his wisdom and political abilities: he was withal a lyric poet, who, under colour of exercising his art, performed as great things as the most excellent lawgivers. For his odes were so many persuasives to obedience and unanimity; as by means of melody and numbers they had great grace and power, they softened insensibly the manners of the audience, drew them off from the animosities which then prevailed, and united them in zeal for excellence and virtue. So that, in some measure, he prepared the way for Lycurgus towards the instruction of the Spartans. From Crete Lycurgus passed to Asia,‡ desirous to compare the Ionian expense and luxury with the

\* The most ancient writers, as Ephorus, Calisthenes, Aristotle, and Plato, are of opinion, that Lycurgus adopted many things in the Cretan polity. But Polybius will have it that they are all mistaken:—"At Sparta," says he (in this sixth book,) "the lands are equally divided among all the citizens; wealth is banished; the crown is hereditary; whereas in Crete the contrary obtains." But this does not prove that Lycurgus might not take some good laws and usages from Crete, and leave what he thought defective. There is, indeed, so great a conformity between the laws of Lycurgus and those of Minos, that we must believe, with Strabo, that these were the foundation of the other.

† This Thales, who was a poet and musician, must be distinguished from Thales the Milesian, who was one of the seven wise men of Greece. The poet lived 250 years before the philosopher.

‡ The Ionians sent a colony from Attica into Asia Minor, about 1050 years before the Christian era, and 150 before Lycurgus. And though they might not be greatly degenerated in so short a time, yet our lawgiver could judge of the effect which the climate and Asiatic plenty had upon them.

Cretan frugality and hard diet, so as to judge what effect each had on their manners and governments; just as physicians compare bodies that are weak and sickly with the healthy and robust. There also, probably,\* he met with Homer's poems, which were preserved by the posterity of Cleophylus. Observing that many moral sentences and much political knowledge were intermixed with his stories, which had an irresistible charm, he collected them into one body, and transcribed them with pleasure, in order to take them home with him. For his glorious poetry was not yet fully known in Greece; only some particular pieces were in a few hands, as they happened to be dispersed. Lycurgus was the first who made them generally known. The Egyptians likewise suppose that he visited *them*; and as of all their institutions he was most pleased with their distinguishing the military men from the rest of the people,† he took the same method at Sparta, and, by separating from these the mechanics and artificers, he rendered the constitution more noble and more of a piece. This assertion of the Egyptians is confirmed by some of the Greek writers.

The Lacedæmonians found the want of Lycurgus when absent, and sent many embassies to entreat him to return. For they perceived that their kings had barely the title and outward appendages of royalty, but in nothing else differed from the multitude; whereas Lycurgus had abilities from nature to guide the measures of government, and powers of persuasion, that drew the hearts of men to him. The kings, however, were consulted about his return, and they hoped that in his presence they should experience less insolence amongst the people. Returning then to a city thus disposed, he immediately applied himself to alter the whole frame of the constitution; sensible that a partial change, and the introducing of some new laws, would be of no advantage; but as in the case of a body diseased and full of bad humours, whose temperament is to be corrected and new-formed by medicines, it was necessary to begin a new regimen. With these sentiments he went to Delphi, and when he had offered sacrifice and consulted the god,‡ he returned with that celebrated oracle, in which the

\* He adds *probably*, because some Greek authors have affirmed that Lycurgus saw Homer himself, who was at that time at Chios. But Plutarch's opinion is more to be relied on. Homer died before Lycurgus was born. Before the time of Lycurgus, they had nothing in Greece of Homer, but some detached pieces, which were severally named from the different subjects treated of in them, such as, *The Valour of Diomedes*, *Hector's Ransom*, and the like.

† The ancient Egyptians kept not only the priests and military men, who consisted chiefly of the nobility, distinct from the rest of the people; but the other employments, viz. those of herdsmen, shepherds, merchants, interpreters, and seamen, descended in particular tribes from father to son.

‡ As Minus had persuaded the Cretans, that his laws were delivered to him from Jupiter, so Lycurgus, his imitator, was willing to make the Spartans believe that he did every thing by the direction of Apollo. Other legislators have found it very

priestess called him, *Beloved of the gods, and rather a god than a man*. As to his request that he might enact good laws, she told him, *Apollo had heard his request, and promised that the constitution he should establish would be the most excellent in the world*. Thus encouraged, he applied to the nobility, and desired them to put their hands to the work; addressing himself privately at first to his friends, and afterward by degrees, trying the disposition of others, and preparing them to concur in the business. When matters were ripe, he ordered thirty of the principal citizens to appear armed in the market-place by break of day, to strike terror into such as might desire to oppose him. Upon the first alarm, king Charilaus, apprehending it to be a design against his person, took refuge in the *Chalcioicose*\* or Brazen Temple. But he was soon satisfied, and accepted of their oath. Nay, so far from being obstinate, he joined in the undertaking. Indeed, he was so remarkable for the gentleness of his disposition, that Archelaus, his partner in the throne, is reported to have said to some who were praising the young king, *Yes, Charilaus is a good man to be sure, who cannot find in his heart to punish the bad*. Among the many new institutions of Lycurgus, the first and most important was that of a *senate*; which sharing, as Plato says,† in the power of the kings, too imperious and unrestrained before, and having equal authority with them, was the means of keeping them within the bounds of moderation, and highly contributed to the preservation of the state. For before, it had been veering and unsettled, sometimes inclining to arbitrary power, and sometimes

convenient to propagate an opinion that their institutions were from the gods. For that self-love in human nature, which would but ill have borne with the superiority of genius, that must have been acknowledged in an unassisted lawgiver, found an ease and satisfaction in admitting his new regulations, when they were said to come from heaven.

\* That is, the *brazen temple*. It was standing in the time of Pausanius, who lived in the reign of Marcus Antonius.

† The passage to which Plutarch refers, is in Plato's third book of laws, where he is examining into the causes of the downfall of states. An Athenian is introduced thus speaking to a Lacedæmonian:—"Some god, I believe, in his care for your state, and in his foresight of what would happen, has given you two kings of the same family, in order that reigning jointly, they might govern with more moderation, and Sparta experience the greater tranquillity. After this, when the regal authority was grown again too absolute and imperious, a divine spirit residing in human nature (i. e. Lycurgus,) reduced it within the bounds of equity and moderation, by the wise provision of a senate, whose authority was to be equal to that of the kings." Aristotle finds fault with this circumstance in the institution of the senate, that the senators were to continue for life: for as the mind grows old with the body, he thought it unreasonable to put the fortunes of citizens into the power of men who through age might become incapable of judging. He likewise thought it very unreasonable that they were not made accountable for their actions. But for the latter inconvenience sufficient provision seems to have been made afterward, by the institution of the *Ephori*, who had it chiefly in charge to defend the rights of the people; and therefore Plato adds,—“A third blessing to Sparta was the prince, who finding the power of the senate and the kings too arbitrary and uncontrolled, contrived the authority of the *Ephori*, as a restraint upon it,” &c.

towards a pure democracy; but this establishment of a senate, an intermediate body, like ballast, kept it in a just equilibrium; *the twenty-eight senators adhering to the kings, whenever they saw the people too encroaching, and on the other hand, supporting the people, when the kings attempted to make themselves absolute.* This, according to Aristotle, was the number of Senators fixed upon, because two of the thirty associates of Lycurgus deserted the business through fear. Sphærus tells us, there were only twenty-eight at first intrusted with the design. But I rather think, just so many senators were created, that together with the two kings, the whole body might consist of thirty members.

He had this institution so much at heart, that he obtained from Delphi an oracle in its behalf, called *rhetra*, or *the decree*. This was couched in very ancient and uncommon terms, which interpreted, ran thus: *When you have built a temple to the Syllanian Jupiter, and the Syllanian Minerva,\* divided the people into tribes and classes, and established a senate of thirty persons, including the two kings, you shall occasionally summon the people to an assembly between Babyce and Cnacion, and they shall have the determining voice.* Babyce and Cnacion are now called Oenus; but Aristotle thinks, by Cnacion is meant the river, and by Babyce the bridge. Between these they held their assemblies, having neither halls, nor any kind of buildings for that purpose. These things, he thought of no advantage to their councils, but rather a disservice: as they distracted the attention, and turned it upon trifles, on observing the statutes and pictures, the splendid roofs, and every other theatrical ornament. The people, thus assembled, had no right to propose any subject of debate, and were only authorized to ratify or reject what might be proposed to them by the senate and the kings. But because, in process of time, the people, by additions or retrenchments, changed the terms, and perverted the sense of the decrees, the kings Polydorus and Theopompus inserted into the *rhetra* this clause: *If the people attempt to corrupt any law, the senate and chiefs shall retire:* that is, they shall dissolve the assembly, and annul the alterations. And they found means to persuade the Spartans that this too was ordered by Apollo. Though the government was thus tempered by Lycurgus, yet soon after it degenerated into an oligarchy, whose power was exercised with such wantonness and violence, that it wanted indeed a bridle, as Plato expresses it. This curb they found in the authority of the *Ephori*,† about a hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus.

\* As no account can be given of the meaning of the word *Syllanian*, it is supposed it should be either read *Sellasian*, from Sellasia, a town of Laconia upon the Eurotas; or else *Hellanian*, as much as to say, the Grecian Jupiter, &c.

† Herodotus (l. i. c. 65.) and Xenophon (*de Repub. Lac.*) tells us the *Ephori* were appointed by Lycurgus himself. But the account which Plutarch gives from Aristotle (*Polit.* l. v.) and others, of their being instituted long after, seems more agreeable to

Elatus was the first invested with this dignity in the reign of Theopompus: who, when his wife upbraided him, that he would leave the regal power to his children less than he received it, replied, *Nay, but greater, because more lasting*. And in fact, the prerogative, so stript of all extravagant pretensions, no longer occasioned either envy or danger to its possessors.

A second and bolder political enterprise of Lycurgus was a new division of the lands. For he found a prodigious inequality, the city overcharged with many indigent persons, who had no land, and the wealth centred in the hands of a few. Determined, therefore, to root out the evils of insolence, envy, avarice, and luxury, and those distempers of a state still more inveterate and fatal, I mean poverty and riches, he persuaded them to cancel all former divisions of land, and to make a new one, in such a manner that they might be perfectly equal in their possessions and way of living. Hence if they were ambitious of distinction, they might seek it in virtue, as no other difference was left between them, but that which arises from the dishonour of base, and the praise of good actions. His proposal was put in practice. He made nine thousand lots for the territory of Sparta, which he distributed among so many citizens, and thirty thousand for the inhabitants of the rest of Laconia. Each lot was capable of producing (one year with another) seventy bushels of grain for each man,\* and twelve for each woman, besides a quantity of wine and oil in proportion. Such a provision they thought sufficient for health and a good habit of body, and they wanted nothing more. A story goes of our legislator, that some time after, returning from a journey through the fields just reaped, and seeing the shocks standing parallel and equal, he smiled, and said to some who were by,

reason; for it is not likely that Lycurgus, who in all things endeavoured to support the aristocracy, and left the people only the right of assenting or dissenting to what was proposed to them, would appoint a kind of tribunes of the people, to be masters as it were both of the kings and the senate. Some, indeed, suppose the *Ephori* to have been at first the king's friends, to whom they delegated their authority when they were obliged to be in the field. But it is very clear, that they were elected by the people out of their body, and sometimes out of the very dregs of it; for the holdest citizen, whoever he was, was most likely to be chosen to this office, which was intended as a check on the senate and the kings. They were five in number, like the *Quinqueviri* in the republic of Carthage. They were annually elected; and in order to effect any thing, the unanimous voice of the college was requisite. Their authority, though well designed at first, came at length to be in a manner boundless. They presided in popular assemblies, collected their suffrages, declared war, made peace, treated with foreign princes, determined the number of forces to be raised, appointed the funds to maintain them, and distributed rewards and punishments, in the name of the state. They likewise held a court of justice, inquired into the conduct of all magistrates, inspected into the behaviour and education of youths, had a particular jurisdiction over the *Helotes*, and, in short, by degrees, drew the whole administration into their hands. They even went so far as to put king Agis to death under a form of justice, and were themselves at last killed by Cleomenes.

\* By man is meant a master of a family, whose household was to subsist upon these seventy bushels.

*How like is Laconia to an estate newly divided among many brothers!*

After this he attempted to divide also the moveables, in order to take away all appearance of inequality; but he soon perceived that they could not bear to have their goods directly taken from them, and therefore adopted another method, counter-working their avarice by a stratagem.\* First he stopped the currency of the gold and silver coin, and ordered that they should make use of iron money only, then to a great quantity and weight of this he assigned but a very small value; so that to lay up ten *minæ*,† a whole room was required, and to remove it nothing less than a yoke of oxen. When this became current, many kinds of injustice ceased in Lacedæmon. Who would steal or take a bribe, who would defraud or rob, when he could not conceal the booty—when he could neither be dignified by the possession of it, nor, if cut in pieces, be served by its use? For we are told, that when hot, they quenched it in vinegar, to make it brittle and unmanageable, and consequently unfit for any other service. In the next place, he excluded unprofitable and superfluous arts; indeed, if he had not done this, most of them would have fallen of themselves, when the new money took place, as the manufactures could not be disposed of. Their iron coin would not pass in the rest of Greece, but was ridiculed and despised, so that the Spartans had no means of purchasing any foreign or curious wares, nor did any merchant ship unlade in their harbours. There were not even to be found in all their country either sophists, wandering fortune-tellers, keepers of infamous houses, or dealers in gold and silver trinkets, because there was no money. Thus luxury, losing by degrees the means that cherished and supported it, died away of itself; even those who possessed great riches had no advantage from them, since they could not be displayed in public, but must lie useless in unregarded repositories. Hence it was, that excellent workmanship was shown in their useful and necessary furniture, as beds, chairs, and tables, and the Lacedæmonian cup called *cothon* was highly valued, particularly in campaigns; for the water which

\* For a long time after Lycurgus, the Spartans gloriously opposed the growth of avarice, inasmuch that a young man, who bought an estate at a great advantage, was called to account for it, and a fine set upon him; for, besides the injustice he was guilty of, in buying a thing for less than it was worth, they judged that he was too desirous of gain, since his mind was employed in getting at an age when others think of nothing but spending.

But when the Spartans, no longer satisfied with their own territories (as Lycurgus had enjoined them to be,) came in he engaged in foreign wars, their money not being passable in other countries, they found themselves obliged to apply to the Persians, whose gold and silver dazzled their eyes; and their covetousness grew at length so infamous, that it occasioned the proverb mentioned by Plato, "One may see a great deal of money carried into Lacedæmon, but no one sees any of it brought out again."

† Thirty-two pounds, five shillings, and ten pence sterling.



must then of necessity be drank, though it would often otherwise offend the sight, had its muddiness concealed by the colour of the cup, and the thick part stopping at the shelving brim, it came clearer to the lips. Of these improvements the lawgiver was the cause; for the workmen having no more employment in matters of mere curiosity, showed the excellency of their art in necessary things.

Desirous to complete the conquest of luxury, and exterminate the love of riches, he introduced a third institution, which was wisely enough and ingeniously contrived. This was the use of public tables,\* where all were to eat in common of the same meat, and such kinds of it as were appointed by law. At the same time they were forbidden to eat at home, upon expensive couches and tables, to call in the assistance of butchers and cooks, or fatten like voracious animals in private; for so not only their natures would be corrupted, but their bodies disordered. Abandoned to all manner of sensuality and dissoluteness, they would require long sleep, warm baths, and the same indulgence as in perpetual sickness. To effect this was certainly very great; but it was greater still to secure riches from rapine, and from envy, as Theophrastus expresses it, or rather by the eating in common, and by the frugality of their table, to take from riches their very being. For what use or enjoyment of them, what peculiar display of magnificence could there be, where the poor man went to the same refreshment with the rich? Hence the observation, that it was only at Sparta where *Plutus* (according to the proverb) was kept blind, and, like an image destitute of life or motion. It must further be observed, that they had not the privilege to eat at home, and so to come without appetite to the public repast; they made a point of it to observe any one that did not eat and drink with them, and to reproach him as an intemperate and effeminate person who was sick of the common diet.

The rich, therefore, were more offended with this regulation than with any other, and, rising in a body, they loudly expressed

\* Xenophon seems to have penetrated farther into the reason of this institution than any other author, as indeed he had better opportunity to do. The rest only say, that this was intended to repress luxury; but he very wisely remarks, that it was also intended to serve for a kind of school or academy, where the young were instructed by the old, the latter relating the great things that had been performed within their memory, and thereby exciting the growing generation to distinguish themselves by performances equally great.

But as it was found impracticable for all the citizens to eat in common, when the number of them came to exceed the number of the lots of land, Dacier thinks it might have been better if the lawgiver had ordained that those public tables should be maintained at the expense of the public, as it was done in Crete. But it must be considered, that while the discipline of Lycurgus was kept up in its purity, they provided against any inconvenience from the increase of citizens, by sending out colonies; and Lacedæmon was not burdened with poor till the declension of that state.

their indignation; nay, they proceeded so far as to assault Lycurgus with stones, so that he was forced to fly from the assembly, and take refuge in a temple. Unhappily, however, before he reached it, a young man named Alcander, hasty in his resentments, though not otherwise ill-tempered, came up with him, and, upon his turning round, struck out one of his eyes with a stick. Lycurgus then stopped short, and without giving way to passion, showed the people his eye beat out, and his face streaming with blood. They were so struck with shame and sorrow at the sight, that they surrendered Alcander to him, and conducted him home with the utmost expressions of regret. Lycurgus thanked them for the care of his person, and dismissed them all except Alcander. He took him into his house, but showed him no ill treatment, either by word or action, only ordering him to wait upon him, instead of his usual servants and attendants. The youth, who was of an ingenuous disposition, without murmuring, did as he was commanded. Living in this manner with Lycurgus, and having an opportunity to observe the mildness and goodness of his heart, his strict temperance and indefatigable industry, he told his friends that Lycurgus was not that proud and severe man he might have been taken for, but, above all others, gentle and engaging in his behaviour. This then was his chastisement, and this punishment he suffered—of a wild and head-strong young man to become a very modest and prudent citizen. In memory of his misfortune, Lycurgus built a temple to *Minerva Optiletis*, so called by him from a term which the Dorians use for the eye. Yet Dioscorides, who wrote a treatise concerning the Lacedæmonian government, and others, relate that his eye was hurt, but not put out, and that he built the temple in gratitude to the goddess for his cure. However, the Spartans never carried staves to their assemblies afterwards.

At the public repasts there were fifteen persons to a table, or a few more or less. Each of them was obliged to bring in monthly a bushel of meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and a half of figs, and a little money to buy flesh and fish. If any of them happened to offer a sacrifice of first fruits, or to kill venison, he sent a part of it to the public table; for, after a sacrifice or hunting, he was at liberty to sup at home, but the rest were to appear at the usual place. Children also were introduced at these public tables, as so many schools of sobriety. There they heard discourses concerning government, and were instructed in the most liberal breeding. There they were allowed to jest without scurrility, and were not to take it ill when the raillery was returned. For *it was reckoned worthy of a Lacedæmonian to bear a jest*: but if any one's patience failed, he had only to desire them to be quiet, and they left off immediately. When they first entered, the oldest man present pointed to the door, and said, *Not a word*

*spoken in this company goes out there.* The admitting of any man to a particular table was under the following regulation: Each member of that small society took a little ball of soft bread in his hand; this he was to drop without saying a word into a vessel called *caddos*, which the waiter carried upon his head. In case he approved of the candidate, he did it without altering the figure; if not, he first pressed it flat in his hand; for a flatted ball was considered as a negative. And if but one such was found, the person was not admitted, as they thought it proper that the whole company should be satisfied with each other. The dish that was in the highest esteem amongst them was the black broth. The old men were so fond of it, that they ranged themselves on one side and ate it, leaving the meat to the young people. It is related of a king of Pontus,\* that he purchased a Lacedæmonian cook for sake of this broth. But when he came to taste it, he strongly expressed his dislike, and the cook made answer, *Sir, to make this broth relish, it is necessary first to bathe in the river Eurotas.* After they had drank moderately, they went home without lights. Indeed they were forbidden to walk with a light either on this or any other occasion, that they might accustom themselves to march boldly and resolutely in the darkest night.

Lycurgus left none of his laws in writing; it was ordered in one of the *Rhetræ* that none should be written. For what he thought most conducive to the virtue and happiness of a city, were principles interwoven with the manners and breeding of the people. These would remain immovable, as founded in inclination, and be the strongest and most lasting tie: and the habits which education produced in the youth, would answer in each the purpose of a lawgiver. As for smaller matters, contracts about property, and whatever occasionally varied, it was better not to reduce these to a written form and unalterable method, but to suffer them to change with the times, and to admit of additions or retrenchments at the pleasure of persons so well educated; for he resolved the whole business of legislation into the bringing up of youth. And this, as we have observed, was the reason why one of his ordinances forbade them to have any written laws.

Another ordinance levelled against magnificence and expense, directed that the ceilings of houses should be wrought with no tool but the axe, and the doors with nothing but the saw. For, as Epaminondas is reported to have said afterwards of his table, *Treason lurks not under such a dinner*; so Lycurgus, prior to him, perceived that such a house admits not of luxury and needless splendour. Indeed no man could be so absurd, as to bring into a dwelling so homely and simple, bedsteads with silver feet, purple coverlets, golden cups, and a train of expense that follows these:

\* This story is elsewhere told by Plutarch of Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily; and Cicero confirms it, that he was the person.

but all would necessarily have the bed suitable to the room, the coverlet to the bed, and to that the rest of their utensils and furniture. From this plain sort of dwelling proceeded the question of Leotychidas the elder to his host, when he supped at Corinth, and saw the ceiling of the room very splendid and curiously wrought, *Whether trees grew square in his country.*\*

A third ordinance of Lycurgus was, that they should not often make war against the same enemy, lest, by being frequently put upon defending themselves, they too should become able warriors in their turn. And this they most blamed king Agesilaus for afterwards, that by frequent and continued incursions into Bœotia,† he taught the Thebans to make head against the Lacedæmonians. This made Antalcidas say, when he saw him wounded, *The Thebans pay you well for making them good soldiers, who neither were willing nor able to fight you before.* These ordinances he called *Rhetræ*, as if they had been oracles and decrees of the Deity himself.

Hippias the sophist tells us, that Lycurgus himself was a man of great personal valour, and an experienced commander.‡ Philostephanus also ascribes to him the first division of the cavalry into troops of fifty, who were drawn up in a square body. But Demetrius the Phalerian says, that he never had any military employment, and that there was the profoundest peace when he established the constitution of Sparta. His providing for a cessation of arms during the Olympic games, is likewise a mark of the humane and peaceable man. Some, however, acquaint us, that Lycurgus at first had no communication with Iphitus; but coming that way, and happening to be a spectator, he heard behind him a human voice (as he thought) which expressed some wonder and displeasure that he did not put his countrymen upon resorting to so great an assembly. He turned round immediately, to discover whence the voice came, and as there was no man to be seen, concluded it was from heaven. He joined Iphitus, therefore; and ordering, along with him, the ceremonies of the festival, rendered it more magnificent and lasting.

The discipline of the Lacedæmonians continued after they were arrived at years of maturity. For no man was at liberty to live as he pleased, the city being like one great camp, where all had their stated allowance, and knew their public charge, *each man concluding that he was born, not for himself, but for his country.* Hence

\* This is rendered by the former English translator, as if Leotychidas's question proceeded from ignorance, whereas it was really an arch sneer upon the sumptuous and expensive buildings of Corinth.

† This appeared plainly at the battle of Leuctra, where the Lacedæmonians were overthrown by Epaminondas, and lost their king Cleombrotus, together with the flower of their army.

‡ Xenophon, in his treatise of the Spartan commonwealth, says, Lycurgus brought military discipline to great perfection, and gives us a detail of his regulations and improvements in the art of war.

if they had no particular orders, they employed themselves in inspecting the boys, and teaching them something useful, or in learning of those who were older than themselves. One of the greatest privileges that Lycurgus procured his countrymen was, the enjoyment of leisure, the consequence of his forbidding them to exercise any mechanic trade. It was not worth their while to take great pains to raise a fortune, since riches there were of no account: and the *Helotes*, who tilled the ground, were answerable for the produce above mentioned. To this purpose we have a story of a Lacedæmonian, who happening to be at Athens while the court sat, was informed of a man who was fined for idleness: and when the poor fellow was returning home in great dejection, attended by his condoling friends, he desiring the company to show him the person who was *condemned for keeping up his dignity*. So much beneath them they reckoned all attention to mechanic arts and all desires of riches!

Law-suits were banished from Lacedæmon with money. The Spartans knew neither riches nor poverty, but possessed an equal competency, and had a cheap and easy way of supplying their few wants. Hence, when they were not engaged in war, their time was taken up with dancing, feasting, hunting, or meeting to exercise or converse. They went not to market under thirty years of age,\* all their necessary concerns being managed by their relations and adopters. Nor was it reckoned a credit to the old to be seen sauntering in the market-place; it was deemed more suitable for them to pass great part of the day in the schools of exercise, or places of conversation. Their discourse seldom turned upon money or business or trade, but upon the praise of the excellent, or the contempt of the worthless, and the last was expressed with that pleasantry and humour, which conveyed instruction and correction without seeming to intend it. Nor was Lycurgus himself immoderately severe in his manner; but as Sosibius tells us, he dedicated in each hall a little statue to the god of laughter. He considered facetiousness as a seasoning of their hard exercise and diet, and therefore ordered it to take place on all proper occasions, in their common entertainments and parties of pleasure.

Upon the whole, he taught his citizens to think nothing more disagreeable than to live by or for themselves. Like bees they acted with one impulse for the public good, and always assembled about their prince. They were possessed with a thirst of honour, and enthusiasm bordering upon insanity, and had not a wish but for their country. These sentiments are confirmed by some of their aphorisms. When Pædaretus lost his election for one of

\* This also is said to have been the age when they began to serve in the army. But as they were obliged to forty years service before the law exempted them from going into the field, I incline to the opinion of those writers who think that the military age is not well ascertained.

the *three hundred*, he went away rejoicing that there were *three hundred better men than himself found in the city*.\* Pisistratidas going, with some others, ambassador to the king of Persia's lieutenants, was asked whether they came with a public commission, or on their own account; to which he answered, *If successful, for the public; if unsuccessful, for ourselves*. Agrileonis, the mother of Brasidas,† asking some Amphipolitans who waited upon her at her house, whether Brasidas died honourably and as became a Spartan; they greatly extolled his merit, and said, there was not such a man left in Sparta: whereupon she replied, *Say not so, my friends; for Brasidas was indeed a man of honour, but Lacedæmon can boast of many better men than he*.

The senate, as I said before, consisted at first of those who were assistants to Lycurgus in his great enterprise. Afterwards, to fill up any vacancy that might happen, he ordered the most worthy man to be selected, of those that were full threescore years old. This was the most respectable dispute in the world, and the contest was truly glorious; for it was not who should be swiftest among the swift, or strongest of the strong, but who was the wisest and best among the good and wise. He who had the preference was to bear this mark of superior excellence through life, this great authority, which put into his hands the lives and honour of the citizens, and every other important affair. The manner of the election was this: when the people were assembled, some persons appointed for the purpose were shut up in a room near the place, where they could neither see nor be seen, and only hear the shouts of the electors; ‡ for by them they decided this and most other affairs. Each candidate walked silently through the assembly, one after another according to lot. Those that were shut up had writing tables, in which they set down in different columns the number and loudness of the shouts, without knowing whom they were for; only they marked them as first, second, third, and so on, according to the number of competitors. He that had the most and loudest acclamations, was declared duly elected. Then he was crowned with a garland, and went round to give thanks to the gods; a number of young men followed, striving who should extol him most, and the women celebrated his virtues in their songs, and blessed his worthy life and conduct. Each of his relations offered him a repast, and their address on this occasion was *Sparta honours you with this colla-*

\* Xenophon says, it was the custom for the *Ephori* to appoint three officers, each of whom was to select a hundred men, the best he could find; and it was a point of great emulation to be one of these three hundred.

† Brasidas, the Lacedæmonian general, defeated the Athenians in a battle fought near Amphipolis, a town of Macedonia on the banks of the Strymon, but lost his life in the action.—*Thucyd.* lib. v.

‡ As this was a tumultuary and uncertain way of deciding who had the majority, they were often obliged to separate the people and count the votes. Aristotle thinks, that in such a case, persons should not offer themselves candidates, or solicit the office or employment, but be called to it merely for their abilities and their merit.

tion. When he had finished the procession, he went to the common table, and lived as before. Only two portions were set before him, one of which he carried away: and as all the women related to him attended at the gates of the public hall, he called her for whom he had the greatest esteem, and presented her with the portion, saying at the same time, *That which I received as a mark of honour, I give to you.* Then she was conducted home with great applause by the rest of the women.

Lycurgus likewise made good regulations with respect to burials. In the first place, to take away all superstition, he ordered the dead to be buried in the city, and even permitted their monuments to be erected near the temples, accustoming the youth to such sights from their infancy, that they might have no uneasiness from them, nor any horror for death, as if people were polluted with the touch of a dead body, or with treading upon a grave. In the next place, he suffered nothing to be buried with the corpse, except the red cloth and the olive leaves in which it was wrapt.\* Nor would he suffer the relations to inscribe any names upon the tombs, except of those men who fell in battle, or those women who died in some sacred office. He fixed eleven days for the time of mourning: on the twelfth they were to put an end to it after offering sacrifice to Ceres. No part of life was left vacant and unimproved, but even with their necessary actions he interwove the praise of virtue and the contempt of vice; and he so filled the city with living examples, that it was next to impossible for persons who had these from their infancy before their eyes, not to be drawn and formed to honour.

For the same reason he would not permit all who desired it, to go abroad and see other countries, lest they should contract foreign manners, gain traces of a life of little discipline, and of a different sort of government. He forbade strangers, too, † to resort to Sparta, who could not assign a good reason for their coming; not, as Thucydides says, out of fear they should imitate the constitution of that city, and make improvements in virtue, but lest they should teach his own people some evil. For along with foreigners come new subjects of discourse; ‡ new discourse produces new opinions: and from these there necessarily spring new passions and desires, which, like discords in music, would disturb the es-

\* Elian tells us (l. vi. c. 6.) that not all the citizens indifferently were buried in the red cloth and olive leaves, but only such as had distinguished themselves particularly in the field.

† He received with pleasure such strangers as came and submitted to his laws, and assigned them shares of land, which they could not alienate. Indeed, the lots of all the citizens were unalienable.

‡ Xenophon, who was an eye-witness, imputes the changes in the Spartan discipline to foreign manners: but in fact they had a deeper root. When the Lacedæmonians, instead of keeping to their lawgiver's injunction, only to defend their own country, and to make no conquests, carried their victorious arms over all Greece, and into Asia itself, then foreign gold and foreign manners came into Sparta, corrupted the simplicity of its institutions, and at last overturned that republic.

established government. He, therefore, thought it more expedient for the city to keep out of it corrupt customs and manners, than even to prevent the introduction of a pestilence.

When his principal institutions had taken root in the manners of the people, and the government was come to such maturity as to be able to support and preserve itself, then, as Plato says of the Deity, that he rejoiced when he had created the world, and given it its first motion, so Lycurgus was charmed with the beauty and greatness of his political establishment, when he saw it exemplified in fact, and move on in due order. He was next desirous to make it immortal, so far as human wisdom could effect it, and to deliver it down unchanged to the latest times. For this purpose he assembled all the people, and told them, the provisions he had already made for the state were indeed sufficient for virtue and happiness, but the greatest and most important matter was still behind, which he could not disclose to them till he had consulted the oracle; that they must therefore inviolably observe his laws, without altering any thing in them, till he returned from Delphi; and then he would acquaint them with the pleasure of Apollo. When they had all promised to do so, and desired him to set forward, he took an oath of the kings and senators, and afterwards of all the citizens, that they would abide by the present establishment till Lycurgus came back. He then took his journey to Delphi.

When he arrived there he offered sacrifice to the gods, and consulted the oracle whether his laws were sufficient to promote virtue and secure the happiness of the state. Apollo answered, that the laws were excellent, and that the city which kept to the constitution he had established would be the most glorious in the world. This oracle Lycurgus took down in writing, and sent it to Sparta. He then offered another sacrifice, and embraced his friends and his son, determined never to release his citizens from their oath, but voluntarily there to put a period to his life;\* when he was yet of an age when life was not a burden, when death was not desirable, and while he was not unhappy in any one circumstance. He, therefore, destroyed himself by abstaining from food, persuaded that the very death of lawgivers should have its use. To him indeed, whose performances were so illustrious, the conclusion of life was the crown of happiness, and his death was left guardian of those invaluable blessings he had procured his countrymen through life, as they had taken an oath not to depart from his establishment till his return. Nor was he deceived in his expectations. Sparta continued superior to the rest of Greece, both in its government at home and reputation abroad, so long as it retained the institution of Lycurgus; and this it did during the space of five hundred years, and the reign of fourteen successive

\* Yet Lucian says that Lycurgus died at the age of eighty-five.



kings, down to Agis, the son of Archidamus. As for the appointment of the *Ephori*, it was so far from weakening the constitution, that it gave it additional vigor, and though it seemed to be established in favour of the people, it strengthened the aristocracy.\*

But in the reign of Agis money found its way into Sparta, and with money came its inseparable attendant, avarice. This was by means of Lysander, who, though himself incapable of being corrupted by money, filled his country with the love of it, and with luxury too. He brought both gold and silver from the wars,† and thereby broke through the laws of Lycurgus. While these were in force, Sparta was not so much under the political regulations of a commonwealth, as the strict rules of a philosophic life: and as the poets feign of Hercules, that only with a club and lion's skin he travelled over the world, clearing it of lawless ruffians and cruel tyrants; so the Lacedæmonians, with a piece of parchment‡ and coarse coat, kept Greece in a voluntary obedience, destroyed usurpation and tyranny in the states, put an end to wars, and laid seditions asleep, very often without either shield or lance, and only by sending one ambassador, to whose direction all parties concerned immediately submitted. Thus bees, when their prince appears, compose their quarrels and unite in one swarm. So much did justice and good government prevail in that state, that I am surprised at those who say, the Lacedæmonians knew indeed how to obey, but not how to govern; and on this occasion quote the saying of King Theopompus, who, when one told him, that *Sparta was preserved by the good administration of its kings*, replied, *Nay rather by the obedience of their subjects*. It is certain that people will not continue pliant to those who know not how to command: but it is the part of a good governor to teach obedience. He who knows

\* After all this pompous account, Plutarch himself acknowledges, that authors are not well agreed how and where this great man died. That he starved himself is improbable; but that he returned no more to his country, seems to be perfectly agreeable to his manner of acting, as well as to the current of history.

† Xenophon acquaints us, that when Lysander had taken Athens, he sent to Sparta many rich spoils and 470 talents of silver. The coming of this huge mass of wealth created great disputes at Sparta. Many celebrated Lysander's praises, and rejoiced exceedingly at this good fortune, as they called it; others, who were better acquainted with the nature of things, and with their constitution, were of quite another opinion; they looked upon the receipt of this treasure as an open violation of the laws of Lycurgus; and they expressed their apprehensions loudly, that in process of time they might, by a change in their manners, pay infinitely more for this money than it was worth. The event justified their fears.

‡ This was the *scytale*, the nature and use of which Plutarch explains in the life of Lysander. He tells us, that when the magistrates gave their commission to any admiral or general, they took two round pieces of wood, both exactly equal in breadth and thickness (Thucydides adds that they were smooth and long:); one they kept themselves, the other was delivered to their officer. When they had any thing of moment which they would secretly convey to him, they cut a long narrow scroll of parchment, and rolling it about their own staff, one fold close upon another they wrote their business on it, when they had wrote what they had to say, they took off the parchment and sent it to the general; and he applying it to his staff, the characters which before were confused and unintelligible appeared then very plainiy.

how to lead well, is sure to be well followed: and as it is by the art of horsemanship that a horse is made gentle and tractable, so it is by the abilities of him who fills the throne that the people become ductile and submissive. Such was the conduct of the Lacedæmonians, that people did not only endure, but even desired to be their subjects. They asked not of them either ships, money, or troops, but only a Spartan general. When they had received him, they treated him with the greatest honour and respect: as Gylippus was revered by the Sicilians, Brasidas by the Calcidians, Lysander, Callicratidas and Agesilaus by all the people of Asia. These, and such as these, wherever they came, were called moderators and reformers, both of the magistrates and people, and Sparta itself was considered a school of discipline, where the beauty of life and political order were taught in the utmost perfection. Hence Stratonicus seems facetiously enough to have said, that he would order the Athenians to have the conduct of *mysterics and processions: the Eleans to preside in games, as their particular province; and the Lacedæmonians to be beaten, if the others did amiss.*\* This was spoken in jest: but Antisthenes, one of the scholars of Socrates, said more seriously of the Thebans, when he saw them pluming themselves upon their success at Leuctra, *They were just like so many school-boys rejoicing that they had beaten their master.*

It was not, however, the principal design of Lycurgus, that his city should govern many others, but he considered its *happiness*, like that of a private man, as *flowing from virtue and self-consistency*; he therefore so ordered and disposed it, that by the freedom and sobriety of its inhabitants, and their having a sufficiency within themselves, its continuance might be the more secure. Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and other writers upon government, have taken Lycurgus for their model, and these have attained great praise, though they left only an idea of something excellent. Yet he who, not in idea and words, but in fact, produced a most inimitable form of government, and by showing a whole city of philosophers,† confounded those who imagine that the so much talked of strictness of a philosophic life is impracticable; he, I say, stands in the rank of glory far before the founders of all the other Grecian states.‡ Therefore Aristotle is of opinion, that the ho-

\* Because the teachers should be answerable for the faults of their pupils. The pleasantry of the observation seems to be this: That as the Lacedæmonians used to punish the parents or adopters of those young people that behaved amiss; now that they were the instructors of other nations, they should suffer for their faults. Bryan's Latin text has it, that the Lacedæmonians *should beat them*. But there is no joke in that.

† Aristotle and Plato differ in this from Plutarch. Even Polybius, who was so great an admirer of the Spartan government, allows, that though the Spartans, considered as individuals, were wise and virtuous, yet, in their collective capacity, they paid but little regard to justice and moderation.

‡ Solon, though a person of different temper, was no less disinterested than Lycurgus. He settled the Athenian commonwealth, refused the sovereignty when offered

nours paid him in Lacedæmon were far beneath his merit. Yet those honours were very great; for he had a temple there, and they offered him a yearly sacrifice as a god.

Some say, Lycurgus died at Cirrha; but Apollothemis will have it, that he was brought to Elis and died there; and Timæus and Aristoxenus write, that he ended his days in Crete; nay Aristoxenus adds, that the Cretans show his tomb at Pergamia, near the high road. We are told he left an only son named Antiorus, and as he died without issue, the family was extinct. His friends and his relations observed his anniversary, which subsisted for many ages, and the days on which they met for that purpose they called *Lycurgidæ*. Aristocrates, the son of Hipparchus, relates, that the friends of Lycurgus, with whom he sojourned, and at last died in Crete, burned his body, and at his request, threw his ashes into the sea. Thus he guarded against the possibility of his remains being brought back to Sparta by the Lacedæmonians, lest they should then think themselves released from their oath, on the pretence that he was returned, and make innovations in the government.

him, travelled to avoid the importunities of his countrymen, opposed tyranny in his old age, and when he found his opposition vain, went into voluntary exile. Lycurgus and Solon were both great men; but the former had the stronger, the latter the milder genius: the effects of which appeared in the commonwealths they founded.

## NUMA.

*Flourishea 714 years before Christ.*

NUMA was a native of Cures, a considerable city of the Sabines, from which the Romans, together with the incorporated Sabines, took the name of *Quirites*. He was the son of a person of distinction named Pomponius, and the youngest of four brothers. He was born the twenty-first of April, the same day on which Rome was founded by Romulus. His mind was naturally disposed to virtue, and he still farther subdued it by discipline, patience and philosophy, not only purging it of the grosser and more infamous passions, but even of that ambition and rapaciousness which was reckoned honourable amongst the *barbarians*, persuaded that true fortitude consists in the conquest of appetite by reason. On this account, he banished all luxury and splendour from his house and both the citizens and strangers found in him a faithful counsellor, and an upright judge. As for his hours of leisure, he spent them not in the pursuits of pleasure, or schemes of profit, but in the worship of the gods, and in rational inquiries into their nature and their power. His name became at length so illustrious, that Tatius, who was the associate of Romulus in the kingdom, having an only daughter named Tatia, bestowed her upon him. He was not, however, so much elated with this match as to remove to the court of his father-in-law, but continued in the country of the Sabines, paying his attentions to his own father, who was now grown old. Tatia was partaker of his retirement, and preferred the calm enjoyment of life with her husband in privacy, to the honours and distinction in which she might have lived with her father at Rome. Thirteen years after their marriage she died.

Numa then left the society of the city, and passed his time in wandering about alone in the sacred groves and lawns, in the most retired and solitary places. Hence the report concerning the goddess Egeria chiefly took its rise;\* and it was believed that it was not from any inward sorrow or melancholy turn that he

\* Numa's inclination to solitude, and his custom of retiring into the secret places of the forest of Aricia, gave rise to several popular opinions. Some believed that the nymph Egeria herself dictated to him the laws, both civil and religious, which he established. And, indeed, he declared so himself, in order to procure a divine sanction to them. But, as no great man is without aspersions, others have thought, that, under this affected passion for woods and caves, was concealed another, more real and less chaste. This gave occasion to that sarcasm of Juvenal, in speaking of the grove of Egeria, (Sat. iii. ver. 12.)

Hic, ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ.

Ovid says, that, to remove her grief for the loss of Numa, Diana changed her into a fountain which still bears her name.—Metam. l. xv.

avoided human conversation, but from his being admitted to that which was more valuable and excellent, from the honour he had of a familiar intercourse with a divinity that loved him, which led him to happiness and knowledge more than mortal.

In order to put a stop to the disturbances that arose in Rome after the death of Romulus, it was agreed between the contending parties, that one nation should choose a king out of the whole body of the other. The Sabines leaving the Romans to their option, they, preferring a Sabine king of their own electing to a Roman king, chosen by the Sabines, fixed upon Numa, though not of the number of those who had migrated to Rome. Numa was in his fortieth year, when ambassadors came from Rome to make him an offer of the kingdom. The speakers were Proculus and Velesus, whom the people before had cast their eyes upon for the royal dignity, the Romans being attached to Proculus, and the Sabines to Velesus. As they imagined that Numa would gladly embrace his good fortune, they made but a short speech. They found it, however, no easy matter to persuade him, but were obliged to make use of much entreaty to draw him from that peaceful retreat he was so fond of, to the government of a city, born, as it were and brought up in war. In the presence, therefore, of his father, and one of his kinsmen, named Marcus, he gave them this answer: "Every change of human life has its dangers: but when a man has a sufficiency, and there is nothing in his present situation to be complained of, what but madness can lead him from his usual track of life, which, if it has no other advantage, has that of certainty, to experience another as yet doubtful and unknown? But the dangers that attend this government are beyond an uncertainty, if we may form a judgment from the fortunes of Romulus, who laboured under the suspicion of taking off Tatius, his colleague, and was supposed to have lost his own life with equal injustice. Yet Romulus is celebrated as a person of divine origin, as supernaturally nourished and most wonderfully preserved when an infant. For my part, I am only of mortal race, and you are sensible my nursing and education boast of nothing extraordinary. As for my character, if it has any distinction, it has been gained in a way not likely to qualify me for a king, in scenes of repose and employments by no means arduous. My genius is inclined to peace, my love has been long fixed upon it, and I have studiously avoided the confusion of war: I have also drawn others, so far as my influence extended, to the worship of the gods, to mutual offices of friendship, and to spend the rest of their time in tilling the ground and feeding cattle. The Romans may have unavoidable wars left upon their hands by their late king, for the maintaining of which you have need of another more active and more enterprising. Besides the people are of a warlike disposition, flushed with success, and plainly enough discover their inclination to extend their conquests. A person therefore who has set his heart upon pro-

moting religion and justice, and drawing men off from the love of violence and war, would soon become ridiculous and contemptible to a city that has more occasion for a general than a king."

Numa in this manner declining the crown, the Romans, on the other hand, exerted all their endeavours to obviate his objections, and begged of him not to throw them into confusion and civil war again, as there was no other whom both parties would unanimously elect. When the ambassadors had retired, his father and his friend Marcius, privately urged him, by all the arguments in their power, to receive this great and valuable gift of heaven. "If, contented," said they, "with a competence, you desire not riches, nor aspire after the honour of sovereignty, having a higher and better distinction in virtue; yet consider that a king is the minister of God, who now awakens, and puts in action your native wisdom and justice; decline not, therefore, an authority which to a wise man is a field for great and good actions; where dignity may be added to religion, and men may be brought over to piety, in the easiest and readiest way, by the influence of the prince. Tatus, though a stranger, was beloved by this people, and they pay divine honours to the memory of Romulus. Besides, who knows, as they are victorious, but they may be satiated with war, and having no farther wish for triumphs and spoils, may be desirous of a mild and just governor for the establishing good laws, and settling peace? But should they be ever so ardently inclined to war, yet is it not better to turn their violence another way, and to be the centre of union and friendship between the country of the Sabines and so great and flourishing a state as that of Rome?" These inducements, we are told, were strengthened by auspicious omens, and by the zeal and ardour of his fellow-citizens, who as soon as they had learned the subject of embassy, went in a body to entreat him to take the government upon himself, as the only means to appease all dissensions, and effectually incorporate the two nations into one.

When he had determined to go, he offered sacrifice to the gods, and then set forward to Rome. Struck with love and admiration of the man, the senate and people met him on the way; the women welcomed him with blessings and shouts of joy; the temples were crowded with sacrifices; and so universal was the satisfaction, that the city might seem to have received a kingdom, instead of a king. When they were come into the *Forum*, it was put to the vote whether Numa should be king, and all the citizens agreed to it with one voice. The robes and other distinctions of royalty were then offered him, but he commanded them to stop, as his authority yet wanted the sanction of heaven. Taking, therefore, with him the priests and *augurs*, he went up to the *Capitol*, which the Romans, at that time called the *Tarpeian* rock. There the chief of the *augurs* covered the head of Numa,\* and turned his

\* So it is in the text of Plutarch, as it now stands; but it appears from Livy, that

face toward the south ; then standing behind him and laying his right hand upon his head, he offered up his devotions, and looked around him in hopes of seeing birds, or some other signal from the gods. An incredible silence reigned among the people, anxious for the event, and lost in suspense, till the auspicious birds appeared, and passed on the right hand. Then Numa took the royal robe, and went down from the mount to the people, who received him with loud acclamations, as the most pious of men, and most beloved of the gods.

His first act of government was to discharge the body of three hundred men called *Celeres*,\* whom Romulus always kept about his person as guards ; for he neither chose to distrust those who put confidence in him, nor to reign over a people that could distrust him. In the next place, to the priests of Jupiter and Mars he added one for Romulus, whom he styled *Flamen Quirilanis*.

Numa having settled these matters with a view to establish himself in the people's good graces, immediately after attempted to soften them, as iron is softened by fire, and to bring them from a violent and warlike disposition, to a more just and gentle temper. Persuaded that no ordinary means were sufficient to form and reduce so high-spirited and untractable a people to mildness and peace, he called in the assistance of religion. By sacrifices, religious dances, and processions, which he appointed, and wherein himself officiated, he contrived to mix the charms of festivity and social pleasure with the solemnity of the ceremonies. Thus he soothed their minds, and calmed their fierceness and martial fire. Sometimes, also, by acquainting them with prodigies from heaven, by reports of dreadful apparitions and menacing voices, he inspired them with terror, and humbled them with superstition. This was the principal cause of the report that he drew his wisdom from the sources of Pythagoras : For a great part of the philosophy of the latter, as well as the government of the former, consisted in religious attentions and the worship of the gods. It is likewise said, that his solemn appearance and air of sanctity were copied from Pythagoras. That philosopher had so far tamed an eagle, that, by pronouncing certain words, he could stop it in its flight, or bring it down ; and passing through the multitudes assembled at the Olympic games, he showed them his golden thigh, besides other arts and actions by which he pretended to something supernatural.

But Numa feigned that some goddess or mountain-nymph fa-

the *augur* covered his own head, not that of Numa, *Augur ad lævam, ejus, capite velato, sedem cepit, &c.* And, indeed, the *augur* always covered his head in a gown peculiar to his office, called *Lænæ*, when he made his observations.

\* Numa did not make use of them as guards, but as inferior ministers, who were to take care of the sacrifices, under the direction of the tribunes, who had commanded them in their military capacity.

voured him with her private regards, and that he had moreover frequent conversations with the Muses. To the latter he ascribed most of his revelations; and there was one in particular that he called *Tacita*, as much as to say, the *Muse of Silence*, whom he taught the Romans to distinguish with their veneration. By this, too, he seemed to show his knowledge and approbation of the Pythagorean precept of silence.

His regulations concerning images seem likewise to have some relation to the doctrine of Pythagoras; who was of opinion that the First Cause was not an object of sense, nor liable to passion, but invisible, incorruptible, and discernible only by the mind. Thus Numa forbade the Romans to represent the Deity in the form either of man or beast. Nor was there among them formerly any image or statue of the Divine Being: during the first hundred and seventy years they built temples, indeed, and other sacred domes, but placed in them no figure of any kind, persuaded that it is impious to represent things divine by what is perishable, and that we can have no conception of God but by the understanding. His sacrifices, too, resembled the Pythagorean worship; for they were without any effusion of blood, consisting chiefly of flour, libations of wine, and other very simple and unexpensive things.

To Numa is attributed the institution of that high order of priests called *Pontifices*, over which he is said to have presided himself. To him is likewise ascribed the establishment of the Vestal Virgins, and the whole service with respect to the perpetual fire, which they watched continually. At first only two virgins were consecrated by Numa, afterwards two others, to whom Servius added two more. They were obliged to preserve their virginity for thirty years, and were honoured by the king with great privileges. It is also said, that Numa built the Temple of Vesta where the perpetual fire was to be kept.

After Numa had instituted the several orders of priests, he erected a royal palace, called *Regia*, near the Temple of Vesta; and there he passed most of his time, either in performing some sacred function, or instructing the priests, or, at least in conversing with them on some divine subject. He had also another house upon the *Quirinial* mount. In all public ceremonies and processions of the priests, a herald went before, who gave notice to the people to keep holiday. For, as they tell us, the Pythagoreans would not suffer their disciples to pay any homage or worship to the gods in a cursory manner, but required them to come prepared for it by meditation at home; so Numa was of opinion, that his citizens should neither see nor hear any religious service in a slight or careless way, but, disengaged from other affairs, bring with them that attention, which an object of such importance required. The streets and ways, on such occasions, were cleared



of clamour and all manner of noise which attends manual labour, that the solemnities might not be disturbed.

By this sort of religious discipline the people became so tractable, and were impressed with such a veneration of Numa's power, that they admitted many improbable and even fabulous tales, and thought nothing incredible or impossible which he undertook. Thus he is said to have invited many of the citizens to his table, where he took care the vessels should be mean, and the provisions plain and inelegant; but after they were seated, he told them, the goddess with whom he used to converse, was coming to visit him, when, on a sudden, the room was supplied with the most costly vessels, and the table with a most magnificent entertainment.

The most admired of all his institutions, was his distribution of the citizens into companies, according to their arts and trades. For the city consisting of two nations, or rather factions, who were by no means willing to unite, or to blot out the remembrance of their original difference, but maintained perpetual contests and party quarrels; he took the same method with them as is used to incorporate hard and solid bodies, which, while entire, will not mix at all, but unite with ease when reduced to powder. To attain his purpose, he divided, as I said, the whole multitude into small bodies, who gaining new distinctions, lost by degrees the great and original one, in consequence of their being thus broken into so many parts. This distribution was made according to the several arts or trades, of musicians, goldsmiths, masons, dyers, shoemakers, tanners, brasiers, and potters. He collected the other artificers also into companies, who had their respective halls, courts, and religious ceremonies, peculiar to each society. By these means he first took away the distinction of Sabines and Romans, subjects of Tattius, and subjects of Romulus, both name and thing; the very separation into parts mixing and incorporating the whole together.

He is celebrated also in his political capacity for correcting the law which empowered fathers to sell their children, excepting such as married by their father's command or consent; for he reckoned it a great hardship, that a woman should marry a man as free, and then live with a slave.

He attempted the reformation of the calendar too, which he executed with some degree of skill, though not with absolute exactness. In the reign of Romulus, it had neither measure nor order, some months consisting of fewer than twenty days, while some were stretched to thirty-five, and others even to more. They had no idea of the difference between the annual course of the sun and that of the moon, and only laid down this position, that the year consisted of three hundred and sixty days. Numa then observing that there was a difference of eleven days, three hun-

dred and fifty-four days making up the lunar year, and three hundred and sixty-five the solar, doubled those eleven days, and inserted them as an intercalary month, after that of February, every other year. This additional month was called by the Romans, *Mercedinus*. But this amendment of the irregularity afterwards required a farther amendment. He likewise altered the order of the months, making March the third, which was the first; January, the first, which was the eleventh of Romulus; and February, the second, which was the twelfth and last. Many, however, assert, that the two months of January and February, were added by Numa, whereas before they had reckoned but ten months in the year.

Of this we have a proof in the name of the last, for it is still called December, or the tenth month; and that March was the first, is also evident, because the fifth from it was called *Quintilis*, the sixth *Sextilis*, and so the rest in their order. If January and February had then been placed before March, the month *Quintilis* would have been the fifth in name, but the seventh in reckoning. Besides, it is reasonable to conclude, that the month of March, dedicated by Romulus to the god Mars, should stand first. Numa seems to me to have taken away the precedency from March, which is denominated from the god of war, with a design to show his preference of the political virtues to the martial. For *Janus*, in the most remote antiquity, being remarkable for his political abilities, and his cultivation of society, reclaimed men from their rude and savage manners; he is therefore represented with two faces, as having altered the former state of the world, and given quite a new turn to life. He had also a temple at Rome with two gates, which they called the gates of war. It was the custom for this temple to stand open in the time of war, and to be shut in time of peace. The latter was seldom the case, as the empire had been generally engaged in war, on account of its great extent, and its having to contend with so many surrounding barbarous nations. It was, therefore, shut only in the reign of Augustus Cæsar,\* when he had conquered Antony: and before, in the consulate of Marcus Attilius,† and Titus Manlius, a little while; for a new war breaking out, it was soon opened again. In Numa's reign, however, it was not opened for one day, but stood constantly shut during the space of forty-three years, while uninterrupted peace reigned in every quarter. Not only the people of Rome were softened and humanized by the justice and

\* Augustus shut the temple of Janus three several times; one of which was in the year of Rome 750, before the birth of our Saviour, according to Isaiah's prophecy, that all the world should be blest with peace, when the Prince of Peace was born. This temple was also shut by Vespasian after his triumph over the Jews.

† Instead of Marcus we should read Caius Attilius. Titus Manlius, his colleague, shut the temple of Janus at the conclusion of the first Punic war.

mildness of the king, but even the circumjacent cities, breathing, as it were, the same salutary and delightful air, began to change their behaviour. Like the Romans, they became desirous of peace and good laws, of cultivating the ground, educating their children in tranquillity, and paying their homage to the gods. Italy then was taken up with festivals and sacrifices, games and entertainments; the people, without any apprehensions of danger, mixed in a friendly manner, and treated each other with mutual hospitality; the love of virtue and justice, as from the source of Numa's wisdom, gently flowing upon all, and moving with the composure of *his* heart. Even the hyperbolical expressions of the poets fall short of describing the happiness of those days.

Secure Arachne spread her slender toils  
O'er the broad buckler eating rust consum'd  
The vengeful swords and once far gleaming spears:  
No more the trump of war swells its hoarse throat,  
Nor robs the eye-lids of their genial slumber.\*

We have no account of either war or insurrection in the state, during Numa's reign. Nay, he experienced neither enmity nor envy, nor did ambition dictate either open or private attempts against his crown. He was an illustrious instance of that truth, which Plato several ages after ventured to deliver concerning government: *That the only sure prospect of deliverance from the evils of life will be, when the Divine Providence shall so order it, that the regal power invested in a prince who has the sentiments of a philosopher, shall render virtue triumphant over vice.* A man of such wisdom is not only happy in himself, but contributes by his instructions to the happiness of others. There is, in truth, no need either of force or menaces, to direct the multitude; for when they see virtue exemplified in so glorious a pattern as the life of their prince, they become wise of themselves, and endeavour, by friendship and unanimity, by a strict regard to justice and temperance, to form themselves to an innocent and happy life. This is the noblest end of government; and he is most worthy of the royal seat who can regulate the lives and dispositions of his subjects in such a manner. No one was more sensible of this than Numa.

As to his wives and children, there are great contradictions among historians. For some say, he had no wife but Tatia, nor any child but one daughter named Pompilia. Others, beside that daughter, gave an account of four sons, Pompon, Pinus, Calpus, and Mamercus; every one of whom left an honourable posterity, the Pomponii being descended from Pompon, the Pinarii from Pinus, the Calpurnii from Calpus, and the Mamercii from Mamer-

\* Plutarch took this passage from some excellent verses of Bacchylides in praise of peace, given us by Stobæus.

cus. These were surnamed *Reges\** or *kings*. But a third set of writers accuse the former of forging these genealogies from Numa, in order to ingratiate themselves with particular families. But they tell us, that Pompilia, was not the daughter of Tatia, but of Lucretia, another wife, whom he married after he ascended the throne. All, however, agree, that Pompilia, was married to Marcius, son of that Marcius who persuaded Numa to accept the crown; for he followed him to Rome, where he was enrolled a senator, and, after Numa's death, was competitor with Tullus Hostilius for the throne; but, failing in the enterprise, he starved himself to death. His son Marcius, husband to Pompilia, remained in Rome, and had a son named Ancus Marcius, who reigned after Tullus Hostilius. This son is said to have been but five years old at the death of Numa.

Numa was not carried off by a sudden or acute distemper; but, as Piso relates, wasted away insensibly with old age, and a gentle decline. He was a few years above eighty when he died.

The neighbouring nations that were in friendship and alliance with Rome, strove to make the honours of his burial equal to the happiness of his life, attending with crowns and other public offerings. The senators carried the bier, and the ministers of the gods walked in procession. The rest of the people, with the women and children, crowded to the funeral; not, as if they were attending the interment of an aged king, but as if they had lost one of their beloved relations in the bloom of life; for they followed it with tears and loud lamentations. They did not burn the body, † because (as we are told) he himself forbade it; but they made two stone coffins, and buried them under the Janiculum—the one containing his body, and the other the sacred books which he had written. Numa had taken care, however, in his life time, to instruct the priests in all that those books contained, and to impress both the sense and practice on their memories. He then ordered them to be buried with him, persuaded that such mysteries could not safely exist in lifeless writing. Influenced by the same reasoning, it is said, the Pythagoreans did not commit their precepts to writing, but intrusted them to the memories of such as they thought worthy of so great a deposit. And when they:

\* *Rex* was the surname of the Æmilians and Marcians, but not of the Pomponians, the Pinarians, or Mamercians. The Pinarii were descended from a family who were priests of Hercules, and more ancient than the times of Numa.

† In the most ancient times they committed the bodies of the dead to the ground, as appears from the history of the patriarchs. But the Egyptians, from a vain desire of preserving their bodies from corruption after death, had them embalmed; persons of condition with rich spices, and even the poor had theirs preserved with salt. The Greeks, to obviate the inconveniences that might possibly happen from corruption, burnt the bodies of the dead; but Pliny tells us, that Sylla was the first Roman whose body was burnt. When paganism was abolished, the burning of dead bodies ceased with it; and in the belief of the resurrection, Christians committed their dead with due care and honour to the earth, to repose there till that great event.

happened to communicate to an unworthy person their abstruse problems in geometry, they gave out that the gods threatened to avenge his profaneness and impiety with some great and signal calamity. Those, therefore, may be well excused who endeavour to prove, by so many resemblances, that Numa was acquainted with Pythagoras. Valerius Antius relates, that there were twelve books written in Latin, concerning religion, and twelve more of philosophy, in Greek, buried in that coffin. But four hundred years after,\* when Publius Cornelius and Marcus Bæbius were consuls, a prodigious fall of rain having washed away the earth that covered the coffins, and the lids falling off, one of them appeared entirely empty, without the least remains of the body; in the other, the books were found. Petilius, then prætor, having examined them, made his report upon oath to the senate, that it appeared to him inconsistent both with justice and religion to make them public; in consequence of which all the volumes were carried into the Comitium, and burnt.

Glory follows in the train of great men, and increases after their death; for envy does not long survive them; nay, it sometimes dies before them. The misfortunes, indeed, of the succeeding kings added lustre to the character of Numa. Of the five that came after him, the last was driven from the throne, and lived long in exile; and of the other four, not one died a natural death. Three were traitorously slain. As for Tullus Hostilius, who reigned next after Numa, he ridiculed and despised many of his best institutions, particularly his religious ones, as effeminate and tending to inaction, for his view was to dispose the people to war: he did not, however, abide by his irreligious opinions, but falling into a severe and complicated sickness, he changed them for a superstition very different from Numa's piety: others too were infected with the same false principles, when they saw the manner of his death, which is said to have happened by lightning †

\* Plutarch probably wrote five hundred; for this happened in the year of Rome, 573. "One Terentius," says Varro, (*ap. S. August. de Civ. Dei.*) "had a piece of ground near the Janiculum; a husbandman of his one day accidentally running over Numa's tomb, turned up some of the legislator's books, wherein he gave his reasons for establishing the religion of the Romans as he left it. The husbandman carried these books to the prætor, and the prætor to the senate; who, after having read his frivolous reasons for his religious establishments, agreed that the books should be destroyed, in pursuance of Numa's intentions. It was accordingly decreed, that the prætor should throw them into the fire." But though Numa's motives for the religion he established might be trivial enough, that was not the chief reason for suppressing them. The real, at least the principal reason, was the many new superstitions, equally trivial, which the Romans had introduced, and the worship which they paid to images, contrary to Numa's appointment.

† The palace of Tullus Hostilius was burnt down by lightning: and he, with his wife and children, perished in the flames. Though some historians say, that Ancus Marcius, who was the grandson of Numa, expecting to succeed to the crown, took the opportunity of the storm to assassinate the king.

## SOLON.

*Flourished 597 years before Christ.*

SOLON was the son of Ercestides, a man of moderate fortune and power, but of the noblest family in Athens, being descended from Codrus; his mother was cousin-german to the mother of Pisistratus. Solon's father having injured his fortune,\* by indulging his great and munificent spirit, though the son might have been supported by his friends, yet, as he was of a family that had long been assisting to others, he was ashamed to accept of assistance himself; and therefore, in his younger years, he applied himself to merchandise. Some, however, say that he travelled rather to gratify his curiosity, and extend his knowledge, than to raise an estate. For he professed his love of wisdom, and when far advanced in years made this declaration, *I grow old in the pursuit of learning*. He was not too much attached to wealth, as we may gather from the following verses:

The man who boasts of golden stores,  
Of grain that loads his bending floors,  
Of fields with fresh'ning herbage green,  
Where bounding steeds and herds are seen,  
I call not happier than the swain  
Whose limbs are sound, whose food is plain,  
Whose joys a blooming wife endears,  
Whose hours a smiling offspring cheers.

And in another place he says

The flow of riches though desir'd,  
Life's real goods if well acquir'd,  
Unjustly let me never gain,  
Lest vengeance follow in their train.

Indeed, a good man, a valuable member of society, should neither set his heart upon superfluities, nor reject the use of what is necessary and convenient. And in those times, as Hesiod informs

\* Aristotle reckons Solon himself among the inferior citizens, and quotes his own works to prove it. The truth is, that Solon was never rich, it may be, because he was always honest. In his youth, he was mightily addicted to poetry. And Plato (in *Timæo*) says, that if he had finished all his poems, and particularly the History of the Atlantic Island, which he brought out of Egypt, and had taken time to revise and correct them, as others did, neither Homer, Hesiod, nor any other ancient poet, would have been more famous. It is evident, both from the life and writings of this great man, that he was a person not only of exalted virtue, but of a pleasant and agreeable temper. He considered men as men: and keeping both their capacity for virtue, and their proneness to evil, in his view, he adapted his laws so as to strengthen and support the one, and to check and keep under the other. His institutions are as remarkable for their sweetness and practicability, as those of Lycurgus are for harshness and forcing human nature.

us, no business was looked upon as a disparagement, nor did any trade cause a disadvantageous distinction. The profession of merchandise was honourable, as it brought home the produce of barbarous countries, engaged the friendship of kings, and opened a wide field of knowledge and experience. Nay, some merchants have been founders of great cities; Protus, for instance, who built Marseilles. Thales also, and Hippocrates the mathematician, are said to have had their share in commerce; and the oil that Plato disposed of in Egypt,\* defrayed the expense of his travels.

If Solon was too expensive or luxurious in his way of living, and indulged his poetical vein in his description of pleasure too freely for a philosopher, it is imputed to his mercantile life: for, as he passed through many and great dangers, he might surely compensate them with a little relaxation and enjoyment. That he placed himself rather in the class of the poor than the rich, is evident from these lines.

For Vice though *Plenty* fills her horn,  
 And Virtue sinks in want and scorn;  
 Yet never sure shall Solon change  
 His truth for Wealth's most easy range!  
 Since Virtue lives, and Truth shall stand,  
 While Wealth eludes the grasping hand.

He seems to have made use of his poetical talent at first, not for any serious purpose, but only for amusement and to fill up his hours of leisure; but afterwards he inserted moral sentences, and interwove many political transactions in his poems. Some are of opinion, that he attempted to put his laws too in verse, and they give us this beginning:

Supreme of Gods, whose power we first address,  
 This plan to honour, and these laws to bless.

Like most of the sages of these times he cultivated chiefly that part of moral philosophy which treats of civil obligations; his physics were of a very simple and ancient cast. Thales seems to have been the only philosopher who then carried his speculations beyond things in common use, while the rest of the wise men maintained their character by rules for *social life*.

We have a particular account of a conversation which Solon had with Anacharsis,† and of another he had with Thales. Ana-

\* It was usual to trade into Egypt with the oil of Greece and Judea. It is said in the prophet Hosea (c. xii. v. 1.) *Ephraim carrieth oil into Egypt.*

† The Scythians long before the days of Solon, had been celebrated for their frugality, their temperance, and justice. Anacharsis was one of these Scythians, and a prince of the blood. He went to Athens about the forty seventh Olympiad, that is 590 years before Christ. His good sense, his knowledge, and great experience, made him pass for one of the seven wise men. But the greatest and wisest men have their inconsistencies: for such it certainly was, for Anacharsis to carry the Grecian worship,

charris went to Solon's house at Athens, knocked at the door, and said, *he was a stranger who desired to enter into engagements of friendship and mutual hospitality with him.* Solon answered, *Friendships are best formed at home.* Then do you, said Anacharsis, *who are at home, make me your friend and receive me into your house.* Struck with the quickness of his repartee, Solon gave him a kind welcome, and kept him some time with him, being then employed in public affairs and modelling his laws. When Anacharsis knew what Solon was about, he laughed at his undertaking, and at the absurdity of imagining he could restrain the avarice and injustice of his citizens by *written laws, which in all respects resembled spiders' webs, and would, like them, only entangle, and hold the poor and weak, while the rich and powerful easily broke through them.* To this Solon replied, *Men keep their agreements, when it is an advantage to both parties not to break them; and he would so frame his laws, as to make it evident to the Athenians, that it would be more for their interest to observe than to transgress them.* The event, however, showed, that Anacharsis was nearer the truth in his conjecture, than Solon was in his hope. Anacharsis having seen an assembly of the people at Athens said, *he was surprised at this, that in Greece wise men pleaded causes, and fools determined them.*

When Solon was entertained by Thales at Miletus, he expressed some wonder that *he did not marry and raise a family.* To this Thales gave no immediate answer; but some days after he instructed a stranger to say, *That he came from Athens ten days before.* Solon inquiring, *What news there was at Athens,* the man, according to his instructions said, *None, except the funeral of a young man, which was attended by the whole city. For he was the son (as they told me) of a person of great honour, and of the highest reputation for virtue, who was then abroad upon his travels. What a miserable man is he!* said Solon; *but what was his name? I have heard his name,* answered the stranger, *but do not recollect it. All I remember is that there was much talk of his wisdom and justice.* Solon, whose apprehensions increased with every reply, was now much disconcerted, and mentioned his own name, asking, *Whether it was not Solon's son that was dead?* The stranger answering in the affirmative, he began to beat his head, and to do and say such things as are usual to men in a transport of grief.\* Then Thales, taking him by the hand, said with a smile, *These things which strike*

the rites of Cybele, into Scythia, contrary to the laws of his country. Though he performed those rites privately in a woody part of the country, a Scythian happened to see him, and acquainted the king with it, who came immediately and shot him with an arrow upon the spot.—*Herodot. l. iv. c. 76.*

\* Whether on this occasion, or on the real loss of a son, is uncertain, Solon, being desired not to weep, since weeping would avail nothing; he answered with much humanity and good sense, "And for this cause I weep."



*Down so firm a man as Solon, kept me from marriage, and from having children. But take courage, my good friend, for not a word of what has been told you is true.* To neglect, however, the procuring of what is necessary or convenient in life, for fear of losing it, would be acting a very mean and absurd part. Her-mippus says, he took this story from Patæcus, who used to boast he had the soul of Æsop.

When the Athenians, tired out with a long and troublesome war against the Megarensians, for the isle of Salamis, made a law, that no one for the future, under pain of death, should either by speech or writing propose that the city should assert its claim to that island; Solon was very uneasy at so dishonourable a decree, and seeing great part of the youth desirous to begin the war again, being restrained from it only by fear of the law, he feigned himself insane;\* and a report spread from his house into the city, that he was out of his senses. Privately, however, he had composed an elegy, and got it by heart, in order to repeat it in public; thus prepared, he sallied out unexpectedly into the market-place with a cap upon his head.† A great number of people flocking about him, he got upon the herald's stone, and sung the elegy which begins thus :

Hear and attend: from Salamis I came  
To show your error.

This composition is entitled *Salamis*, and consists of a hundred very beautiful lines. When Solon had done, his friends began to express their admiration, and Pisistratus, in particular, exerted himself in persuading the people to comply with his directions; whereupon they repealed the law, once more undertook the war, and invested Solon with the command. The common account of his proceedings is this: He sailed with Pisistratus to Colias, and having seized the women who, according to the custom of the country, were offering sacrifice to Ceres there, he sent a trusty person to Salamis, who was to pretend he was a deserter, and to advise the Megarensians, if they had a mind to seize the principal Atheuian matrons, to set sail immediately for Colias. The Megarensians readily embracing the proposal, and sending out a body of men, Solon discovered the ship as it put off from the island; and causing the women directly to withdraw, ordered a number of young men, whose faces were yet smooth, to dress themselves in their habits, caps, and shoes. Thus with weapons concealed un-

\* When the Athenians were delivered from their fears by the death of Epaminondas, they began to squander away upon shows and plays the money that had been assigned for the pay of the army and navy, and at the same time they made it death for any one to propose a reformation. In that case, Demosthenes did not, like Solon, attack their error under a pretence of insanity, but boldly and resolutely spoke against it, and by the force of his eloquence brought them to correct it.

† None wore caps but the sick.

der their clothes, they were to dance and play by the sea side till the enemy was landed, and the vessel near enough to be seized. Matters being thus ordered, the Megarensians were deceived with the appearance, and ran confusedly on shore, striving who should first lay hold on the women. But they met with so warm a reception, that they were cut off to a man : and the Athenians embarking immediately for Salamis, took possession of the island.

The Athenians soon after relapsed into their old disputes concerning the government ; for there were as many parties among them as there were different tracts of land in their country. The inhabitants of the mountainous part were for a democracy ; those of the plains for an oligarchy ; and those of the sea-coasts contending for a mixed kind of government, hindered the other two from gaining their point. At the same time, the inequality between the poor and the rich occasioned the greatest discord, and the state was in so dangerous a situation, that there seemed to be no way to quell the seditious, or to save it from ruin, but changing it to a monarchy. So greatly were the poor in debt to the rich, that they were obliged either to pay them a sixth part of the produce of the land, or else to engage their persons to their creditors, who might seize them on failure of payment. Accordingly some made slaves of them, and others sold them to foreigners. Nay, some parents were forced to sell their own children (for no law forbade it), and to quit the city, to avoid the severe treatment of those usurers. But the greater number, and men of the most spirit, agreed to stand by each other, and to bear such impositions no longer. They determined to choose a trusty person for their leader, to deliver those who had failed in their time of payment, to divide the land, and to give an entire new face to the commonwealth.

Then the most prudent of the Athenians cast their eyes upon Solon, as a man least obnoxious to either party, having neither been engaged in oppressions with the rich, nor entangled in necessities with the poor. Him, therefore, they entreated to assist the public in this exigency, and to compose their differences. Pharnas the Lesbian asserts, indeed, that Solon, to save the state, dealt artfully with both parties, and privately promised the poor a division of the lands, and the rich a confirmation of their securities. At first he was loth to take the administration upon him by reason of the avarice of some, the insolence of others ; but, was, however, chosen archon next after Philombrotus, and at the same time arbitrator and lawgiver ; the rich accepting of him readily, as one of *them*, and the poor, as a good and worthy man. They tell us too, that a saying of his, which he had let fall some time before, that "equality causes no war," was then much repeated, and pleased both the rich and the poor ; the latter expecting to come to a balance by their numbers and by the measure of

divided lands, and the former to preserve an equality at least by their dignity and power. Thus both parties being in great hopes, the heads of them were urgent with Solon to make himself king, and endeavoured to persuade him, that he might with better assurance take upon him the direction of a city where he had the supreme authority. Nay, many of the citizens that leaned to neither party, seeing the intended change difficult to be effected by reason and law, were not against entrusting the government to the hands of one wise and just man. Some, moreover, acquaint us, that he received this oracle from Apollo,

Seize, seize the helm; the reeling vessel guide,  
With aiding patriots stem the raging tide.

His friends, in particular, told him it would appear that he wanted courage, if he rejected the monarchy for fear of the name of tyrant; as if the whole and supreme power would not soon become a lawful sovereignty through the virtues of him who received it. Thus formerly (said they) the Eubœans set up Tynnondas, and lately the Mitylenæans Pittacus for their prince.\* None of these things moved Solon from his purpose, and the answer he is said to have given to his friends is this, "Absolute monarchy is a fair field, but it has no outlet." And in one of his poems he thus addresses himself to his friend Phocus:

—If I spared my country,  
If gilded violence and tyrannic sway  
Could never charm me, thence no shame accrues;  
Still the mild honour of my name I boast,  
And find my empire there.

Whence it is evident that his reputation was very great, before he appeared in the character of a legislator. As for the ridicule he was exposed to for rejecting kingly power he has described it in the following verses:

Nor wisdom's palm nor deep-laid policy,  
Can Solon boast. For when its noblest blessings  
Heaven pour'd into his lap, he spurn'd them from him.  
Where was his sense and spirit, when enclos'd  
He found the choicest prey, nor deign'd to draw it?  
Who to command fair Athens but one day,  
Would not himself, with all his race, have fallen  
Contented on the morrow?

Thus he has introduced the multitude and men of low minds, as discoursing about him. But though he rejected absolute power,

\* Pittacus, one of the seven wise men of Greece, made himself master of Mitylene; for which Alcæus, who was of the same town, contemporary with Pittacus, and as a poet, a friend to liberty, satirized him, as he did the other tyrants. Pittacus disregarded his censures; and having by his authority quelled the seditions of his citizens, and established peace and harmony among them, he voluntarily quitted his power, and restored his country to its liberty.

he proceeded with spirit in the administration ; he did not make any concessions in behalf of the powerful, nor, in the framing of his laws, did he indulge the humour of his constituents. Where the former establishment was tolerable, he neither applied remedies, nor used the incision-knife, lest he should put the whole in disorder, and not have power to settle or compose it afterwards in the temperature he could wish. He only made such alterations as he might bring the people to acquiesce in by persuasion, or compel them to by his authority, making, (as he says) "force and right conspire." Hence it was, that having the question afterwards put to him, "Whether he had provided the best of laws for the Athenians?" He answered, "The best they were capable of receiving." And as the Athenians used to qualify the harshness of things by giving them softer and politer names, calling tributes *contributions*, garrisons *guards*, and prisons *castles* ; so Solon seems to be the first that distinguished the cancelling of debts by the name of a *discharge*. For this was the first of his public acts, that debts should be forgiven, and that no man for the future should take the body of his debtor for security. Though Androction and some others say, that it was not by the cancelling of debts, but by moderating the interest, that the poor were relieved, they thought themselves so happy in it, that they gave the name of *discharge* to this act of humanity, as well as to the enlarging of measures and the value of money, which went along with it. For he ordered the *minæ*, which before went but for seventy-three *drachmas*, to go for a hundred ; so that, as they paid the same in value, but much less in weight, those that had great sums to pay were relieved, while such as received them were no losers.

The greater part of writers, however, affirm, that it was the abolition of past securities that was called a *discharge*, and with these the poems of Solon agree. For in them he values himself on *having taken away the marks of mortgaged land,\* which before were almost every where set up, and made free those fields which before were bound* : and not only so, but of such citizens as were seizable by their creditors for debt—"Some," he tells us, "he had brought back from other countries, where they had wandered so long, that they had forgot the Attic dialect, and others he had set at liberty, who had experienced a cruel slavery at home."

This affair, indeed, brought upon him the greatest trouble he met with : for when he undertook the annulling of debts, and was considering of a suitable speech and a proper method of introducing the business, he told some of his most intimate friends, namely Conon, Clinias, and Hipponicus, that he intended only to abolish the debts, and not to meddle with the lands. These friends of his

\* The Athenians had a custom of fixing up billets, to show that houses or lands were mortgaged.

hastening to make their advantage of the secret before the decree took place, borrowed large sums of the rich, and purchased estates with them. Afterwards, when the decree was published, they kept their possessions without paying the money they had taken up; which brought great reflections upon Solon, as if he had not been imposed upon with the rest, but were rather an accomplice in the fraud. This charge, however, was soon removed, by his being the first to comply with the law, and remitting a debt of five talents, which he had out at interest. Others, among whom is Polyzelus the Rhodian, say it was fifteen talents. But his friends went by the name of *Chreocopidæ*, or *debt-cutters*, ever after.

The method he took satisfied neither the poor nor the rich. The latter were displeas'd by the cancelling of their bonds, and the former at not finding a division of lands: upon this they had fix'd their hopes, and they complain'd that he had not, like Lycurgus, made all the citizens equal in estate. Lycurgus, however, being the eleventh from Hercules, and having reigned many years in Lacedæmon, had acquired great authority, interest, and friends, of which he knew very well how to avail himself in setting up a new form of government. Yet he was oblig'd to have recourse to force rather than persuasion, and had an eye struck out in the dispute, before he could bring it to a lasting settlement, and establish such an union and equality, as left neither rich nor poor in the city. On the other hand, Solon's estate was but moderate, not superior to that of some commoners, and therefore he attempted not to erect such a commonwealth as that of Lycurgus, considering it as out of his power; he proceeded as far as he thought he could be supported by the confidence the people had in his probity and wisdom.

That he answer'd not the expectations of the generality, but offend'd them by falling short, appears from these verses of his—

Those eyes, with joy once sparkling when they view'd me,  
With cold, oblique regard behold me now.

And a little after—

———Yet who but Solon  
Could have spok'e peace to their tumultuous waves,  
And not have sunk beneath them?

But being soon sensible of the utility of the decree, they laid aside their complaints, offer'd a public sacrifice, which they call'd *seisachthia*, or the sacrifice of the *discharge*, and constituted Solon lawgiver and superintendent of the commonwealth, committing to him the regulation, not of a part only, but the whole, magistracies, assemblies, courts of judicature, and senate; and leaving him to determine the qualification, number, and time of meeting for them all, as well as to abrogate or continue the former constitutions at his pleasure.

First, then, he repealed the laws of Draco,\* except those concerning murder, because of the severity of the punishments they appointed, which for almost all offences were capital: even those that were convicted of idleness were to suffer death, and such as stole only a few apples or pot-herbs, were to be punished in the same manner as sacrilegious persons and murderers. Hence a saying of Demades, who lived long after, was much admired, that "Draco wrote his laws not with ink, but with blood." And he himself being asked, "Why he made death the punishment for most offences?" answered, "Small ones deserve it, and I can find no greater for the most heinous."

In the next place, Solon took an estimate of the estates of the citizens, intending to leave the great offices in the hands of the rich, but to give the rest of the people a share in the other departments which they had not before. Such as had a yearly income of five hundred measures in wet and dry goods, he placed in the first rank, and called them *Pentacosimedimni*: The second consisted of those who could keep a horse, or whose lands produced three hundred measures; these were of the *equestrian* order, and called *Hippodatelountes*. And those of the third class, who had but two hundred measures, were called *Zeugitæ*. The rest were named *Thetes*, and not admitted to any office; they had only a right to appear and give their vote in the general assembly of the people. This seemed at first but a slight privilege, but afterwards became a matter of great importance: for most causes came at last to be decided by them; and in such matters as were under the cognizance of the magistrates, there lay an appeal to the people. Besides, he is said to have drawn up his laws in an obscure and ambiguous manner, on purpose to enlarge the authority of the popular tribunal. For as they could not adjust their differences by the letter of the law, they were obliged to have recourse to living judges; I mean the whole body of citizens, who therefore had all controversies brought before them, and were in a manner superior to the

\* Draco was archon in the second, though some say in the last year of the thirtieth olympiad, about the year before Christ 623. Though the name of this great man occurs frequently in history, yet we no where find so much as ten lines together concerning him and his institutions. He may be considered as the first legislator of the Athenians; for the laws, or rather precepts, of Triptolemus were very few, viz. *Honour your parents; worship the gods; hurt not animals*: Draco was the first of the Greeks that punished adultery with death; and he esteemed murder so high a crime, that to imprint a deep abhorrence of it in the minds of men, he ordained that process should be carried on even against inanimate things, if they accidentally caused the death of any person. But besides murder and adultery, which deserved death, he made a number of smaller offences capital: and that brought almost all his laws into disuse. The extravagant severity of them, like an edge too finely ground, hindered his *thesmoi*, as he called them, from striking deep. Porphyry (*de abstinent.*) has preserved one of them concerning divine worship: "It is an everlasting law in Attica, that the gods are to be worshipped and the heroes also, according to the custom of our ancestors, and in private only with a proper address, first fruits, and annual libations."

laws. Of this equality he himself takes notice in these words :

By me the people held their native rights  
 Uninjured, unoppress'd—The great restrain'd  
 From lawless violence, and the poor from rapine,  
 By me, their mutual shield.

Desirous yet farther to strengthen the common people, he empowered any man whatever to enter an action for one who was injured. If a person was assaulted, or suffered damage or violence, another if able or willing to do it, might prosecute the offender. Thus the lawgiver wisely accustomed the citizens, as members of one body, to feel and to resent one another's injuries. And we are told of a saying of his agreeable to this law : being asked, "What city was best modelled?" he answered, "That where those who are not injured are no less ready to prosecute and punish offenders than those who are."

When these points were adjusted, he established the council of the *areopagus*, which was to consist of such as had borne the office of *archon*, and himself was one of the number. But observing that the people, now discharged from their debts, grew insolent and imperious, he proceeded to constitute another council or senate, of four hundred, a hundred out of each tribe, by whom all affairs were to be previously considered ; and ordered that no matter, without their approbation, should be laid before the assembly. In the meantime the high court of the *areopagus* were to be the inspectors and guardians of the laws. Thus he supposed the commonwealth, secured by two councils, as by two archons, would be less liable to be shaken by tumults, and the people would become more orderly and peaceable. Most writers, as we have observed, affirm that the council of the *areopagus* was of Solon's appointing : and it seems greatly to confirm their assertion, that Draco has made no mention of the *areopagites*, but in capital causes constantly addresses himself to the *ephetæ* ; yet the eighth law of Solon's thirteenth table is set down in these very words "Whoever were declared infamous before Solon's archonship, let them be restored in honour, except such as, having been condemned in the *areopagus*, or by the *ephetæ*, or by the kings in the *Prytaneum*, for murder or robbery, or attempting to usurp the government, had fled their country before this law was made." This, on the contrary, shows, that before Solon was chief magistrate and delivered his laws, the council of the *areopagus* was in being.

The most peculiar and surprising of his other laws, is that which declares the man infamous who stands neuter in time of sedition. It seems, he would not have us be indifferent and unaffected with the fate of the public, when our own concerns are upon a safe bottom ; nor when we are in health, be insensible to the distempers and griefs of our country. He would have us espouse

the better and juster cause, and hazard every thing in defence of it, rather than wait in safety to see which side the victory will incline to. That law, too, seems quite ridiculous and absurd, which permits a rich heiress, whose husband happens to neglect her, to console herself with his nearest relations. In all other marriages, he ordered that no dowries should be given: the bride was to bring with her three suits of clothes, and some household stuff of small value. For he did not choose that marriages should be made with mercenary or venal views, but would have that union cemented by the endearment of children, and every other instance of love and friendship. Nay, Dionysius himself, when his mother desired to be married to a young Syracusan, told her, "He had indeed, by his tyranny, broke through the laws of his country, but he could not break through those of nature, by countenancing so disproportionate a match." And surely such disorders should not be tolerated in any state, nor such matches where there is no equality of years, or inducements of love, or probability that the end of marriage will be answered.

That law of Solon is also justly commended, which forbids men to speak ill of the dead. For piety requires us to consider the deceased as sacred: justice calls upon us to spare those that are not in being; and good policy, to prevent the perpetuating of hatred. He forbade his people also to revile the living, in a temple, in a court of justice, in the great assembly of the people, or at the public games. He that offended in this respect, was to pay three *drachmas* to the person injured, and two to the public. Never to restrain anger is, indeed, a proof of weakness and a want of breeding; and always to guard against it, is very difficult, and to some persons impossible.

His laws concerning wills has likewise its merit. For before his time the Athenians were not allowed to dispose of their estates by will; the houses and other substance of the deceased were to remain among his relations. But he permitted any one who had no children, to leave his possessions to whom he pleased; thus preferring the tie of friendship to that of kindred, and choice to necessity, he gave every man the full and free disposal of his own. Yet he allowed not all sorts of legacies, but those only that were not extorted by frenzy, the consequence of disease or poisons, by imprisonment or violence, or the persuasions of a wife. For he considered inducements, that operated against reason, as no better than force; to be deceived was with *him* the same thing as to be compelled; and he looked upon pleasure to be as great a perverter as pain.

He regulated, moreover, the journeys of women, their mournings and sacrifices, and endeavoured to keep them clear of all disorder and excess. They were not to go out of town with more



than three habits; the provisions they carried with them, were not to exceed the value of an *obulus*; their basket was not to be above a cubit high; and in the night they were not to travel but in a carriage, with a torch before them. At funerals they were forbid to tear themselves,\* and no hired mourner was to utter lamentable notes, or to act any thing else that tended to excite sorrow. They were not permitted to sacrifice an ox on those occasions, or to bury more than three garments with the body; or to visit any tombs beside those of their own family, except at the time of interment.

As the city was filled with persons who assembled from all parts, on account of the great security in which people lived in Attica, Solon, observing this, and that the country withal was poor and barren, and that merchants who traffic by sea, do not use to import their goods where they can have nothing in exchange, turned the attention of the citizens to manufactures. For this purpose he made a law, that no son should be obliged to maintain his father, if he had not taught him a trade.† As for Lycurgus, whose city was clear of strangers, and whose country, according to Euripides, was sufficient for twice the number of inhabitants; where there was, moreover, a multitude of *Helotes*, who were not only to be kept constantly employed, but to be humbled and worn out by servitude: it was right for him to set the citizens free from laborious mechanic arts, and to employ them in arms, as the only art fit for them to learn and exercise. But Solon, rather adapting his laws to the state of his country, than his country to his laws, and perceiving that the soil of Attica, which hardly rewarded the husbandman's labour, was far from being capable of maintaining a lazy multitude, ordered that trades should be accounted honourable, that the council of the *areopagus* should examine into every man's means of subsisting, and chastise the idle.

As Attica was not supplied with water from perennial rivers, lakes, or springs, but chiefly by wells dug for that purpose, he made a law, that where there was a public well, all within the distance of four furlongs should make use of it: but where the distance was greater, they were to provide a well of their own. And if they dug ten fathoms deep in their own ground, and could find no water, they had liberty to fill a vessel of six gallons twice a day at their neighbour's. Thus he thought it proper to assist persons in

\* Demosthenes (*in Timocr.*) recites Solon's directions as to funerals as follows:—"Let the dead bodies be laid out in the house according as the deceased gave order, and the day following, before sun rise, carried forth. Whilst the body is carrying to the grave, let the men go before, the women follow. It shall not be lawful for any woman to enter upon the goods of the dead, and to follow the body to the grave under threescore years of age, except such as are within the degrees of cousins."

† He that was thrice convicted of idleness was to be declared infamous. Herodotus (l. vii.) and Diodorus Siculus (l. i.) agree that a law of this kind was in use in Egypt. It is probable, therefore, that Solon, who was thoroughly acquainted with the fearing of that nation, borrowed it from them.

real necessity, but not to encourage idleness. His regulations with respect to the planting of trees were also very judicious. He who planted any tree in his field, was to place it at least five feet from his neighbour's ground; and if it was a fig-tree or an olive, nine; for these extend their roots farther than others, and their neighbourhood is prejudicial to some trees, not only as they take away the nourishment, but as their effluvia is noxious. He that would dig a pit or a ditch, was to dig it as far from another man's ground as it was deep: and if any one would raise stocks of bees, he was to place them three hundred feet from those already raised by another.

Of all the products of the earth, he allowed none to be sold to strangers, but oil; and whoever presumed to export any thing else, the *archon* was solemnly to declare him accursed, or pay himself a hundred *drachmas* into the public treasury. This law is in the first table. And therefore it is not absolutely improbable, what some affirm, that the exportation of figs was formerly forbidden, and that the informer against the delinquents was called a *sycophant*.

He likewise enacted a law for reparation of damage received from beasts. A dog that had bit a man was to be delivered up bound to a log four cubits long;\* an agreeable contrivance for security against such an animal.

But the wisdom of the law concerning the naturalizing of foreigners is a little dubious; because it forbids the freedom of the city to be granted to any but such as are for ever exiled from their own country, or transplant themselves to Athens with their whole family, for the sake of exercising some manual trade. This we are told, he did, not with a view to keep strangers at a distance, but rather to invite them to Athens, upon the sure hope of being admitted to the privilege of citizens: and he imagined the settlement of those might be entirely depended upon, who had been driven from their native country, or had quitted it by choice.

That law is peculiar to Solon, which regulates the going to entertainments made at the public charge, by him called *parasitien*. For he does not allow the same person to repair to them often, and he lays a penalty upon such as refuse to go when invited; looking upon the former as a mark of epicurism, and the latter of contempt of the public.

All his laws were to continue in force for a hundred years, and were written on wooden tables, which might be turned round in the oblong cases that contained them. The Senate, in a body, bound

\* This law, and several others of Solon, were taken into the twelve tables. In the consulate of T. Romilius and C. Veturius, in the year of Rome, 293, the Romans sent deputies to Athens, to transcribe his laws, and those of the other lawgivers of Greece, in order to form thereby a body of laws for Rome.

themselves by oath to establish the laws of Solon ; and the *thesmothæ*, or *guardians of the laws*, severally took an oath in a particular form, by the stone in the market-place, that for every law they broke, each would dedicate a golden statue at Delphi of the same weight with himself.

Observing the irregularity of months, and that the moon neither rose nor set at the same time with the sun, as it oftentimes happened that in the same day she overtook and passed by him, he ordered that day to be called *hene kai nea* (the old and the new) ; assigning the part of it before the conjunction to the old month, and the rest to the beginning of the new. He seems, therefore, to have been the first who understood that verse in Homer, which makes mention of a day wherein “ the old month ended and the new began.” The day following he called the *new moon*. After the twentieth he counted not by adding, but subtracting, to the thirteenth, according to the decreasing phases of the moon.

When his laws took place,\* Solon had his visitors every day, finding fault with some of them, and commending others, or advising him to make certain additions or retrenchments. But the greater part came to desire a reason for this or that article, or a clear and precise explication of the meaning and design. Sensible that he could not well excuse himself from complying with their desires, and that, if he indulged their importunity, the doing it might give offence, he determined to withdraw from the difficulty, and to get rid at once of their cavils and exceptions. For, as he himself observes,

Not all the greatest enterprise can please.

Under pretence, therefore, of traffic, he set sail for another country, having obtained leave of the Athenians for ten years absence. In that time he hoped his laws would become familiar to them.

His first voyage was to Egypt, where he abode some time, as he himself relates,

On the Canopian shore, by Nile's deep mouth.

\* Plutarch has only mentioned such of Solon's laws as he thought the most singular and remarkable : Diogenes Laertius, and Demosthenes have given us an account of some others that ought not to be forgotten :—“ Let not the guardian live in the same house with the mother of his wards. Let not the tuition of minors be committed to him who is next after them in the inheritance. Let not an engraver keep the impression of a seal he has engraved. Let him who puts out the eye of a man who has but one, lose both his own. If an archon is taken in liquor, let him be put to death. Let him who refuses to maintain his father and mother, be infamous ; and so let him that has consumed his patrimony. Let him who refuses to go to war, flies, or behaves cowardly, be debarred the precincts of the *forum*, and places of public worship. If a man surprises his wife in adultery, and lives with her afterwards, let him be deemed infamous. Let him who frequents the houses of lewd women, be debarred from speaking in the assemblies of the people. Let a pander be pursued, and put to death if taken. If any man steal in the day-time, let him be carried to the eleven officers : if in the night, it shall be lawful to kill him in the act, or to wound him in the pursuit, and carry him to the aforesaid officers ; if he steals common things let him pay double, and, if the convictor thinks fit, be exposed in chains five days ; if he be guilty of sacrilege, let him be put to death.”

There he conversed on points of philosophy, with Psenophis the Heliopolitan, and Senchis the Saite, the most learned of the Egyptian priests; and having an account from them of the *Atlantic Island*\* (as Plato informs us), he attempted to describe it to the Grecians in a poem. From Egypt he sailed to Cyprus, and there was honoured with the best regards of Philocyprus, one of the kings of that island, who reigned over a small city built by Demophon the son of Theseus, near the river Clarius, in a strong situation indeed, but very indifferent soil. As there was an agreeable plain below, Solon persuaded him to build a larger and pleasanter city there, and to remove the inhabitants of the other to it. He also assisted in laying out the whole, and building it in the best manner for convenience and defence: so that Philocyprus in a short time had it so well peopled, as to excite the envy of the other princes. And, therefore, though the former city was called *Aipeia*, yet in honour of Solon, he called the new one *Soli*. He himself speaks of the building of this city, in his elegies, addressing himself to Philocyprus;

For you be long the Solon throne decreed!  
 For you, a race of prosperous sons succeed!  
 If in those scenes, to her so justly dear,  
 My hand a blooming city help'd to rear,  
 May the sweet voice of smiling Venus bless,  
 And speed me home with honours and success!

As for his interview with Cræsus, some pretend to prove from chronology that it is fictitious. But since the story is so famous, and so well attested, nay (what is more), so agreeable to Solon's character, so worthy of his wisdom and magnanimity, I cannot prevail with myself to reject it for the sake of certain chronological tables, which thousands are correcting to this day, without being able to bring them to any certainty. Solon, then, is said to have gone to Sardis, at the request of Cræsus; and when he came there, he was affected much in the same manner as a person born in an inland country, when he first goes to see the ocean: for as he takes every great river he comes to for the sea, so Solon, as he passed

\* Plato finished this history from Solon's memoirs, as may be seen in his *Timæus* and *Critias*. He pretends, that this Atlantis, an island situated in the Atlantic ocean, was bigger than Asia and Africa: and that notwithstanding its vast extent, it was drowned in one day and night. Diodorus Siculus says, the Carthaginians, who discovered it, made it death for any one to settle in it. Amidst a number of conjectures concerning it, one of the most probable is, that in those days the Africans had some knowledge of America. Another opinion worth mentioning is, that the *Atlantides*, or *Fortunate* islands, were what we now call the Canaries. Homer thus describes them:—

Stern winter smiles on that auspicious clime:  
 The fields are florid with unfading prime.  
 From the bleak pole no winds inclement blow,  
 Mould the round hail, or flake the fleecy snow;  
 But from the breezy deep the blest inhale  
 The fragrant murmurs of the western gale.

POPE.

through the court, and saw many of the nobility richly dressed, and walking in great pomp amidst a crowd of attendants and guards, took each of them for Cræsus. At last, when he was conducted into the presence, he found the king set off with whatever can be imagined curious and valuable, either in beauty of colours, elegance of golden ornaments, or splendour of jewels; in order that the grandeur and variety of the scene might be as striking as possible.

Solon, standing over against the throne, was not at all surprised, nor did he pay those compliments that were expected; on the contrary, it was plain to all persons of discernment, that he despised such vain ostentation and littleness of pride. Cræsus then ordered his treasures to be opened, and his magnificent apartments and furniture to be shown him: this was quite a needless trouble; for Solon, in one view of the king, was able to read his character. When he had seen all and was conducted back, Cræsus asked him, "If he had ever beheld a happier man than he?" Solon answered, "He had, and that the person was one Tellus, a plain, but worthy citizen of Athens, who left valuable children behind him, and who having been above the want of necessaries all his life, died gloriously fighting for his country." By this time he appeared to Cræsus to be a strange uncouth kind of rustic, who did not measure happiness by the quantity of gold and silver, but could prefer the life and death of a private and mean person to his high dignity and power. However, he asked him again, "Whether, after Tellus, he knew another happier man in the world?" Solon answered, "Yes, Cleobis and Biton, famed for their brotherly affection, and dutiful behaviour to their mother; for the oxen not being ready, they put themselves in the harness, and drew their mother to Juno's temple, who was extremely happy in having such sons, and moved forward amidst the blessings of the people. After the sacrifice, they drank a cheerful cup with their friends, and then lay down to rest, but rose no more; for they died in the night without sorrow or pain, in the midst of so much glory." "Well," said Cræsus, now highly displeased, "and do you not then rank us in the number of happy men?" Solon, unwilling either to flatter him, or to exasperate him more, replied, "King of Lydia, as God has given the Greeks a moderate proportion of other things, so likewise he has favoured them with a democratic spirit, and a liberal kind of wisdom, which has no taste for the splendours of royalty. Moreover, the vicissitudes of life suffer us not to be elated by any present good fortune, or to admire that felicity which is liable to change. Futurity carries for every man many various and uncertain events in its bosom. He, therefore, whom Heaven blesses with success to the last, is in our estimation the happy man. But the happiness of him who still lives, and has the dangers of life to encounter, appears to us no better than that of a champion, before

the combat is determined, and while the crown is uncertain." With these words Solon departed, leaving Cræsus chagrined, but not instructed.

At that time Æsop, the fabulist, was at the court of Cræsus, who had sent for him, and caressed him not a little. He was concerned at the unkind reception Solon met with, and thereupon gave him this advice: "A man should either not converse with kings at all, or say what is agreeable to them." To which Solon replied, "Nay, but he should either not do it all, or say what is useful to them."

Though Cræsus at that time held our law-giver in contempt, yet when he was defeated in his wars with Cyrus, when his city was taken, himself made prisoner, and laid bound upon the pile, in order to be burnt, in the presence of Cyrus and all the Persians, he cried out as loud as he possibly could, "Solon! Solon! Solon!" Cyrus, surprised at this, sent to inquire of him, "What God or man it was whom alone he thus invoked under so great a calamity?" Cræsus answered without the least disguise, "He is one of the wise men of Greece, whom I sent for, not with a design to hear his wisdom, or to learn what might be of service to me, but that he might see and extend the reputation of that glory, the loss of which I find a much greater misfortune, than the possession of it was a blessing. My exalted state was only an exterior advantage, the happiness of opinion; but the reverse plunges me into real sufferings, and ends in misery irremediable. This was foreseen by that great man, who, forming a conjecture of the future from what he then saw, advised me to consider the end of life, and not to rely or grow insolent upon uncertainties." When this was told Cyrus, who was a much wiser man than Cræsus, finding Solon's maxim confirmed by an example before him, he not only set Cræsus at liberty, but honoured him with his protection as long as he lived. Thus Solon had the glory of saving the life of one of these kings, and of instructing the other.

During his absence, the Athenians were much divided among themselves; Lycurgus being at the head of the low country; Megacles, the son of Alcmaëon, of the people that lived near the sea coast; and Pisistratus, of the mountaineers; among which last was a multitude of labouring people, whose enmity was chiefly levelled at the rich. Hence it was that, though the city did observe Solon's laws, yet all expected some change, and were desirous of another establishment; not in hopes of an equality, but with a view to be gainers by the alteration, and entirely to subdue those who differed from them.

While matters stood thus, Solon arrived at Athens, where he was received with great respect, and still held in veneration by all; but, by reason of his great age, he had neither the strength nor

spirit to act or speak in public as he had done. He therefore applied in private to the heads of the factions, and endeavoured to appease and reconcile them. Pisistratus seemed to give him greater attention than the rest; for Pisistratus had an affable and engaging manner. He was a liberal benefactor to the poor;\* and even to his enemies he behaved with great candour. He counterfeited so dexterously the good qualities which nature had denied him, that he gained more credit than the real possessors of them, and stood foremost in the public esteem, in point of moderation and equity, in zeal for the present government, and aversion to all that endeavoured at a change. With these arts he imposed upon the people: but Solon soon discovered his real character, and was the first to discern his insidious designs. Yet he did not absolutely break with him, but endeavoured to soften him, and advise him better; declaring both to him and others, that if ambition could but be banished from his soul, and he could be cured of his desire of absolute power, there would not be a man better disposed, or a more worthy citizen in Athens.

About this time, Thespis began to change the form of tragedy, and the novelty of the thing attracted many spectators; for this was before any prize was proposed for those that excelled in this respect. Solon, who was always willing to hear and to learn, and in his old age more inclined to any thing that might divert and entertain, particularly to music and good fellowship, went to see Thespis himself exhibit, as the custom of the ancient poets was. When the play was done, he called to Thespis, and asked him, "If he was not ashamed to tell so many lies before so great an assembly? Thespis answered, "It was no great matter, if he spoke or acted so in jest." To which Solon replied, striking the ground violently with his staff, "If we encourage such jesting as this, we shall quickly find it in our contracts and agreements."

Soon after this Pisistratus, having wounded himself for the purpose, drove in that condition into the market-place, and endeavoured to inflame the minds of the people, by telling them, his enemies had lain in wait for him, and treated him in this manner on account of his patriotism. Upon this, the multitude loudly expressed their indignation: but Solon came up, and thus accosted him, *Son of Hippocrates, you act Homer's Ulysses but very indifferently, for he wounded himself to deceive his enemies, but you have done it to impose upon your countrymen.* Notwithstanding this, the rabble were ready to take up arms for him: and a general assem-

\* By the poor we are not to understand such as asked alms, for there were none such at Athens. — "In those days," says Isocrates, "there was no citizen that died of want, or begged in the streets, to the dishonour of the community." This was owing to the laws against idleness and prodigality, and the care which the *artopagus* took that every man should have a visible livelihood.

bly of the people being summoned, Ariston made a motion, that a body-guard of fifty club-men should be assigned him. Solon stood up and opposed it with many arguments, of the same kind with those he has left us in his poems :

And again,                   You hang with rapture on his honey'd tongue.

Your heart to public interest ever blind,  
Your fox-like art still centres in yourself.

But when he saw the poor behave in a riotous manner, and determined to gratify Pisistratus at any rate, while the rich, out of fear, declined the opposition, he retired with this declaration; that he had shown more wisdom than the former, in discerning what method should have been taken; and more courage than the latter, who did not want understanding, but spirit to oppose the establishment of a tyrant. The people having made the decree, did not curiously inquire into the number of guards which Pisistratus employed, but visibly connived at his keeping as many as he pleased, till he seized the citadel. When this was done, and the city in great confusion, Megacles, with the rest of the Alcæonidæ, immediately took to flight. But Solon, though he was now very old, and had none to second him, appeared in public, and addressed himself to the citizens, sometimes upbraiding them with their past indiscretion and cowardice, sometimes exhorting and encouraging them to stand up for their liberty. Then it was that he spoke those memorable words, *It would have been easier for them to repress the advances of tyranny, and prevent its establishment; but now it was established, and grown to some height, it would be more glorious to demolish it.* However, finding that their fears prevented their attention to what he said, he returned to his own house, and placed his weapons at the street door, with these words, *I have done all in my power to defend my country and its laws.* This was his last public effort. Though some exhorted him to fly, he took no notice of their advice, but was composed enough to make verses, in which he thus reproaches the Athenians.

If fear or folly has your rights betray'd,  
Let not the fault on righteous Heav'n be laid.  
You gave them guards; you rais'd your tyrants high,  
T' impose the heavy yoke that draws the heaving sigh.

Many of his friends, alarmed at this, told him the tyrant would certainly put him to death for it, and asked him what he trusted to, that he went such imprudent lengths. he answered, *To old age* However, when Pisistratus had fully established himself, he made his court to Solon, and treated him with so much kindness and respect, that Solon became, as it were, his counsellor, and gave sanction to many of his proceedings. He observed the greatest part of Solon's laws, showing himself the example, and obliging



his friends to follow it. Thus when he was accused of murder before the court of *areopagus*, he appeared in a modest manner to make his defence; but his accuser dropped the impeachment. He likewise added other laws, one of which was, that *persons maimed in the wars, should be maintained at the public charge*. Yet this, Heraclides tells us, was in pursuance of Solon's plan, who had decreed the same in the case of Thersippus. But according to Theophrastus, Pisistratus, not Solon, made the law against idleness, which produced at once greater industry in the country, and tranquillity in the city.

Solon, moreover, attempted in verse a large description, or rather fabulous account of the Atlantic Island,\* which he had learned of the wise men of Sais, and which particularly concerned the Athenians; but by reason of his age, not want of leisure (as Plato would have it), he was apprehensive that the work would be too much for him, and therefore did not go through with it. These verses are a proof that business was not the hindrance:

I grow in learning as I grow in years.

And again,

Wine, wit, and beauty, still their charms bestow,  
Light all the shades of life, and cheer us as we go.

Plato, ambitious to cultivate and adorn the subject of the Atlantic Island, as a delightful spot in some fair field unoccupied, to which also he had some claim, by his being related to Solon,† laid out magnificent courts and inclosures, and erected a grand entrance to it, such as no other story, fable, or poem ever had. But as he began it late, he ended his life before the work; so that the more the reader is delighted with the part that is written, the more regret he has to find it unfinished.

Heraclides Ponticus relates that Solon lived a considerable time after Pisistratus usurped the government; but according to Phantias the Ephesian, not quite two years. For Pisistratus began his tyranny in the archonship of Comias; and Phantias tells us Solon died in the archonship of Hegestratus, the immediate successor to Comias.

\* This fable imported, that the people of Atlantis, having subdued all Lybia, and a great part of Europe, threatened Egypt and Greece; but the Athenians making head against their victorious army, overthrew them in several engagements, and confined them to their own island.

† Plato's mother was a descendant of the brother of Solon.

## THEMISTOCLES.

*Flourished 471 years before Christ.*

THE family of Themistocles was too obscure to raise him to distinction. He was the son of Neocles, an inferior citizen of Athens, of the ward of Phrear, and the tribe of Leontis. By his mother's side, he is said to have been illegitimate,\* according to the following verses :

Though born in Thrace, Abrotonon my name,  
My son enrols me in the lists of fame,  
The great Themistocles.

Yet Phanias writes, that the mother of Themistocles was of Caria, not of Thrace, and that her name was not Abrotonon, but Euterpe. Neanthes mentions Halicarnassus as the city to which she belonged. But be that as it may, when all the illegitimate youth assembled at Cynosarges, in the wrestling ring dedicated to Hercules, without the gates, which was appointed for that purpose, because Hercules himself was not altogether of divine extraction, but had a mortal for his mother; Themistocles found means to persuade some of the young noblemen to go to Cynosarges, and take their exercise with him. This was an ingenious contrivance to take away the distinction between the illegitimate or aliens, and the legitimate, whose parents were both Athenians.

When a boy, he was full of spirit and fire, quick of apprehension, naturally inclined to bold attempts, and likely to make a great statesman. His hours of leisure and vacation he spent not like other boys, in idleness and play; but he was always inventing and composing declamations: the subjects of which were either the impeachment or defence of some of his school-fellows: so that his master would often say, "Boy, you will be nothing common or indifferent; you will either be a blessing or a curse to the community." As for moral philosophy, and the polite arts, he learned them but slowly, and with little satisfaction; but instructions in political knowledge, and the administration of public affairs, he received with an attention above his years: because they suited his genius. When, therefore, he was laughed at, long after, in company where free scope was given to raillery, by persons who passed as more accomplished in what was called genteel breeding, he was obliged to answer them with some asperity: " 'Tis true I never learned how to tune a harp, or play upon a lute,

\* It was a law at Athens, that every citizen who had a foreigner to his mother, should be deemed a bastard, though born in wedlock, and should consequently be incapable of inheriting his father's estate.

But I know how to raise a small and inconsiderable city to glory and greatness."

In the first sallies of youth, he was irregular and unsteady; as he followed his own disposition without any moral restraints. He lived in extremes, and those extremes were often of the worst kind. But he seemed to apologize for this afterwards, when he observed, that the "wildest colts make the best horses, when they come to be properly broke and managed."

Themistocles had an early and violent inclination for public business, and was so strongly smitten with the love of glory, and an ambition of the highest station, that he involved himself in troublesome quarrels with persons of the first rank and influence in the state, particularly with Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, who always opposed him. Their enmity began early, but the cause, as Ariston the philosopher relates, was nothing more than their regard for Ptesileus of Teos. After this, their disputes continued about public affairs: and the dissimilarity of their lives and manners naturally to it. Aristides was of a mild temper, and of great probity. He managed the concerns of government with inflexible justice, not with a view to ingratiate himself with the people, or to promote his own glory, but solely for the advantage and safety of the state. He was, therefore, necessarily obliged to oppose Themistocles, and to prevent his promotion, because he frequently put the people upon unwarrantable enterprises, and was ambitious of introducing great innovations. Indeed, Themistocles was so carried away with the love of glory, so immoderately desirous of distinguishing himself by some great action, that, though he was very young when the battle of Marathon was fought, and when the generalship of Miltiades was every where extolled, yet even then he was observed to keep much alone, to be very pensive, to watch whole nights, and not to attend the usual entertainments: when he was asked the reason by his friends, who wondered at the change, he said, "The trophies of Miltiades would not suffer him to sleep." While others imagined the defeat of the Persians at Marathon had put an end to the war, he considered it as the beginning of greater conflicts; and, for the benefit of Greece, he was always preparing himself and the Athenians against those conflicts, because he foresaw them at a distance.

And, in the first place, whereas the Athenians had used to share the revenue of the silver mines of Laurium among themselves, he alone had the courage to make a motion to the people, that they should divide them in that manner no longer, but build with them a number of galleys to be employed in the war against the Eginaetæ, who then made a considerable figure in Greece, and, by means of their numerous navy, were masters of the sea. By seasonably stirring up the resentment and emulation of his countrymen

against these islanders, he the more easily prevailed with them to provide themselves with ships, than if he had displayed the terrors of Darius, and the Persians, who were at a greater distance, and of whose coming they had no great apprehensions. With this money, a hundred galleys with three banks of oars were built, which afterwards fought against Xerxes. From this step he proceeded to others, in order to draw the attention of the Athenians to maritime affairs, and to convince them, that, though by land they were not able to cope with their neighbours, yet with a naval force they might not only repel the barbarians, but hold all Greece in subjection. Thus of good land forces, as Plato says, he made them mariners and seamen, and brought upon himself the aspersion of taking from his countrymen the spear and the shield, and sending them to the bench and the oar.

Stesimbrotus writes, that Themistocles effected this, in spite of the opposition of Miltiades. Whether by this proceeding he corrupted the simplicity of the Athenian constitution, is a speculation not proper to be indulged in here. But that the Greeks owed their safety to these naval applications, and that those ships re-established the city of Athens after it had been destroyed (to omit other proofs), Xerxes himself is a sufficient witness. For, after his defeat at sea, he was no longer able to make head against the Athenians, though his land forces remained entire: and it seems to me, that he left Mardonius rather to prevent a pursuit, than with any hope of his bringing Greece into subjection.

Some authors write, that Themistocles was intent upon the acquisition of money, with a view to spend it profusely: and indeed, for his frequent sacrifices, he had need of a large supply. Yet others, on the contrary, accuse him of meanness and attention to trifles, and say he even sold presents that were made him for his table.

In ambition, however, he had no equal. For when he was yet young, and but little known, he prevailed upon Epicles of Hermonie, a performer upon the lyre, much valued by the Athenians, to practise at his house: hoping by this means to draw a great number of people thither. And when he went to the Olympic games, he endeavoured to equal or exceed Cimon, in the elegance of his table, the splendour of his pavilions, and other expenses of his train. These things, however, were not agreeable to the Greeks, They looked upon them as suitable to a young man of a noble family; but when an obscure person set himself up so much above his fortune, he gained nothing by it but the imputation of vanity. He exhibited a tragedy\* too at his own expense, and gained the

\* Tragedy at this time was just arrived at perfection: and so great a taste had the Athenians for this kind of entertainment, that the principal persons in the commonwealth could not oblige them more, than by exhibiting the best tragedy with the most

prize with his tragedians, at a time when those entertainments were pursued with great avidity and emulation. In memory of his success, he put up this inscription, "Themistocles the Phrearian exhibited the tragedy, Phrynicus composed it,\* Adimantus presided." This gained him popularity; and what added to it was, his charging his memory with the names of the citizens; so that he readily called each by his own. He was an impartial judge too, in the causes that were brought before him; and Simonides of Ceos† making an unreasonable request to him when *archon*, he answered, "Neither would you be a good poet, if you transgressed the rules of harmony; nor I a good magistrate, if I granted your petition contrary to law." Another time he rallied Simonides for his absurdity in abusing the Corinthians, who inhabited so elegant a city; and having his own picture drawn, when he had so ill-favoured an aspect.

At length, having attained to a great height of power and popularity, his faction prevailed, and he procured the banishment of Aristides by what is called the *Ostracism*.‡

The Medes now preparing to invade Greece again, the Athenians considered who should be their general; and many (we are told) thinking the commission dangerous, declined it. But Epicydes, the son of Euphemides a man of more eloquence than courage, and capable withal of being bribed, solicited it, and was likely to be chosen. Themistocles, fearing the consequence would be fatal to the public, if the choice fell upon Epicydes, prevailed upon him by pecuniary considerations to drop his pretensions.

As soon as he had taken the command, he endeavoured to persuade the people to quit the city, to embark on board their ships, and to meet the barbarians at as great a distance from Greece as possible. But many opposing it, he marched at the head of a great army, together with the Lacedæmonians, to Tempe, intending to elegant decorations. Public prizes were appointed for those that excelled in this respect; and it was matter of great emulation to gain them.

\* Phrynicus was the disciple of Thespis, who was esteemed the inventor of tragedy. He was the first that brought female actors upon the stage. His chief plays were *Actæon*, *Alceſtis*, and the *Danaïdes*. *Æschylus* was his contemporary.

† Simonides celebrated the battles of Marathon and Salamis in his poems; and was the author of several odes and elegies; some of which are still extant and well known. He was much in the favour of Pausanias, king of Sparta, and of Hiero, king of Sicily. Plato had so high an opinion of his merit, that he gave him the epithet of *divine*. He died in the first year of the 78th Olympiad, at almost ninety years of age; so that he was very near fourscore when he described the battle of Salamis.

‡ It is not certain by whom the *Ostracism* was introduced; some say, by Pisistratus, or rather by his sons: others, by Clisthenes; and others, make it as ancient as the time of Theseus. By this, men, who became powerful to such a degree as to threaten the state with danger, were banished for ten years; and they were to quit the Athenian territories in ten days. The method of it was this: every citizen took a piece of broken pot or shell, on which he wrote the name of the person he would have banished. This done, the magistrates counted the shells; and, if they amounted to 6000, sorted them; and the man whose name was found on the greatest number of shells, was of course exiled for ten years.

cover Thessaly, which had not as yet declared for the Persians. When he returned without effecting any thing, the Thessalians having embraced the king's party, and all the country as far as Bœotia following their example, the Athenians were more willing to hearken to his proposal to fight the enemy at sea, and sent him with a fleet to guard the straits of Artimisium.\*

When the fleets of the several states were joined, and the majority were of opinion, that Eurybiades should have the chief command, and with his Lacedæmonians begin the engagement, the Athenians, who had a greater number of ships than all the rest united,† thought it an indignity to part with the place of honour. But Themistocles, perceiving the danger of any disagreement at that time, gave up the command to Eurybiades, and satisfied the Athenians, by representing to them, that, if they behaved like men in that war, the Grecians would voluntarily yield them the superiority for the future. To him, therefore, Greece seems to owe her preservation, and the Athenians in particular the distinguished glory of surpassing their enemies in valour, and their allies in moderation.

The Persian fleet coming up to Aphetæ, Eurybiades was astonished at such an appearance of ships, particularly when he was informed that there were two hundred more sailing round Sciathus. He therefore was desirous, without loss of time, to draw nearer to Greece, and to keep close to the Peloponnesian coast, where he might have an army occasionally to assist the fleet; for he considered the naval force of the Persians as invincible. Upon this, the Eubœans, apprehensive that the Greeks would forsake them, sent Pelagon to negotiate privately with Themistocles, and to offer him a large sum of money. He took the money, and gave it (as Herodotus writes) to Eurybiades.‡ Finding himself most opposed in his designs by Archteles, captain of the *sacred galley*,§ who had

\* At the same time that the Greeks thought of defending the pass of Thermopylæ by land, they sent a fleet to hinder the passage of the Persian navy through the straits of Eubœa, which fleet rendezvoused at Artemisium.

† Herodotus tells us, in the beginning of his eighth book, that the Athenians furnished 127 vessels, and that the whole complement of the rest of the Greeks amounted to no more than 151; of which twenty belonged likewise to the Athenians, who had lent them to the Chalcidians.

‡ According to Herodotus, the affair was thus:—The Eubœans, not being able to prevail with Eurybiades to remain on their coast till they could carry off their wives and children, addressed themselves to Themistocles, and made him a present of thirty talents. He took the money, and with five talents bribed Eurybiades. Then Adiamanthus the Corinthian, being the only commander who insisted on weighing anchor, Themistocles went on board him, and told him in a few words,—“Adiamanthus, you shall not abandon us, for I will give you a greater present for doing your duty, than the king of Medes would send you for deserting the Allies;” which he performed, by sending him three talents on board. Thus he did what the Eubœans requested, and saved twenty two talents for himself.

§ The *sacred galley* was that which the Athenians sent every year to Delos, with sacrifices for Apollo; and they pretend it was the same in which Theseus carried the tribute to Crete.

not money to pay his men, and therefore intended immediately to withdraw: he so incensed his countrymen against him, that they went in a tumultuous manner on board his ship and took from him what he had provided for his supper. Architeles being much provoked at this insult, Themistocles sent him in a chest a quantity of provisions, and at the bottom of it a talent of silver, and desired him to refresh himself that evening, and to satisfy his crew in the morning; otherwise he would accuse him to the Athenians of having received a bribe from the enemy.

Though the several engagements\* with the Persian fleet in the straits of Eubœa were not decisive, yet they were of great advantage to the Greeks, who learned by experience, that neither the number of ships, nor the beauty and splendour of their ornaments, nor the vaunting shouts and songs of the barbarians, have any thing dreadful in them to men who know how to fight hand to hand, and are determined to behave gallantly. These things they were taught to despise, when they came to close action and grappled with the foe. In this case Pindar's sentiments appear just, when he says of the fight at Artemisium,

'Twas then that Athens the foundation laid  
Of Liberty's fair structure.

Indeed, intrepid courage is the commencement of victory.

The news of what had happened at Thermopylæ being brought to Artemisium,† when the confederates were informed that Leonidas was slain there, and Xerxes master of the passages by land, they sailed back to Greece; and the Athenians, elate with their late distinguished valour, brought up the rear. As Themistocles sailed along the coasts, wherever he saw any harbours or places proper for the enemy's ships to put in at, he took such stones as he happened to find, or caused to be brought thither for the purpose, and set them up in the ports and watering-places, with the following inscription engraved in large characters, and addressed to the Ionians: "Let the Ionians, if it be possible, come over to the Greeks, from whom they are descended, and who now risk their lives for their liberty. If this be impracticable, let them at least perplex the barbarians, and put them in disorder, in time of action."

\* They came to three several engagements within three days, in the last of which Cleæas, the father of Alcibiades, performed wonders. He had, at his own expense, fitted out a ship which carried two hundred men.

† The last engagement at Thermopylæ, wherein Xerxes forced the passes of the mountains, by the defeat of the Lacedæmonians, Thespians, and Thebans, who had been left to guard them, happened on the same day with the battle at Artemisium; and the news of it was brought to Themistocles by an Athenian called Abronichus. Though the action at Thermopylæ had not an immediate relation to Themistocles, yet it would have tended more to the glory of that general, if Plutarch had taken greater notice of it: since the advantage gained there by Xerxes, opened Greece to him, and rendered him much more formidable. Thermopylæ is well known to be a narrow pass in the mountains near the Euripus.

By this he hoped either to bring the Ionians over to his side, or to sow discord among them, by causing them to be suspected by the Persians.

Though Xerxes had passed through Doris down to Phocis, and was burning and destroying the Phocian cities, yet the Greeks sent them no succours. And, notwithstanding all the entreaties the Athenians could use to prevail with the confederates, to repair with them into Bœotia, and cover the frontiers of Attica, as *they* had sent a fleet to Artemisium to serve the common cause, no one gave ear to their request. All eyes were turned upon Peloponnesus, and all were determined to collect their forces within the *Isthmus*, and to build a wall across it from sea to sea. The Athenians were greatly incensed to see themselves thus betrayed, and, at the same time, dejected and discouraged at so general a defection. They alone could not think of giving battle to so prodigious an army. To quit the city, and embark on board their ships, was the only expedient at present: and this the generality were very unwilling to hearken to, as they could neither have any great ambition for victory, nor idea of safety, when they had left the temples of their gods and the monuments of their ancestors.

Themistocles, perceiving that he could not by the force of human reason prevail with the multitudes,\* set his machinery to work, as a poet would do in a tragedy, and had recourse to prodigies and oracles. The prodigy he availed himself of, was the disappearing of the dragon of Minerva, which at that time quitted the holy place; and the priests finding the daily offerings set before it untouched, gave it out among the people, at the suggestion of Themistocles, that the goddess had forsaken the city, and that she offered to conduct them to sea. Moreover, by way of explaining to the people an oracle then received,† he told them, that, by *wooden walls*, there could not possibly be any thing meant but ships; and that Apollo, now called *Salamis divine*, not *wretched* and *unfortunate* as formerly, signified by such an epithet, that it would be productive of some great advantage to Greece. His councils pre-

\* He prevailed so effectually at last, that the Athenians stoned Ciryilus, an orator, who vehemently opposed him; and urged all the common topics of love to the place of one's birth, and the affection to wives and helpless infants. The women, too, to show how far they were from desiring that the cause of Greece should suffer for them, stoned his wife.

† This was the second oracle which the Athenian deputies received from Aristonice, priestess of Apollo. Many were of opinion, that, by the walls of wood which she advised them to have recourse to, was meant the citadel, because it was palisaded; but others thought it could intend nothing but ships. The maintainers of the former opinion urged against such as supported the latter, that the last line but one of the oracle was directly against him, and that, without question, it portended the destruction of the Athenian fleet near Salamis. Themistocles alleged in answer, that if the oracle had intended to foretell the destruction of the Athenians, it would not have called it the divine Salamis, but the unhappy; and that, whereas the unfortunate in the oracle were styled the sons of women, it could mean no other than the Persians, who were scandalously effeminate.—*Herodot.* l. vii. c. 143, 144.



vailed, and he proposed a decree, that the city should be left to the protection of Minerva,\* the tutelary goddess of the Athenians; that the young men should go on board the ships; and that every one should provide as well as he possibly could for the safety of the children, the women, and the slaves.

When this decree was made, most of the Athenians removed their parents and wives to Trœzene, where they were received with a generous hospitality. The Trœzenians came to a resolution to maintain them at the public expense, for which purpose they allowed each of them two *aboli* a day; they permitted the children to gather fruit wherever they pleased, and providing for their education by paying their tutors. This order was procured by Nica-goras.

The embarkation of the people of Athens was a very affecting scene. What pity! what admiration of the firmness of those men, who, sending their parents and families to a distant place, unmoved with their cries, their tears, or embraces, had the fortitude to leave the city, and embark for Salamis! What greatly heightened the distress, was the number of citizens whom they were forced to leave behind, because of their extreme old age.† And some emotions of tenderness were due even to the tame domestic animals, which, running to the shore with lamentable howlings expressed their affection and regret for the persons that had fed them. One of these, a dog, that belonged to Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, unwilling to be left behind, is said to have leapt into the sea, and to have swam by the side of the ship, till it reached Salamis, where, quite spent with toil, it died immediately.

To these great actions of Themistocles may be added the following: he perceived that Aristides was much regretted by the people, who were apprehensive that, out of revenge, he might join the Persians, and do great prejudice to the cause of Greece; he, therefore, caused a decree to be made, that all who had been banished only for a time, should have leave to return, and by their council and valour assist their fellow-citizens in the preservation of their country.

Eurybiades, by reason of the dignity of Sparta, had the command of the fleet: but as he was apprehensive of the danger,‡ he proposed to set sail for the *Isthmus*, and fix his station near the

\* But how was this, when he had before told the people, that Minerva had forsaken the city?

† In this description, we find strong traces of Plutarch's humanity and good nature.

‡ It does not appear that Eurybiades wanted courage. After Xerxes had gained the pass of Thermopylæ, it was the general opinion of the chief officers of the confederate fleet assembled in council (except those of Athens,) that their only resource was to build a strong wall across the isthmus, and to defend Peloponnesus against the Persians. Besides the Lacedæmonians, who were impartial judges of men and things, gave the palm of valour to Eurybiades, and that of prudence to Themistocles.

Peloponnesian army. Themistocles, however, opposed it; and the account we have of the conference on that occasion deserves to be mentioned. When Eurybiades said,\* "Do not you know, Themistocles, that, in the public games, such as rise up before their turn are chastised for it?"—"Yes," answered Themistocles; "yet such as are left behind never gain the crown." Eurybiades, upon this, lifting up his staff, as if he intended to strike him, Themistocles said, "Strike if you please, but hear me." The Lacedæmonians, admiring his command of temper, bade him speak what he had to say: and Themistocles was leading him back to the subject, when one of the officers thus interrupted him, "It ill becomes you who have no city, to advise us to quit our habitations and abandon our country." Themistocles retorted upon him thus: "Wretch that thou art, we have indeed left our walls and houses, not choosing, for the sake of those inanimate things, to become slaves; yet we have still the most respectable city of Greece, in these two hundred ships, which are here ready to defend you, if you will give them leave. But if you forsake and betray us a second time, Greece shall soon find the Athenians possessed of as free a city, and as valuable a country, as that which they have quitted." These words struck Eurybiades with the apprehension that the Athenians might fall off from him. We are told, also, that as a certain Eretrian was attempting to speak, Themistocles said, "What have you, too, something to say about war, who are like the fish that has a sword, but no heart."

While Themistocles was thus maintaining his argument upon deck some tell us an owl was seen flying to the right of the fleet,† which came and perched upon the shrouds. This omen determined the confederates to accede to his opinion, and to prepare for a sea-fight. But no sooner did the enemy's fleet appear advancing towards the harbour of Phalerus in Attica, and covering all the neighbouring coasts, while Xerxes himself was seen marching his land-forces to the shore, than the Greeks, struck with the sight of such prodigious armaments, began to forget the counsel of Themistocles, and the Peloponnesians once more looked towards the *Isthmus*. Nay they resolved to set sail that very night, and such orders were given to all the pilots. Themistocles, greatly concerned that the Greeks were going to give up the advantage of their station in the straits, and to retire to their respective countries, contrived that stratagem which was put in execution by Sicinus. This Sicinus was of Persian extraction, and a captive, but much attached to Themistocles, and the tutor of his children.

\* Herodotus says, this conversation passed between Adiamanthus, general of the Corinthians, and Themistocles; but Plutarch relates it with more probability of Eurybiades, who was commander in chief.

† The owl was sacred to Minerva, the protectress of the Athenians.

On this occasion Themistocles sent him privately to the king of Persia, with orders to tell him, that the commander of the Athenians, having espoused his interest, was the first to inform him of the intended flight of the Greeks; and that he exhorted him not to suffer them to escape; but while they were in this confusion, and at a distance from their land forces, to attack and destroy their whole navy.

Xerxes took this information kindly, supposing it to proceed from friendship, and immediately gave orders to his officers, with two hundred ships, to surround all the passages, and to enclose the islands, that none of the Greeks might escape, and then to follow with the rest of the ships at their leisure. Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, was the first who perceived this motion of the enemy; and though he was not in friendship with Themistocles, but had been banished by his means, he went to him and told him they were surrounded by the enemy. Themistocles, knowing his probity, and charmed with his coming to give this intelligence, acquainted him with the affair of Sicinus, and entreated him to lend him his assistance to keep the Greeks in their station; and, as they had a confidence in his honour, to persuade them to come to an engagement in the straits. Aristides approved the proceedings of Themistocles, and going to the other admirals and captains, encouraged them to engage. While they hardly gave credit to his report, a Tenian galley, commanded by Parætius, came over from the enemy to bring the same account; so that indignation, added to necessity, excited the Greeks to the combat.\*

As soon as it was day, Xerxes sat down on an eminence to view the fleet and its order of battle. He placed himself, as Phanodetus writes, above the temple of Hercules, where the isle of Salamis is separated from Attica by a narrow frith; but according to Acestodorus, on the confines of Megara, upon a spot called *Kerata*, "The Horns." He was seated on a throne of gold,† and had many secretaries about him, whose business it was to write down the particulars of the action.

As to the number of the Persian ships, the poet Æschylus

\* The different conduct of the Spartans and the Athenians on this occasion seems to show how much superior the accommodating laws of Solon were to the austere discipline of Lycurgus. Indeed, while the institutions of the latter remained in force, the Lacedæmonians were the greatest of all people. But that was impossible. The severity of Lycurgus's legislation naturally tended to destroy it. Nor was this all. From the extremes of abstemious hardships, the next step was not to a moderate enjoyment of life, but to all the licentiousness of the most effeminate luxury. The laws of Lycurgus made men of the Spartan women; when they were broken, they made women of the men.

† This throne, or seat, whether of gold or silver, or both, was taken and carried to Athens where it was consecrated in the temple of Minerva, with the golden sabre of Mardonius, which was taken afterwards in the battle of Platæa. Demosthenes calls it a *chair with silver feet*.

speaks of it, in his tragedy entitled *Persæ*, as a matter he was well assured of.

A thousand ships (for well I know the number)  
The Persian flag obeyed; two hundred more  
And seven o'erspread the seas.

The Athenians had only one hundred and eighty galleys; each carried eighteen men that fought upon deck, four of whom were archers, and the rest heavy armed.

If Themistocles was happy in choosing a place for action, he was no less so in taking advantage of a proper time for it; for he would not engage the enemy, till that time of day when a brisk wind usually arises from the sea, which occasions a high surf in the channel. This was no inconvenience to the Grecian vessels, which were low built and well compacted; but a very great one to the Persian ships, which had high sterns and lofty decks, and were heavy and unwieldy; for it caused them to veer in such a manner, that their sides were exposed to the Greeks, who attacked them furiously. During the engagement, great attention was given to the motions of Themistocles, as it was believed he knew best how to proceed. Ariamenes, the Persian admiral, a man of distinguished honour, and by far the bravest of the king's brothers, directed his manœuvres chiefly against him. His ship was very tall, and from it he threw darts and shot forth arrows as from the wall of a castle. But Aminias the Decclean, and Sosicles the Pedian, who sailed in one bottom, bore down upon him with their prow, and both ships meeting, they were fastened together by means of their brazen bleaks; when Ariamenes boarding their galley, they received him with their pikes, and pushed him into the sea. Artemisia† knew the body amongst others that were floating with the wreck, and carried it to Xerxes.

The first man that took a ship was an Athenian, named Lycomedes, captain of a galley, who cut down the ensigns from the enemy's ship, and consecrated them to the *laurelled* Apollo. As the Persians could come in the straits but a few at a time, and often put each other in confusion, the Greeks equalling them in the line, fought them till the evening, when they broke them entirely, and gained that signal and complete victory, than which (as Simonides says) no other naval achievement, either of the Greeks or barbarians ever, was more glorious. This success was owing to the valour,

† Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, distinguished herself above all the rest of the Persian forces, her ships being the last that fled; which Xerxes observing, cried out, that the men behaved like women, and the women with the courage and intrepidity of men. The Athenians were so incensed against her, that they offered a reward of ten thousand drachmas to anyone that should take her alive. This princess must not be confounded with that Artemisia who was the wife of Mausolus, king of Caria.

indeed, of all the confederates, but chiefly to the sagacity and conduct of Themistocles.\*

After the battle, Xerxes, full of indignation at his disappointment, attempted to join Salamis to the continent, by a mole so well secured, that his land forces might pass over it into the island, and that he might shut up the pass entirely against the Greeks. At the same time Themistocles, to sound Aristides, pretended it was his own opinion that they should sail to the Hellespont, and break down the bridge of ships; "For so," says he, "we may take Asia, without stirring out of Europe." Aristides† did not in the least relish his proposal, but answered him to this purpose: "Till now we have had to do with an enemy immersed in luxury; but if we shut him up in Greece, and drive him to necessity, he who is master of such prodigious forces, will no longer sit under a golden canopy, and be a quiet spectator of the proceedings of the war, but, awaked by danger, attempting every thing, and present every where, he will correct his past errors, and follow councils better calculated for success. Instead, therefore, of breaking that bridge, we should, if possible, provide another, that he, may retire the sooner out of Europe."—"If that is the case," said Themistocles, "we must all consider and contrive how to put him upon the most speedy retreat out of Greece."

This being resolved upon, he sent one of the king's eunuchs, whom he found among the prisoners, Arnaces by name, to acquaint him, "That the Greeks, since their victory at sea, were determined to sail to the Hellespont, and destroy the bridge; but that Themistocles, in care for the king's safety, advised him to hasten towards his own seas, and pass over into Asia, while his friends endeavoured to find out pretences of delay, to prevent the confederates from pursuing him." Xerxes, terrified at the news, retired with the greatest precipitation.‡ How prudent the management of Themistocles and Aristides was, Mardonius afforded a proof, when, with a small part of the king's forces, he put the Greeks in extreme danger of losing all, in the battle of Plataea.

Herodotus tells us, that, among the cities, Ægina bore away the palm: but, among the commanders, Themistocles, in spite of envy, was universally allowed to have distinguished himself most. For,

\* In this battle, which was one of the most memorable we find in history, the Grecians lost forty ships, and the Persians two hundred, besides a great many more that were taken.

† According to Herodotus, it was not Aristides, but Eurybiades, who made this reply to Themistocles.

‡ Xerxes, having left Mardonius in Greece with an army of three hundred thousand men, marched with the rest towards Thrace, in order to cross the Hellespont. As no provisions had been prepared beforehand, his army underwent great hardships during the whole time of his march, which lasted five and forty days.

when they came to the Isthmus, and every officer took a billet from the altar, to inscribe upon it the names of those that had done the best service, every one put himself in the first place, and Themistocles in the second. The Lacedæmonians, having conducted him to Sparta, adjudged Eurybiades the prize of valour, and Themistocles that of wisdom, honouring each with a crown of olive. They likewise presented the latter with the handsomest chariot in the city, and ordered three hundred of their youth to attend him to the borders. At the next Olympic games, too, we are told, that, as soon as Themistocles appeared in the ring, the champions were overlooked by the spectators, who kept their eyes upon him all the day, and pointed him out to strangers with the utmost admiration and applause. This incense was extremely grateful to him; and he acknowledged to his friends, that he then reaped the fruits of his labours for Greece.

Indeed, he was naturally very ambitious, if we may form a conclusion from his memorable acts and sayings. For, when elected admiral by the Athenians, he would not despatch any business, whether public or private, singly, but put off all affairs to the day he was to embark, that having a great deal to do he might appear with the greater dignity and importance.

One day, as he was looking upon the dead bodies cast up by the sea, and saw a number of chains of gold and bracelets upon them, he passed by them, and turning to his friend, said, "Take these things for yourself, for you are not Themistocles."

To Antiphates, who had formerly treated him with disdain, but in his glory made his court to him, he said, "Young man, we are both come to our senses at the same time though a little too late."

He used to say, "The Athenians paid him no honour or sincere respect; but when a storm arose, or danger appeared, they sheltered themselves under him, as under a plane-tree, which, when the weather was fair again, they would rob of its leaves and branches."

When one of Seriphus told him, "He was not so much honoured for his own sake, but for his country's." "True," answered Themistocles: "for neither should I have been greatly distinguished if I had been of Seriphus; nor you, if you had been an Athenian."

Another officer, who thought he had done the state some service, setting himself up against Themistocles, and venturing to compare his own exploits with his, he answered him with this fable: "There once happened a dispute between the *feast-day* and the *day after the feast*: Says the *day after the feast*, I am full of bustle and trouble, whereas, with you, folks enjoy at their ease every thing ready provided. You say right, says the *feast-day*, but if I had not been

before you, you would not have been at all. *So had it not been for me, then, where would you have been now?\**

His son being master of his mother, and by her means of him, he said, laughing, "This child is greater than any man in Greece; for the Athenians command the Greeks, I command the Athenians, his mother commands me, and he commands his mother."

As he loved to be particular in every thing, when he happened to sell a farm, he ordered the crier to add, "that it had a good neighbour."

Two citizens courting his daughter, he preferred the worthy man to the rich one, and assigned this reason, "He had rather she would have a man without money than money without a man." Such was the pointed manner in which he often expressed himself.†

After the greatest actions we have related, his next enterprise was to rebuild and fortify the city of Athens.—Theopompus says, he bribed the Lacedæmonian *Ephori*, that they might not oppose it; but most historians say, he over reached them. He was sent, it seems, on pretence of an embassy to Sparta. The Spartans complained, that the Athenians were fortifying their city, and the governor of Ægina, who was come for that purpose, supported the accusation. But Themistocles absolutely denied it, and challenged them to send proper persons to Athens to inspect the walls; at once gaining time for finishing them, and contriving to have hostages at Athens for his return. The event answered his expectation. For the Lacedæmonians, when assured how the fact stood, dissembled their resentment, and let him go with impunity.

After this, he built and fortified the Piræus (having observed the convenience of that harbour.) By which means he gave the city every maritime accommodation. In this respect his politics were very different from those of the ancient kings of Athens. They, we are told, used their endeavours to draw the attention of their subjects from the business of navigation, that they might turn it entirely to the culture of the ground: and to this purpose they published the fable of the contention between Minerva and Neptune, for the patronage of Attica, when the former, by producing an olive tree before the judges, gained her cause.

Themistocles had something still greater in view for strengthening the Athenians by sea. After the retreat of Xerxes, when the Grecian fleet was gone into the harbour of Pagasæ to winter, he acquainted the citizens in full assembly, "That he had hit upon a design which might greatly contribute to their advantage, but it was not fit to be communicated to their whole body." The Athe-

\* There is the genuine Attic salt in most of these retorts and observations of Themistocles. His wit seems to have been equal to his military and political capacity.

† Cicero has preserved another of his sayings, which deserves mentioning. When Simonides offered to teach Themistocles the art of memory, he answered, *Ah! rather teach me the art of forgetting; for I often remember what I would not, and can not forget what I would.*

nians ordered him to communicate it to Aristides only,\* and, if he approved of it, to put it in execution. Themistocles then informed him "That he had thoughts of burning the confederate fleet at Pagasæ." Upon which, Aristides went and declared to the people, "That the enterprize which Themistocles proposed, was indeed the most advantageous in the world, but, at the same time, the most unjust." The Athenians, therefore, commanded him to lay aside all thoughts of it.

About this time the Lacedæmonians made a motion in the assembly of the *Amphictyons*, to exclude from that council all those states that had not joined it in the confederacy against the king of Persia. But Themistocles was apprehensive, that, if the Thessalians, the Argives, and Thebans, were expelled from the council, the Lacedæmonians would have a great majority of voices, and consequently procure what decrees they pleased. He spoke, therefore, in defence of those states, and brought the deputies off from that design, by representing that thirty-one cities only had their share of the burden of that war, and that the greatest part of these were but of small consideration: that consequently it would be both unreasonable and dangerous to exclude the rest of Greece from the league, and leave the council to be dictated to by two or three great cities. By this he became very obnoxious to the Lacedæmonians, who, for this reason, set up Cimon against him as a rival in all the affairs of state, and used all their interest for his advancement.

He disoblged the allies, also, by sailing round the islands, and extorting money from them; as we may conclude from the answer which Herodotus tells us the Andrians gave him to a demand of that sort. He told them, "He brought two gods along with him, *Persuasion* and *Force*." They replied, "They had also two great gods on their side, *Poverty* and *Despair*, who forbade them to satisfy him."

As the Athenians, through envy, readily gave ear to calumnies against him, he was often forced to recount his own services, which rendered him still more insupportable; and when they expressed their displeasure, he said, "Are you weary of receiving benefits often from the same hand?"

Another offence he gave the people, was, his building a temple to Diana, under the name of *Aristobule*, or, *Diana of the best council*, intimating that he had given the best counsel, not only to Athens, but to all Greece. He built this temple near his own house, in the quarter of Melita. There was a statue of Themistocles in this temple, from which it appeared that this aspect was as heroic as his soul.

\* How glorious this testimony of the public regard to Aristides, from a people then so free, and withal so virtuous!



At last the Athenians, unable any longer to bear that high distinction in which he stood, banished him by the *ostracism*; and this was nothing more than they had done to others whose power was become a burden to them, and who had risen above the equality which a commonwealth requires; for the *ostracism*, or *ten years banishment*, was not so much intended to punish this or that great man, as to pacify and mitigate the fury of envy, who delights in the disgrace of superior characters, and loses a part of her rancour by their fall.

In the time of his exile, while he took up his abode at Argos,\* the affair of Pausanias gave great advantage to the enemies of Themistocles. The person that accused him of treason, was Leobotes, the son of Alcmaeon, of Agraule, and the Spartans joined in the impeachment. Pausanias at first concealed his plot from Themistocles, though he was his friend; but when he saw him an exile, and full of indignation against the Athenians, he ventured to communicate his designs to him, showing him the king of Persia's letters, and exciting him to vengeance against the Greeks, as an unjust and ungrateful people. Themistocles rejected the solicitations of Pausanias, and refused to have the least share in his designs; but he gave no information of what had passed between them, nor let the secret transpire; whether he thought he would desist of himself, or that he would be discovered some other way, as he had embarked in an absurd and extravagant enterprise, without any rational hopes of success.

However, when Pausanias was put to death, there were found letters and other writings relative to the business, which caused no small suspicion against Themistocles. The Lacedæmonians raised a clamour against him; and such of his fellow-citizens as envied him, insisted on the charge. He could not defend himself in person, but he answered by letter the principal parts of the accusation. For, to obviate the calumnies of his enemies, he observed to the Athenians, "That he who was born to command, and incapable of servitude, could never sell himself, and Greece along with him, to enemies and barbarians." The people, however, listened to his accuser, and sent him with orders to bring him to his answer before the states of Greece. Of this he had timely notice and

\* The great Pausanias, who had beaten the Persians in the battle of Platæa, and who on many occasions had behaved with great generosity as well as moderation, at last degenerated, and fell into a scandalous treaty with the Persians, in hopes, through their interest, to make himself sovereign of Greece. As soon as he had conceived these strange notions, he fell into the manners of the Persians, affected all their luxury, and derided the plain customs of his country, of which he had formerly been so fond. The Ephori waited some time for clear proof of his treacherous designs, and when they had obtained it, determined to imprison him. But he fled into the temple of Minerva Chalcinicos, and they besieged him there. They walled up all the gates, and his own mother laid the first stone. When they had almost starved him to death, they laid hands on him, and by the time they had got him out of the temple, he expired.

passed over to the isle of Corcyra, the inhabitants of which had great obligations to him; for a difference between them and the people of Corinth had been referred to his arbitration, and he had decided it by awarding the Corinthians to pay down twenty talents, and the isle of Leucas to be in common between the two parties, as a colony from both. From thence he fled to Epirus; and, finding himself still pursued by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, he tried a very hazardous and uncertain resource, in imploring the protection of Admetus king of the Molossians. Admetus had made a request to the Athenians, which being rejected with scorn by Themistocles, in the time of his prosperity and influence in the state, the king entertained a deep resentment against him, and made no secret of his intention to revenge himself, if ever the Athenian should fall into his power. However, while he was thus flying from place to place, he was more afraid of the recent envy of his countrymen, than of the consequences of an old quarrel with the king; and therefore he went and put himself in his hands, appearing before him as a suppliant, in a particular and extraordinary manner.\* He took the king's son, who was yet a child, in his arms, and kneeled down before the household gods. This manner of offering a petition the Molossians looked upon as the most effectual, and the only one that can hardly be rejected.

At that time Epicrates, the Acarnanian, found means to convey the wife and children of Themistocles out of Athens, and sent them to him, for which Cimon afterwards condemned him, and put him to death. Thucydides writes, that he went by land to the Ægean sea, and embarked at Pydna: that none in the ship knew him till he was driven by a storm to Naxos, which was at that time besieged by the Athenians; that, through fear of being taken, he then informed the master of the ship and the pilot who he was; and that, partly by entreaties, partly by threatening, he would declare to the Athenians, however falsely, that they knew him from the first, and were bribed to take him into their vessel, he obliged them to weigh anchor, and sail for Asia.

The greatest part of his treasures were privately sent after him to Asia by his friends. What was discovered and seized for the public use, Theopompus says, amounted to an hundred talents, Theophrastus fourscore; though he was not worth three talents before his being employed in the government.†

When he was landed at Cuma, he understood that a number of people, particularly Ergoteles and Pythodorus, were watching to take him. He was, indeed, a rich booty to those who were deter-

\* It was nothing particular for a suppliant to do homage to the household gods of the person to whom he had a request; but to do it with the king's sons in his arms was an extraordinary circumstance.

† This is totally inconsistent with that splendour in which, according to Plutarch's own account, he lived, before he had any public appointments.

mined to get money by any means whatever ; for the king of Persia had offered, by proclamation, two hundred talents, for apprehending him.\* He, therefore, retired to *Ægæ*, a little town of the *Æolians*, where he was known to nobody but *Nicogenes*, his host, who was a man of great wealth, and had some interest at the Persian court. In his house he was concealed a few days ; and, one evening, after supper, when the sacrifice was offered, *Olbinus*, tutor to *Nicogenes'* children, cried out, as in a rapture of inspiration,

Counsel, O Night, and victory are thine.

After this, *Themistocles* went to bed, and dreamed he saw a dragon coiled round his body, and creeping up to his neck, which, as soon as it touched his face, was turned into an eagle, and, covering him with his wings, took him up, and carried him to a distant place, where a golden sceptre appeared to him, upon which he rested securely, and was delivered from all his fear and trouble.

In consequence of this warning, he was sent away by *Nicogenes*, who contrived this method for it. The barbarians in general, especially the Persians, are jealous of the women, even to madness ; not only of their wives, but their slaves and concubines ; for, besides the care they take that they shall be seen by none but their own family, they keep them like prisoners in their houses ; and when they take a journey, they are put in a carriage close covered on all sides. In such a carriage as this *Themistocles* was conveyed, the attendants being instructed to tell those they met, if they happened to be questioned, that they were carrying a Grecian lady from *Ionia* to a nobleman at court.

*Thucydides*, and *Caron of Lamsacus*, relate, that *Xerxes* was then dead, and that it was to his son† *Artaxerxes* that *Themistocles* addressed himself. But *Ephorus*, *Dion*, *Clitarchus*, *Heraclides*, and several others write, that *Xerxes* himself was then upon the throne. The opinion of *Thucydides* seems most agreeable to chronology, though that is not perfectly well settled. *Themistocles*, now ready for the dangerous experiment, applied first to *Artabanus*,‡ a military officer, and told him, “ He was a Greek, who desired to have audience of the king about matters of great importance, which the king himself had much at heart.” *Artabanus* answered, “ The laws of men are different ; some esteem one thing

\* The resentment of *Xerxes* is not at all to be wondered at, since *Themistocles* had not only beaten him in the battle of *Salamis*, but what was more disgraceful still, had made him a dupe to his designing persuasions and representations. In the loss of victory, he had some consolation, as he was not himself the immediate cause of it ; but for his ridiculous return to *Asia*, his anger could only fall upon himself and *Themistocles*.

† *Themistocles*, therefore, arrived at the Persian court in the first year of the seventy-ninth Olympiad, 462 years before the birth of Christ ; for that was the first year of *Artaxerxes'* reign.

‡ Son of that *Artabanus*, captain of the guards, who slew *Xerxes*, and persuaded *Artaxerxes* to cut off his elder brother *Darius*.

honourable, and some another ; but it becomes all men to honour and observe the customs of their own country. With you the thing most admired, is said to be liberty and equality. We have many excellent laws ; and we regard it as one of the most indispensable to honour the king, and to adore him as the image of that Deity who preserves and supports the universe. If, therefore, you are willing to conform to our customs, and to prostrate yourself before the king, you may be permitted to see him and speak to him. But if you cannot bring yourself to this, you must acquaint him with your business by a third person. It would be an infringement of the custom of his country, for the king to admit any one to audience who does not worship him." To this Themistocles replied, " My business, Artabanus, is to add to the king's honour and power ; therefore, I will comply with your customs, since the God that has exalted the Persians, will have it so : and by my means the number of the king's worshippers shall be increased. So let this be no hindrance to my communicating to the king what I have to say."—" But who," said Artabanus, " shall we say you are ? for by your discourse you appear to be no ordinary person." Themistocles answered, " Nobody must know that before the king himself."

When he was introduced to the king, and after his prostration, stood silent, the king commanded the interpreter to ask him who he was. The interpreter accordingly put the question, and he answered, " The man who is come now to address himself to you, O king, is Themistocles the Athenian ; an exile, persecuted by the Greeks. The Persians have suffered much by me ; but it has been more, than compensated by my preventing your being pursued, when after I had delivered Greece, and saved my own country, I had it in my power to do you also a service. My sentiments are suitable to my present misfortunes, and I come prepared either to receive your favour, if you are reconciled to me, or if you retain any resentment, to disarm it by submission. Reject not the testimony my enemies have given to the services I have done the Persians, and make use of the opportunity my misfortunes afford you, rather to show your generosity, than to satisfy your revenge. If you save me, you save your suppliant ; if you destroy me, you destroy the enemy of Greece."\* In hopes of influencing the king by an argument drawn from religion, Themistocles added to this speech an account of the vision he had in Nicogenes' house, and an oracle of Jupiter of Dodona, who ordered him " to go to one who bore the same name with the god ;" from which he concluded he was sent to him, since both were called, and really were, *great kings*.

- The king gave him no answer, though he admired his courage

\* How extremely abject and contemptible is this petition, wherein the suppliant founds every argument in his favour upon his vices !

and magnanimity: but with his friends he felicitated himself upon this, as the most fortunate event imaginable. We are told also, that he prayed to *Arimanius*\* that his enemies might ever be so infatuated, as to drive from amongst them their ablest men; that he offered sacrifice to the gods, and immediately after made a great entertainment: nay, that he was so affected by with joy, that when he retired to rest, in the midst of his sleep he called out three times "I have Themistocles, the Athenian."

As soon as it was day, he called together his friends, and ordered Themistocles to be brought before him. The exile expected no favour, when he found that the guards, at the first hearing of his name, treated him with rancour, and loaded him with reproaches. Nay, when the king had taken his seat, and a respectful silence ensued, Roxanes, one of his officers, as Themistocles passed him, whispered him with a sigh, "Ah! thou subtle serpent of Greece, the king's good genius has brought thee thither." However, when he had prostrated himself twice in the presence, the king saluted him, and spoke to him graciously, telling him, "He owed him two hundred talents; for, as he had delivered himself up, it was but just he should receive the reward offered to any one who should bring him." He promised him much more, assured him of his protection, and ordered him to declare freely whatever he had to propose concerning Greece. Themistocles replied, "That a man's discourse was like a piece of tapestry,† which, when spread open, displays its figures; but when it is folded up they are hidden and lost; therefore he begged time." The king, delighted with the comparison, bade him take what time he pleased; and he desired a year: in which space he learned the Persian language, so as to be able to converse with the king without an interpreter.

Such as did not belong to the court, believed that he entertained their prince on the subject of the Grecian affairs; but as there were then many changes in the ministry, he incurred the envy of the nobility, who suspected that he had presumed to speak too freely of them to the king. The honours that were paid him were far superior to those that other strangers had experienced; the king took him with him a-hunting, conversed familiarly with him in his palace, and introduced him to the queen-mother, who honoured him with her confidence. He likewise gave orders for his being instructed in the learning of the *Magi*.

We are told that Themistocles himself, in the midst of his greatness, and the extraordinary respect that was paid him, seeing his table most elegantly spread, turned to his children, and said, "Chil-

\* The god of darkness, the supposed author of plagues and calamities, was called *Ahriman* or *Arimanius*.

† In this he artfully conformed to the figurative manner of speaking in use among the eastern nations.

dren, we should have been undone, had it not been for our undoing." Most authors agree, that he had three cities given him, for bread, wine, and meat; Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus.\* Neanthes of Cyzicus, and Phantias, add two more, Percote and Palæsepsis, for his chamber and his wardrobe.

When he came to Sardis, he diverted himself with looking at the ornaments of the temples; and among the great number of offerings, he found in the temple of Cybele a female figure of brass, two cubits high, called *Hydrophorus*, or the *water-bearer*, which he himself, when surveyor of the aqueducts at Athens, had caused to be made and dedicated out of the fines of such as had stolen the water, or diverted the stream. Whether it was that he was moved at seeing this statue in a strange country, or that he was desirous to show the Athenians how much he was honoured, and what power he had all over the king's dominions, he addressed himself to the governor of Lydia, and begged leave to send back the statue to Athens. The barbarian immediately took fire, and said he would certainly acquaint the king what sort of a request he had made him. Themistocles, alarmed at this menace, applied to the governor's women, and, by money, prevailed upon them to pacify him. After this he behaved with more prudence, sensible how much he had to fear from the envy of the Persians. Hence, he did not travel about Asia, as Theopompus says, but took up his abode at Magnesia, where, loaded with valuable presents, and equally honoured with the Persian nobles, he long lived in great security; for the king, who was engaged in the affairs of the upper provinces, gave but little attention to the concerns of Greece.

But when Egypt revolted, and was supported in that revolt by the Athenians, when the Grecian fleet sailed as far as Cyprus and Celicia, and Cimon rode triumphant master of the seas, the king of Persia applied himself to oppose the Greeks, and to prevent the growth of their power. He put his forces in motion, sent out his generals, and despatched messengers to Themistocles at Magnesia, to command him to perform his promises, and exert himself against Greece. Did he not obey the summons then? No: neither resentment against the Athenians, nor the honour and authority in which he now flourished, could prevail upon him to take the direc-

\* The country about Magnesia was so fertile, that it brought Themistocles a revenue of fifty talents; Lampsacus had in its neighbourhood the noblest vineyards of the east; and Myus, or Myon, abounded in provisions, particularly in fish. It was usual with the eastern monarchs, instead of pensions to their favourites, to assign them cities and provinces. Even such provinces as the kings retained the revenue of, were under particular assignments; one province furnishing so much for wine, another for victuals, a third for the privy purse, and a fourth for the wardrobe. One of the queens had all Egypt for her clothing; and Plato tells (1 Alcibiad.) that many of the provinces were appropriated for the queen's wardrobe: one for her girdle, another for her head-dress, and so of the rest; and each province bore the name of that part of the dress it was to furnish.

tion of the expedition. Possibly he might doubt the event of the war, as Greece had then several great generals, and Cimon in particular was distinguished with extraordinary success. Above all, regard for his own achievements, and the trophies he had gained, whose glory he was unwilling to tarnish, deterred him (as the best method he could take) to put such an end to his life as became his dignity. Having therefore sacrificed to the gods, assembled his friends, and taken his last leave, he drank bull's blood,\* as is generally reported; or, as some relate it, he took a quick poison, and ended his days at Magnesia, having lived sixty-five years, most of which he had spent in civil or military employments. When the king was acquainted with the cause and manner of his death, he admired him more than ever, and continued his favour and bounty to his friends and relations.†

Themistocles had by Archippe, the daughter of Lysander of Alopeece, five sons, Neoteles, Diocles, Archeptolis, Polyeuctus, and Cleophantus. The three last survived him.

The Magnesians erected a very handsome monument to him in the market place; and various honours and privileges were granted by them to the descendants of Themistocles; for they were enjoyed by one of his name, an Athenian, with whom I had a particular acquaintance and friendship in the house of Ammonius the philosopher.

\* Whilst they were sacrificing the bull, he caused the blood to be received in a cup, and drank it whilst it was warm, which (according to Pliny) is mortal, because it coagulates or thickens in an instant.

† There is, in our opinion, more true heroism in the death of Themistocles than in the death of Cato. It is something enthusiastically great, when a man determines not to survive his liberty; but it is something still greater, when he refuses to survive his honour.

## CAMILLUS.

*Flourished 400 years before Christ.*

THE family of the Furii\* was not very illustrious before the time of Camillus; he was the first who raised it to distinction, when he served under Posthumius Tabertus in the great battle with the Equi and Volsci.† In that action, spurring his horse before the ranks, he received a wound in the thigh, when, instead of retiring, he plucked the javelin out of the wound, engaged with the bravest of the enemy, and put them to flight. For this, among other honours, he was appointed censor, an office at that time of great dignity.‡ There is upon record a very laudable act of his, that took place during his office. As the wars had made many widows, he obliged such of the men as lived singly, partly by persuasion, and partly by threatening them with fines, to marry those widows. Another act of his, which indeed was absolutely necessary, was, the causing orphans, who before were exempt from taxes, to contribute to the supplies; for these were very large by reason of the continual wars. What was then most urgent was the siege of Veii. This city was the barrier of Tuscany, and in the quantity of her arms and number of her military, not inferior to Rome. Proud of her wealth, her elegance, and luxury, she had maintained with the Romans many long and gallant disputes for glory and for power. But humbled by many signal defeats, the Veientes had then bid adieu to that ambition: they satisfied themselves with building strong and high walls, and filling the city with provisions, arms, and all kinds of warlike stores; and so they waited for the enemy without fear. The siege was long, but no less laborious than troublesome to the besiegers than to *them*. For the Romans had long been accustomed to summer campaigns and

\* *Furius* was the family name. *Camillus* was an appellation of children of quality, who ministered in the temple of some god. Our *Camillus* was the first who retained it as a surname.

† This was in the year of Rome 324, when *Camillus* might be about fourteen or fifteen years of age (for in the year of Rome 389, he was near fourscore), though the Roman youth did not use to bear arms sooner than seventeen. And though *Plutarch* says, that his gallant behaviour, at that time, procured him the censorship, yet that was an office which the Romans never conferred upon a young person; and, in fact, *Camillus* was not censor till the year of Rome 353.

‡ The authority of the censors, in the time of the republic, was very extensive. They had power to expel senators the house, to degrade the knights, and to disable the commons from giving their votes in the assemblies of the people. But the emperors took the office upon themselves; and, as many of them abused it, it lost its honour, and sometimes the very title was laid aside. As to what *Plutarch* says, that *Camillus*, when censor, obliged many of the bachelors to marry the widows of those who had fallen in the wars; that was in pursuance of one of the powers of his office.—*Cælebres esse prohibento.*



to winter at home; and then for the first time their officers ordered them to construct forts, to raise strong works about their camp, and to pass the winter as well as summer in the enemy's country.

The seventh year of the war was now almost past, when the generals began to be blamed; and as it was thought they shewed not sufficient vigour in the siege,\* they were superseded, and others put in their room; among whom was Camillus, then appointed *tribune* the second time. He was not, however, at present concerned in the siege, for it fell to his lot to head the expedition against the Falisci and Capenates, who, while the Romans were otherwise employed, committed great depredations in their country, and harassed them during the whole Tuscan war. But Camillus falling upon them, killed great numbers, and shut up the rest within their walls.

In the tenth year of the siege, the senate removed the other magistrates, and appointed Camillus dictator, who made choice of Cornelius Scipio for his general of horse. In the first place he made vows to the gods, if they favoured him with putting a glorious period to the war, to celebrate the great Circensian games to their honour,\* and to consecrate the temple of the goddess, whom the Romans call *Matuta*, and the Greeks *Leucothea*.

After these vows, Camillus penetrated into the country of the Falisci, and in a great battle overthrew them and their auxiliaries the Capenates. Then he turned to the siege of Veii; and perceiving that it would be both difficult and dangerous to endeavour to take it by assault, he ordered mines to be dug, the soil about the city being easy to work, and admitting depth enough for the works to be carried on unseen by the enemy. As this succeeded to his wish, he made an assault without, to call the enemy to the walls: and in the mean time, others of his soldiers made their way through the mines, and secretly penetrated to Juno's temple in the citadel.

The city, thus taken by the Romans, sword in hand, while they were busy in plundering it and carrying off its immense riches, Camillus beholding from the citadel what was done, at first burst into tears: and when those about him began to magnify his happiness, he lifted up his hands towards Heaven, and uttered this prayer: "Great Jupiter, and ye gods that have the inspection of

\* Of the six military tribunes of that year, only two, L. Virginius and Manius Sergius carried on the siege of Veii. Sergius commanded the attack, and Virginius covered the siege. While the army was thus divided, the Falisci and Capenates fell upon Sergius, and at the same time, the besieged sallying out, attacked him on the other side. The Romans under his command, thinking they had all the forces of Etruria to deal with, began to lose courage and retire. Virginius could have saved his colleague's troops, but as Sergius was too proud to send to him for succour, he resolved not to give him any. The enemy, therefore, made a dreadful slaughter of the Romans in their lines.—*Liv.* lib. v. c. 3.

† The year of Rome 357.

‡ These were a kind of tournament in the great circus

our good and evil actions, ye know that the Romans, not without just cause, but in their own defence, and constrained by necessity, have made war against this city, and their enemies, its unjust inhabitants. If we must have some misfortune in lieu of this success, I entreat that it may fall not upon Rome or the Roman army, but upon myself." Having pronounced these words, he turned to the right, as the manner of the Romans is after prayer and supplication, but fell in turning. His friends expressed great uneasiness at the accident, but he soon recovered himself from the fall, and told them, "It was only a small inconvenience after great success, agreeably to his prayer."\*

Whether it was that Camillus was elated with his great exploit in taking a city that was the rival of Rome, after it had been besieged ten years, or that he was misled by his flatterers, he took upon him too much state for a magistrate subject to the laws and usages of his country: for his triumph was conducted with excessive pomp, and he rode through Rome in a chariot drawn by four white horses, which no general ever did before or after him. Indeed, this sort of carriage is esteemed sacred, and is appropriated to the king and father of the gods.† The citizens, therefore, considered this unusual appearance of grandeur as an insult upon them. Besides, they were offended at his opposing the law by which the city was to be divided. For their tribunes had proposed that the senate and the people should be divided into two equal parts; one part to remain at Rome, and the other, as the lot happened to fall, to remove to the conquered city, by which means they would not only have more room, but, by being in possession of two considerable cities, be better able to defend their territories and to watch over their prosperity. The people who were very numerous, and enriched by the late plunder, constantly assembled at the *forum*, and in a tumultuous manner demanded to have it put to the vote. But the senate and other principal citizens considered this proposal of the tribunes, not so much the dividing as the destroying of Rome,‡ and in their uneasiness applied to Camillus. Camillus was afraid to put it to the trial, and therefore invented demurs and pretences of delay, to prevent the bill's being offered to the people, by which he incurred their displeasure.

But the greatest and most manifest cause of their hatred was, his behaviour with respect to the tenths of the spoils: and if the

\* This is a continuation of the former mistake. Livy tells us, it was conjectured from the event, that this fall of Camillus was a presage of his condemnation and banishment.

† He likewise coloured his face with vermilion, the colour with which the statues of the gods were commonly painted.

‡ They feared, that two such cities, would, by degrees, become two different states, which, after a destructive war with each other, would at length fall a prey to their common enemies.

resentment of the people was not in this case altogether just, yet it had some show of reason. It seems he made a vow, as he marched to Veii, that if he took the city, he would consecrate the tenths to Apollo. But when the city was taken, and came to be pillaged, he was either unwilling to interrupt his men, or in the hurry had forgot his vow, and so gave up the whole plunder to them. After he had resigned his dictatorship, he laid the case before the senate, and the soothsayers declared, that the sacrifices announced the anger of the gods, which ought to be appeased by offerings expressive of their gratitude for the favours they had received. The senate then made a decree, that the plunder should remain with the soldiers (for they knew not how to manage it otherwise); but that each should produce upon oath the tenth of the value of what he had got. This was a great hardship upon the soldiers; and those poor fellows could not without force be brought to refund so large a portion of the fruit of their labours, and to make good not only what they had hardly earned, but now actually spent. Camillus, distressed with their complaints, for want of a better excuse, made use of a very absurd apology, by acknowledging he had forgot his vow. This they greatly resented, that having then vowed the tenths of the enemies' goods, he should now exact the tenths of the citizens. However they all produced their proportion, and it was resolved that a vase of massy gold should be made and sent to Delphi. But as there was a scarcity of gold in the city, while the magistrates were considering how to procure it, the Roman matrons met, and having consulted among themselves, gave up their golden ornaments, which weighed eight talents, as an offering to the god. They then sent three of the chief of the nobility ambassadors, in a large ship well manned, and fitted out in a manner becoming so solemn an occasion.

And now the *tribunes of the people* attempted to bring the law for removing part of the citizens to Veii once more upon the carpet: but the war with the Falisci very seasonably intervening, put the management of the elections in the hands of the patricians; and they nominated Camillus a *military tribune*,\* together with five others; as affairs then required a general of considerable dignity, reputation, and experience. When the people had confirmed this nomination, Camillus marched his forces into the country of the Falisci, and laid siege to Falerii, a city well fortified, and provided in all respects for the war. He was sensible it was likely to be no easy affair, nor soon to be dispatched, and this was one reason for his engaging in it; for he was desirous to keep the citizens employed abroad, that they might not have leisure to sit down at home and raise tumults and seditions. This indeed was a remedy

\* The year of Rome 361. Camillus was then military tribune the third time.

which the Romans always had recourse to, like good physicians to expel dangerous humours from the body politic.

The Falerians, trusting to the fortifications with which they were surrounded, made so little account of the siege, that the inhabitants, except those who guarded the walls, walked the streets in their common habits. The boys too went to school, and the master took them out to walk and exercise about the walls; for the Falerians, like the Greeks, chose to have their children bred at one public school, that they might betimes be accustomed to the same discipline, and form themselves to friendship and society."

This schoolmaster, then, designing to betray the Falerians by means of their children, took them every day out of the city to exercise, keeping pretty close to the walls at first, and when their exercise was over, led them in again. By degrees he took them out farther, accustoming them to divert themselves freely, as if they had nothing to fear. At last, having got them all together, he brought them to the Roman advanced guard, and delivered them up to be carried to Camillus. When he came into his presence, he said, "He was the schoolmaster of Falerii, but preferring his favour to the obligations of duty, he came to deliver up those children to him, and in them the whole city." This action appeared very shocking to Camillus, and he said to those who were by, "War at best is a savage thing, and wades through a sea of violence and injustice; yet even war itself has its laws, which men of honour will not depart from; nor do they so pursue victory, as to avail themselves of acts of villany and baseness. For a great general should rely only on his own virtue, and not upon the treachery of others." Then he ordered the *lictors* to tear off the wretch's clothes, to tie his hands behind him, and to furnish the boys with rods and scourges, to punish the traitor, and whip him into the city. By this time the Falerians had discovered the schoolmaster's treason; the city, as might be expected, was full of lamentations for so great a loss, and the principal inhabitants, both men and women, crowded about the walls and the gates like persons distracted. In the midst of this disorder, they espied the boys whipping on their master, naked and bound, and calling Camillus "their god, their deliverer, their father." Not only the parents of those children, but all the citizens in general, were struck with admiration at the spectacle, and conceived such an affection for the justice of Camillus, that they immediately assembled in council, and sent deputies to surrender to him both themselves and the city.

Camillus sent them to Rome: and when they were introduced to the senate, they said, "The Romans, in preferring justice to conquest, have taught us to be satisfied with submission instead of liberty. At the same time we declare we do not think ourselves so much beneath you in strength, as inferior in virtue." The senate

referred the disquisition and settling of the articles of peace to Camillus, who contented himself with taking a sum of money of the Falerians, and having entered into alliance with the whole nation of the Falisci, returned to Rome.

But the soldiers, who expected to have had the plundering of the Falerii, when they came back empty-handed, accused Camillus to their fellow-citizens as an enemy to the *commons*, and one who maliciously opposed the interest of the poor. And when the tribunes again proposed the law for transplanting part of the citizens to Veii,\* and summoning the people to give their votes, Camillus spoke very freely, or rather with much asperity against it, appearing remarkably violent in his opposition to the people; who therefore lost their bill, but harboured a strong resentment against Camillus. Even the misfortune he had in his family, of losing one of his sons, did not in the least mitigate their rage; though, as a man of great goodness and tenderness of heart, he was inconsolable for his loss, and shut himself up at home, a close mourner with the women, at the same time that they were lodging an impeachment against him.

His accuser was Lucius Apuleius, who brought against him a charge of fraud with respect to the Tuscan spoils; and it was alleged that certain brass gates, a part of those spoils, were found with him. The people were so much exasperated, that it was plain they would lay hold on any pretext to condemn him. He, therefore, assembled his friends, his colleagues, and fellow-soldiers, a great number in all, and begged of them not to suffer him to be crushed by false and unjust accusations, and exposed to the scorn of his enemies. When they had consulted together, and fully considered the affair, the answer they gave was, that they did not believe it in their power to prevent the sentence, but they would willingly assist him to pay the fine that might be laid upon him. He could not, however, bear the thoughts of so great an indignity, and giving way to his resentment, determined to quit the city as a volutary exile. Having taken leave of his wife and children, he went in silence from his house to the gate of the city.† There he made a stand, and turning about, stretched out his hands towards the capitol, and prayed to the gods, "That if he was driven out without any fault of his own, and merely by the violence or envy of the people, the Romans might quickly repent it, and express to all the world their want of Camillus, and their regret for his absence."

\* The patricians carried it against the bill only by a majority of one tribe. And now they were so well pleased with the people, that the very next morning a decree was passed, assigning six acres of the lands of Veii, not only to every father of a family, but to every single person of free condition. On the other hand, the people, delighted with this liberality, allowed the electing of consuls, instead of military tribunes.

† This was four years after the taking of Falerii.

The Gauls were now besieging Clusium, a city of Tuscany. The Clusians applied to the Romans, entreating them to send ambassadors and letters to the barbarians. Accordingly they sent three illustrious persons of the *Fabian* family, who had borne the highest employments in the state. The Gauls received them courteously on account of the name of Rome, and, putting a stop to their operations against the town, came to a conference. But when they were asked what injury they had received from the Clusians that they came against their city, Brennus, king of the Gauls, smiled and said, "the injury the Clusians do us, is their keeping to themselves a large tract of ground, when they can only cultivate a small one, and refusing to give up a part of it to us who are strangers, numerous, and poor. In the same manner you Romans were injured formerly by the Albans, the Fidenates, and the Ardeates, and lately by the people of Veii and Capenæ, and the greatest part of the Falisci and the Volsci. Upon these you make war; if they refuse to share with you their goods, you enslave their persons, lay waste their country, and demolish their cities. Nor are your proceedings dishonourable or unjust; for you follow the most ancient of laws, which directs the weak to obey the strong, from the creator even to the irrational part of the creation, that are taught by nature to make use of the advantage their strength affords them against the feeble. Cease then to express your compassion for the Clusians, lest you teach the Gauls in their turn to commiserate those who have been oppressed by the Romans."

By this answer the Romans clearly perceived that Brennus would come to no terms; and therefore they went into Clusium, where they encouraged and animated the inhabitants to a sally against the barbarians, either to make trial of the strength of the Clusians, or to show their own. The Clusians made the sally, and a sharp conflict ensued near the walls, when Quintus Ambustus, one of the Fabii, spurred his horse against a Gaul of extraordinary size and figure, who had advanced a good way before the ranks. At first he was not known, because the encounter was hot, and his armour dazzled the eyes of the beholders: but when he had overcome and killed the Gaul, and came to despoil him of his arms, Brennus knew him, and called the gods to witness, "That against all the laws and usages of mankind which were esteemed the most sacred and inviolable, Ambustus came as an ambassador, but acted as an enemy." He drew off his men directly, and bidding the Clusians farewell, led his army towards Rome. But that he might not seem to rejoice that such an affront was offered, or to have wanted a pretext to hostilities, he sent to demand the offender, in order to punish him, and in the mean time advanced but slowly.

The herald being arrived, the senate was assembled, and many spoke against the Fabii, particularly the priests called *feciacles*

represented the action as an offence against religion, and adjured the senate to lay the whole guilt and the expiation of it upon the person who alone was to blame, and so avert the wrath of heaven from the rest of the Romans. The senate referred the matter to the people, and the priests accused Fabius with some ardour before them; but such was the disregard they expressed for their persons, and such their contempt of religion, that they constituted that very Fabius and his brethren *military tribunes*.\*

As soon as the Gauls were informed of this, they were greatly enraged, and would no longer delay their march, but hastened forward with the utmost celerity. Their prodigious numbers, their glittering arms, their fury and impetuosity, struck terror wherever they came; people gave up their lands for lost, not doubting that the cities would soon follow; however, what was beyond all expectation, they injured no man's property; they neither pillaged the fields, nor insulted the cities: and as they passed by, they cried out, "They were going to Rome, they were at war with the Romans only, and considered all others as their friends."

While the barbarians were going forward in this impetuous manner, the tribunes led out their forces to battle, in number not inferior† (for they consisted of forty thousand foot), but the greatest part undisciplined and such as had never handled a weapon before. Besides, they paid no attention to religion, having neither propitiated the gods by sacrifice, nor consulted the soothsayers, as was their duty in time of danger, and before an engagement. Another thing which occasioned no small confusion, was the number of persons joined in the command; whereas, before, they had often appointed for wars of less consideration a single leader whom they called *dictator*, sensible of how great consequence it is to good order and success, at a dangerous crisis, to be actuated as it were with one soul, and to have the absolute command invested in one person. Their ungrateful treatment of Camillus, too, was not the least unhappy circumstance; as it now appeared dangerous for the generals to use their authority without some flattering indulgence to the people.

In this condition they marched out of the city, and encamped about eleven miles from it, on the banks of the river Allia, not far from its confluence with the Tyber. There the barbarians came upon them, and as the Romans engaged in a disorderly manner, they were shamefully beaten, and put to flight. Their left wing was soon pushed into the river, and there destroyed. The right wing, which quitted the field, to avoid the charge, and gained the hills, did not suffer so much, many of them escaping to Rome.

\* The year of Rome 366; or, according to some chronologers, 365.

† They were inferior in number: for the Gauls were seventy thousand: and therefore the Romans, when they came to action, were obliged to extend their wings so as to make their centre very thin, which was one reason of their being soon broken.

The rest that survived the carnage, when the enemy were satiated with blood, stole by night to Veii, concluding that Rome was lost, and its inhabitants put to the sword.

If, after so decisive a battle, the Gauls had immediately pursued the fugitives, there would have been nothing to hinder the entire destruction of Rome and all that remained in it; with such terror was the city struck at the return of those who escaped from the battle, and so filled with confusion and distraction! but the Gauls, not imagining the victory to be so great as it was, in the excess of their joy, indulged themselves in good cheer, and shared the plunder of the camp; by which means numbers that were for leaving the city, had leisure to escape, and those who remained, had time to recollect themselves, and prepare for their defence. For, quitting the rest of the city, they retired to the capitol, which they fortified with strong ramparts, and provided well with arms. But their first care was of their holy things, most of which they conveyed into the capitol. As for the sacred fire, the *vestal virgins* took it up, together with other holy relics, and fled away with it along the side of the river, where Lucius Albinus, a plebeian, among others that were making their escape, was carrying his wife and children, and some of his most necessary moveables, in a waggon. But when he saw the vestals in a helpless and weary condition, carrying in their arms the sacred symbols of the gods, he immediately took out his family and goods, and put the virgins in the waggon, that they might make their escape to some of the Grecian cities.

As for the other priests, and the most ancient of the senators who were of consular dignity, or had been honoured with triumphs, they could not bear to think of quitting the city: they, therefore, put on their holy vestments and robes of state, and in a form dictated by Fabius, the *pontifex maximus*, making their vows to the gods,\* devoted themselves for their country; thus attired, they sat down in the ivory chairs in the *forum*,† prepared for the worst extremity.

The third day after the battle, Brennus arrived with his army: and finding the gates of the city opened, and the walls destitute of guards, at first he had some apprehensions of a stratagem or ambuscade, for he could not think the Romans had so entirely given themselves up to despair. But when he found it to be so in reality, he entered by the *Colline* gate, and took Rome, a little more than three hundred and sixty years after its foundation.

Brennus, thus in possession of Rome, set a strong guard about the Capitol, and himself went down into the *forum*; where he was

\* The Romans believed, that by those voluntary consecrations to the infernal gods, disorder and confusion were brought among the enemy.

† These ivory, or *curule* chairs were used only by those who had borne the most honourable offices; and the persons who had a right to sit in them bore also ivory staves.



struck with amazement at the sight of so many men seated in great state and silence, who neither rose up at the approach of their enemies nor changed countenance or colour, but leaned upon their staves and sat looking upon each other without fear or concern. The Gauls, astonished at so surprising a spectacle, and regarding them as superior beings, for a long time were afraid to approach or touch them. At last one of them ventured to go near Manius Papirius, and advancing his hand, gently stroked his beard, which was very long: upon which, Papirius struck him on the head, with his staff, and wounded him. The barbarian then drew his sword and killed him. After this, the Gauls fell upon the rest and slew them, and, continuing their rage, despatched all that came in their way. Then for many days together, they pillaged the houses and carried off the spoil; at last, they set fire to the city, and demolished what escaped the flames, to express their indignation against those in the Capitol, who obeyed not their summons, but made a vigorous defence, and greatly annoyed the besiegers from the walls. This it was that provoked them to destroy the whole city, and to despatch all that fell into their hands, without sparing either sex or age.

As by the length of the siege provisions began to fail the Gauls, they divided their forces, and part stayed with the king before the fortress, while part foraged the country, and laid waste the towns and villages. Their success had inspired them with such confidence, that they did not keep in a body, but carelessly rambled about in different troops and parties. It happened that the largest and best disciplined corps went against Ardea, where Camillus, since his exile, lived in retirement. This great event, however, awaked him into action, and his mind was employed in contriving, not how to keep himself concealed and to avoid the Gauls, but, if an opportunity should offer, to attack and conquer them. Perceiving that the Ardeans were not deficient in numbers, but courage and discipline, which was owing to the inexperience and inactivity of their officers, he applied first to the young men, and told them, "They ought not to ascribe the defeat of the Romans to the valour of the Gauls, or to consider the calamities they had suffered in the midst of their infatuation, as brought upon them by men who, in fact, could not claim the merit of the victory, but as the work of fortune. That it would be glorious, though they risked something by it, to repel a barbarous enemy, whose end in conquering was, like fire, to destroy what they subdued: but that if they would assume a proper spirit, he would give them an opportunity to conquer, without any hazard at all." When he found the young men were pleased with his discourse, he went next to the magistrates and senate of Ardea; and having persuaded them also to adopt his scheme, he armed all who were of a proper age for it,

and drew them up within the walls, that the enemy, who were but at a small distance, might not know what he was about.

The Gauls, having scoured the country, and loaded themselves with plunder, encamped upon the plains in a careless and disorderly manner. Night found them intoxicated with wine, and silence reigned in the camp. As soon as Camillus was informed of this by his spies, he led the Ardeans out: and having passed the intermediate space without noise, he reached their camp about midnight. Then he ordered a loud shout to be set up, and the trumpets to sound on all sides, to cause the greater confusion; but it was with difficulty they recovered themselves from their sleep and intoxication. A few, whom fear had made sober, snatched up their arms to oppose Camillus, and fell with their weapons in their hands; but the greatest part of them, buried in sleep and wine, were surprised unarmed, and easily despatched. A small number, that in the night escaped out of the camp, and wandered in the fields, were picked up next day by the cavalry, and put to the sword.

The fame of this action soon reaching the neighbouring cities drew out many of their ablest warriors. Particularly such of the Romans as had escaped from the battle of Allia to Veii, lamented with themselves in some such manner as this: "What a general has Heaven taken from Rome in Camillus, to adorn the Ardeans with his exploits! while the city which produced and brought up so great a man is absolutely ruined; and we, for want of a leader, sit idle within the walls of a strange city, and betray the liberties of Italy. Come then, let us send to the Ardeans to demand our general, or else take our weapons and go to him: for he is no longer an exile, nor we citizens, having no country but what is in possession of an enemy."

This motion was agreed to, and they sent to Camillus to entreat him to accept of the command. But he answered, he could not do it, before he was legally appointed to it by the Romans in the Capitol.\* For he looked upon them, while they were in being, as the commonwealth, and would readily obey their orders, but without them would not be so officious as to interpose.

They admired the modesty and honour of Camillus, but knew not how to send the proposal to the Capitol. It seemed indeed impossible for a messenger to pass into the citadel, whilst the enemy were in possession of the city. However, a young man named Pontius Cominius, not distinguished by his birth, but fond of glory, readily took upon him the commission. He carried no letters to the citizens in the Capitol, lest, if he should happen to be taken, the enemy should discover by them the intentions of

\* Livy says, the Roman soldiers at Veii applied to the remains of the senate in the Capitol for leave, before they offered the command to Camillus. So much regard had those brave men for the constitution of their country, though Rome then lay in ashes. Every private man was, indeed, a patriot.

Camillus. Having dressed himself in mean attire, under which he concealed some pieces of cork, he travelled all day without fear, and approached the city as it grew dark. He could not pass the river by the bridge, because it was guarded by the Gauls; and therefore took his clothes, which were neither many nor heavy, and bound them about his head, and having laid himself upon the pieces of cork, easily swam over and reached the city. Then avoiding those quarters where by the lights and noise he concluded they kept watch, he went to the *Carmental gate*, where there was the greatest silence, and where the hill of the Capitol is the steepest and most craggy. Up this he got unperceived, by a way the most difficult and dreadful, and advanced near the guards upon the walls. After he had hailed them and told them his name, they received him with joy, and conducted him to the magistrates.

The senate was presently assembled, and he acquainted them with the victory of Camillus, which they had not heard of before, as well as of the proceedings of the soldiers at Veii, and exhorted them to confirm Camillus in the command, as the citizens out of Rome would obey none but him. Having heard his report, and consulted together, they declared Camillus dictator, and sent Pontius back the same way he came, who was equally fortunate in his return; for he passed the enemy undiscovered, and delivered to the Romans at Veii the decree of the senate, which they received with pleasure.

Camillus, at his arrival, found twenty thousand of them in arms, to whom he added a great number of the allies, and prepared to attack the enemy. Thus was he appointed dictator the second time, and having put himself at the head of the Romans and confederates, he marched out against the Gauls.

Meantime some of the barbarians employed in the siege, happening to pass by the place where Pontius made his way by night up to the Capitol, observed many traces of his feet and hands, as he had worked himself up the rock, torn off what grew there, and tumbled down the mould. Of this they informed the king, who, coming and viewing it, for the present said nothing; but in the evening he assembled the lightest and most active of his men, who were likeliest to climb any difficult height, and thus addressed them: "The enemy have themselves shown us a way to reach them, which we were ignorant of, and have proved that this rock is neither inaccessible nor untrod by human feet. What a shame would it be then, after having made a beginning not to finish; and to quit the place as impregnable, when the Romans themselves have taught us how to take it? Where it was easy for one man to ascend, it cannot be difficult for many, one by one; nay, should many attempt it together, they will find great advantage in assist

ing each other. In the mean time I intend great rewards and honours for such as shall distinguish themselves on this occasion."

The Gauls readily embraced the king's proposal, and about midnight a number of them together began to climb the rock in silence, which, though steep and craggy, proved more practicable than they expected. The foremost having gained the top, put themselves in order, and were ready to take possession of the wall, and to fall upon the guards, who were fast asleep; for neither man nor dog perceived their coming. However, there were certain sacred geese kept near Juno's temple,\* and at other times plentifully fed, but at this time, as corn and the other provisions that remained were scarce sufficient for the men, they were neglected and in poor condition. This animal is naturally quick of hearing, and soon alarmed at any noise; and as hunger kept them waking and uneasy, they immediately perceived the coming of the Gauls, and running at them with all the noise they could make, they awoke all the guards. The barbarians now perceiving they were discovered, advanced with loud shouts and great fury. The Romans in haste snatched up such weapons as came to hand, and acquitted themselves like men on this sudden emergency. First of all, Manlius, a man of consular dignity, remarkable for his strength and extraordinary courage, engaged two Gauls at once; and, as one of them was lifting up his battle-axe, with his sword cut off his right hand, at the same time he thrust the boss of his shield in the face of the other, and dashed him down the precipice. Thus standing upon the rampart with those who had come to his assistance and fought by his side, he drove back the rest of the Gauls that had got up, who were no great number, and who performed nothing worthy of such an attempt. The Romans having escaped the danger that threatened them, as soon as it was light, threw the officer who commanded the watch down the rock amongst the enemy, and decreed Manlius a reward for his victory, which had more of honour in it than profit; for every man gave him what he had for one day's allowance.

After this, the Gauls began to lose courage; for provisions were scarce, and they could not forage for fear of Camillus.† Sickness too prevailed among them, which took its rise from the heaps of dead bodies, and from their encamping amidst the rubbish of the houses they had burned; where there was such a quantity of ashes as, when raised by the winds or heated by the sun, by their dry and acrid quality, so corrupted the air, that every breath of it was

\* Geese were ever after had in honour at Rome, and a flock of them always kept at the expense of the public. A golden image of a goose was erected in memory of them, and a goose every year carried in triumph upon a soft litter finely adorned: while dogs were held in abhorrence by the Romans, who every year impaled one of them upon a branch of elder.—*Plin. et Plut. de Fortuna Rom.*

† Camillus being master of the country, posted strong guards on all the roads, and, as effect, besieged the besiegers.

pernicious. But what affected them most was, the change of climate; for they had lived in countries that abounded with shades and agreeable shelters from the heat, and were now got into grounds that were low, and unhealthy in autumn. All this, together with the length and tediousness of the siege, which had now lasted more than six months, caused such desolation among them, and carried off such numbers, that the carcasses lay unburied.

The besieged, however, were not in a much better condition. Famine, which now pressed them hard, and their ignorance of what Camillus was doing, caused no small dejection; for the barbarians guarded the city with so much care, that it was impossible to send any messenger to him. Both sides being thus equally discouraged, the advanced guards, who were near enough to converse, first began to talk of treating. As the motion was approved by those who had the chief direction of affairs, Sulpitius, one of the military tribunes, went and conferred with Brennus, when it was agreed that the Romans should pay a thousand pounds weight of gold,\* and that the Gauls, upon receipt of it, should immediately quit the city and its territories. When the conditions were sworn to, and the gold was brought, the Gauls, endeavouring to avail themselves of false weights, privately at first, and afterwards openly, drew down their own side of the balance. The Romans expressing their resentment, Brennus in a contemptuous and insulting manner took off his sword, and threw it, belt and all, into the scale, and when Sulpitius asked what that meant, he answered, "What should it mean, but woe to the conquered?" which became a proverbial saying. Some of the Romans were highly incensed at this, and talked of returning with their gold, and enduring the utmost extremities of the siege; but others were of opinion, that it was better to pass by a small injury, since the indignity lay not in paying more than was due, but in paying any thing at all; a disgrace only consequent on the necessity of the times.

While they were thus disputing with the Gauls, Camillus arrived at the gates, and being informed of what had passed, ordered the main body of his army to advance slowly and in good order, while he with a select band marched hastily up to the Romans, who all gave place, and received the dictator with respect and silence. Then he took the gold out of the scales and gave it to the *lictors*, and ordered the Gauls to take away the balance and the weights, and to be gone, telling them "it was the custom of the Romans to deliver their country with steel, not with gold." And when Brennus expressed his indignation, and complained he had great injustice done him by this infraction of the treaty, Camillus answered, "That it was never lawfully made, nor could it be valid without his consent, who was dictator and sole magistrate; they had,

\* That is forty-five thousand pounds sterling.

therefore, acted without proper authority: but they might make their proposals, now he was come, whom the laws had invested with power either to pardon the suppliant, or punish the guilty, if proper satisfaction was not made."

At this Brennus was still more highly incensed, and a skirmish ensued; swords were drawn on both sides, and thrusts exchanged in a confused manner, which it is easy to conceive must be the case, amidst the ruins of houses and in narrow streets, where there was not room to draw up regularly. Brennus, however, soon recollected himself, and drew off his forces into the camp, with the loss of a small number. In the night he ordered them to march and quit the city; and having retreated about eight miles from it, he encamped upon the Gabinian road. Early in the morning Camillus came up with them, his arms dazzling the sight, and his men full of spirits and fire. A sharp engagement ensued, which lasted a long time; at length the Gauls were routed with great slaughter, and their camp taken. Some of those who fled were killed in the pursuit; but the greater part were cut to pieces by the people in the neighbouring towns and villages, who fell upon them as they were dispersed.\*

Thus was Rome strangely taken, and more strangely recovered, after it had been seven months in the possession of the barbarians. Camillus returned in triumph, as became the deliverer of his lost country, and the restorer of Rome. Those that had quitted the place before the siege, with their wives and children, now followed his chariot; and they who had been besieged in the capitol and were almost perishing with hunger, met the others, and embraced them, weeping with joy at this unexpected pleasure, which they almost considered as a dream. The priests and ministers of the gods bringing back with them what holy things they had hid or conveyed away when they fled, afforded a most desirable spectacle to the people; and they gave them the kindest welcome, as if the gods themselves had returned with them to Rome. Next, Camillus sacrificed to the gods, and purified the city, in a form dictated by the pontiffs. He rebuilt the former temples and erected a new one to *Aius Loquutus*, the *speaker* or *warner*, upon the very spot where the voice from heaven announced in the night to Marcus Ceditius the coming of the barbarians. There was, indeed, no small difficulty in discovering the places where the temples had stood, but it was effected by the zeal of Camillus and the industry of the priests.

As it was necessary to rebuild the city, which was entirely de-

\* There is reason to question the truth of the latter part of this story. Plutarch copied it from Livy. But Polybius represents the Gauls, as actually receiving the gold from the Romans, and returning in safety to their own country: and this is confirmed by Justin, Suetonius, and even by Livy himself, in another part of his history.—x. 16.

molished, an heartless despondency seized the multitude and they invented pretexts of delay. They were in want of all necessary materials, and had more occasion for repose and refreshment after their sufferings, than to labour and wear themselves out, when their bodies were weak and their substance was gone. They had, therefore, a secret attachment to Veii, a city which remained entire, and was provided with every thing. This gave a handle to their demagogues to harangue them, as usual, in a way agreeable to their inclinations, and make them listen to seditious speeches against Camillus—"As if, to gratify his ambition and thirst of glory, he would deprive them of a city fit to receive them, force them to pitch their tents among rubbish, and rebuild a ruin that was like one great funereal-pile, in order that he might not only be called the general and dictator of Rome, but the founder, too, instead of Romulus, whose right he invaded."

Before they had finished the laborious task of building, a new war broke out. The Æqui, the Volsci, and the Latins, all at once invaded their territories, and the Tuscans laid siege to Sutrium, a city in alliance with Rome. The military tribunes, too, who commanded the army, being surrounded by the Latins near Mount Marcius, and their camp in great danger, sent to Rome to desire succours, on which occasion Camillus was appointed dictator the third time.

Of this war there are two different accounts: that which is approved by most historians, is as follows: Camillus, being appointed dictator the third time, and knowing that the army under the military tribunes was surrounded by the Latins and Volscians, was constrained to make levies among such as age had exempted from service. With these he fetched a large compass about Mount Marcius, and, unperceived by the enemy, posted his army behind them; and by lighting many fires signified his arrival. The Romans that were besieged in their camp, being encouraged by this, resolved to sally out and join battle. But the Latins and Volscians kept close within their works, drawing a line of circumvallation with palisades, because they had the enemy on both sides, and resolving to wait for reinforcement from home, as well as for the Tuscan succours.

Camillus perceiving this, and fearing that the enemy might surround him, as he had surrounded them, hastened to make use of the present opportunity. As the works of the confederates consisted of wood, and the wind used to blow hard from the mountains at sun-rising, he provided a great quantity of combustible matter, and drew out his forces at day-break. Part of them he ordered with loud shouts and missive weapons to begin the attack on the opposite side, while he himself, at the head of those that were charged with the fire, watched the proper minute, on that side of the works towards which the wind used to blow. When the sun

was risen, the wind blew violently; and the attack being begun on the other side, he gave the signal to his own party, who poured a vast quantity of fiery darts, and other burning matter, into the enemy's fortifications. As the flame soon caught hold, and was fed by the palisades and other timber, it spread itself into all quarters, and the Latins not being provided with any means of extinguishing it, the camp was almost full of fire, and they were reduced to a small spot of ground. At last they were forced to bear down upon that body who were posted before the camp, and ready to receive them sword in hand. Consequently very few of them escaped, and those that remained in the camp were destroyed by the flames, till the Romans extinguished them for the sake of the plunder.

After this Licinius Stolo raised a great sedition in the state, putting himself at the head of the people, who insisted that, of the two consuls, one should be a plebeian. Tribunes of the people were appointed, but the multitude would suffer no election of consuls to be held.\* As this want of chief magistrates was likely to bring on still greater troubles, the senate created Camillus dictator the fourth time, against the consent of the people, and not even agreeably to his own inclination † For he was unwilling to set himself against those persons, who, having been often led on by him to conquest, could with great truth affirm, that he had more concern with them in the military way, than with the patricians in the civil: and at the same time was sensible that the envy of those very patricians induced them now to promote him to that high station, that he might oppress the people if he succeeded, or be ruined by them if he failed in the attempt. He attempted, however, to obviate the present danger, and as he knew the day on which the tribunes intended to propose their law, he published a general muster, and summoned the people from the *forum* into the field, threatening to set heavy fines upon those who should not obey. On the other hand, the tribunes of the people opposed him with menaces, solemnly protesting they would fine him fifty thousand *drachmas*, if he did not permit the people to put their bill to the vote. Whether it was that he was afraid of a second condemnation and banishment, which would but ill suit him, now he

\* This confusion lasted five years, during which the tribunes of the people prevented the *Comitia* from being held, which were necessary for the election of the chief magistrates. It was occasioned by a trifling accident. Fabius Ambustus having married his eldest daughter to Servius Sulpicius, a patrician, and at this time military tribune, and the younger to Licinius Stolo, a rich plebeian, it happened that while the younger sister was paying a visit to the elder, Sulpicius came home from the forum, and his lictors, with the staff of the fasces, thundered at the door. The younger sister being frightened at the noise, the elder laughed at her, as a person quite ignorant of high life. This affront greatly afflicted her, and her father, to comfort her, bid her not be uneasy, for she should soon see as much state at her own house, as had surprised her at her sister's.

† The year of Rome 388.



was grown old and covered with glory, or whether he thought he could not get the better of the people, whose violence was equal to their power, for the present he returned to his own house, and soon after, under pretence of sickness, resigned the dictatorship.\* The senate appointed another dictator, who, having named for his general of horse that very Stolo who was leader of the sedition, suffered a law to be made that was extremely disagreeable to the patricians. It provided that no person whatsoever should possess more than five hundred acres of land. Stolo having carried his point with the people, flourished greatly for a while; but not long after, being convicted of possessing more than the limited number of acres, he suffered the penalties of his own law.†

The most difficult part of the dispute, and that which they began with, namely, concerning the election of the consuls, remaining still unsettled, continued to give the senate great uneasiness, when certain information was brought that the Gauls were marching again from the coasts of the Adriatic, with an immense army towards Rome. With this news came an account of the usual effects of war, the country laid waste, and such of the inhabitants as could not take refuge in Rome dispersed about the mountains. The terror of this put a stop to the sedition; and the most popular of the senators uniting with the people, with one voice created Camillus dictator the fifth time. He was now very old, wanting very little of fourscore; yet seeing the necessity and danger of the times, he was willing to risk all inconveniences, and, without alleging any excuse, immediately took upon him the command, and made the levies. As he knew the chief force of the barbarians lay in their swords, which they managed without art or skill, furiously rushing in, and aiming chiefly at the head and shoulders, he furnished most of his men with helmets of well-polished iron, that the swords might either break or glance aside: and, round the borders of their shields he drew a plate of brass, because the wood of itself could not resist the strokes. Besides this, he taught them to avail themselves of long pikes, by pushing with which they might prevent the effect of the enemy's swords.

When the Gauls were arrived at the river Anio with their army, encumbered with the vast booty they had made, Camillus drew out his forces, and posted them upon a hill of easy ascent, in which were many hollows, sufficient to conceal the greatest part of his men, while those that were in sight should seem through fear to have taken advantage of the higher grounds. And the more to fix this opinion in the Gauls, he opposed not the depredations com-

\* He pretended to find something amiss, in the auspices which were taken when he was appointed.

† It was eleven years after. Popilius Lænas fined him ten thousand sesterces for being possessed of a thousand acres of land, in conjunction with his son, whom he had emancipated for that purpose.—*Liv* lib. vii. c. 16.

mitted in his sight, but remained quietly in the camp he had fortified while he had beheld part of them dispersed in order to plunder, and part indulging themselves, day and night, in drinking and revelling. At last, he sent out the light-armed infantry before day, to prevent the enemy's drawing up in a regular manner, and to harass them by sudden skirmishing as they issued out of their trenches; and as soon as it was light he led down the heavy-armed, and put them in battle-array upon the plain, neither few in number nor disheartened, as the Gauls expected, but numerous and full of spirits.

This was the first thing that shook their resolution, for they considered it as a disgrace to have the Romans the aggressors. Then the light-armed falling upon them before they could get into order and rank themselves by companies, pressed them so warmly, that they were obliged to come in great confusion to the engagement. Last of all, Camillus leading on the heavy-armed, the Gauls with brandished swords hastened to fight hand to hand; but the Romans meeting the strokes with their pikes, and receiving them on that part that was guarded with iron, so turned their swords, which were thin and soft-tempered, that they were soon bent almost double; and their shields were pierced and weighed down with the pikes that stuck in them. They therefore quitted their own arms, and endeavoured to seize those of the enemy, and to wrest their pikes from them. The Romans seeing them naked, now began to make use of their swords, and made great carnage among the foremost ranks. Mean time the rest took to flight and were scattered along the plain; for Camillus had beforehand secured the heights; and as in confidence of victory, they had left the camp unfortified, they knew it would be taken with ease.

This battle is said to have been fought thirteen years after the taking of Rome;\* and in consequence of this success, the Romans laid aside, for the future, the dismal apprehensions they had entertained of the barbarians. They had imagined, it seems, that the former victory they had gained over the Gauls was owing to the sickness that prevailed in their army, and to other unforeseen accidents, rather than to their own valour: and so great had their terror been formerly, that they had made a law, "that the priests should be exempted from military service, except in case of an invasion from the Gauls."

This was the last of Camillus's martial exploits. For the taking of Velitræ was a direct consequence of this victory, and it surrendered without the least resistance. But the greatest conflict he ever experienced in the state, still remained: for the people were harder to deal with since they returned victorious, and they insisted that one of the consuls should be chosen out of their body, con-

\* This battle was fought, not thirteen, but twenty-three years after the taking of Rome.

trary to the present constitution. The senate opposed them, and would not suffer Camillus to resign the dictatorship, thinking they could better defend the rights of the nobility under the sanction of his supreme authority. But one day, as Camillus was sitting in the *forum*, and employed in the distribution of justice, an officer, sent by the tribunes of the people, ordered him to follow him, and laid his hand upon him, as if he would seize and carry him away. Upon this such a noise and tumult was raised in the assembly, as never had been known; those that were about Camillus thrusting the plebeian officer down from the tribunal, and the populace calling out to drag the dictator from his seat.

In this case Camillus was much embarrassed: he did not, however, resign the dictatorship, but led off the patricians to the senate house. Before he entered it, he turned towards the Capitol, and prayed to the gods to put an happy end to the present disturbances solemnly vowing to build a temple to *Concord*, when the tumult should be over.

In the senate there was a diversity of opinions and great debates. Mild and popular counsels, however, prevailed, which allowed one of the consuls to be a plebeian.\* When the dictator announced this decree to the people, they received it with great satisfaction; they were immediately reconciled to the senate, and conducted Camillus home with great applause. Next day the people assembled, and voted that the temple which Camillus had vowed to *Concord*, should, on account of this great event, be built on a spot that fronted the *forum* and place of assembly. To those feasts which are called *Latin*, they added one day more, so that the whole was to consist of four days; and for the present they ordained that the whole people of Rome should sacrifice with garlands on their heads. Camillus then held an assembly for the election of consuls, when Marcus Æmilius was chosen out of the nobility, and Lucius Sextus from the commonalty, the first plebeian who attained that honour.

This was the last of Camillus's transactions. The year following a pestilence visited Rome, which carried off a prodigious number of the people, most of the magistrates, and Camillus himself. His death could not be deemed premature, on account of his great age and the offices he had borne, yet was he more lamented than all the rest of the citizens who died of that distemper.

\* The people having gained this point, the consulate was revived, and the military tribuneship laid aside forever. but at the same time the patricians procured the great privilege, that a new officer, called *prætor* should be appointed, who was to be always one of their body. The consuls had been generals of the Roman armies, and at the same time judges of civil affairs: but as they were often in the field, it was thought proper to separate the latter branch from their office, and appropriate it to a judge with the title of *prætor* who was to be next in dignity to the consuls. About the year of Rome 501 another *prætor* was appointed to decide the differences among foreigners. Upon the taking of Sicily and Sardinia, two more *prætors* were created, and as many more upon the conquest of Spain.

## PERICLES.

*Flourished 430 years before Christ.*

PERICLES was of the tribe of Acamantis, and of the ward of Cholargia. His family was one of the most considerable in Athens, both by the father and mother's side. His father Xanthippus, who defeated the king of Persia's generals at Mycale, married Agariste, the niece of Clisthenes, who expelled the family of Pisistratus, 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.

The person of Pericles was in other respects well turned, but his head disproportionately long; for this reason almost all his statues have the heads covered with a helmet. But the Athenian poets called him Schinocephalus, or *Onion-head*. The person who taught him music was called Damon, a politician, who, under pretence of teaching music, concealed his great abilities from the vulgar. He also attended the lectures of Zeno of Elea,\* who in natural philosophy was a follower of Parmenides; 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 that admirable dignity of manners, was Anaxagoras the Clazomenian. This was he whom the people of those times call *Nous*, or *intellect*, 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 its formation, neither to chance nor necessity, but to a pure and unmixed *Mind*, who separated the homogeneous parts from the other with which they were 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 style, 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

\* 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 attempting 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.

no vehemence of speaking ever put into disorder. These things, and others of the like nature, excited admiration in all that saw him.

Such was his conduct, 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 softly home, this impudent wretch following and insulting him all the way with the most scurrilous language ; 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 great deal 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 ;\* Zeno desired those that 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 those terrors which the various phenomena of the heavens raise in those who know not their causes, and who entertain a tormenting fear of the gods by reason of that ignorance. Nor is there any cure for it, but the study of nature, which, instead of the frightful extravagancies of superstition, implants in us a sober piety supported by rational hope.

At first, 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 clothing the aged ; and, besides this, levelled his fences with the ground, that all might be at liberty to gather his fruit ; Pericles had recourse to the expedient of dividing the public treasure, which scheme, as Aristotle informs us, was proposed to him by Demonides of Ios.† Accord-

\* 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. Afterwards, when tragedy took a graver turn, something of the former 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 or four serious tragedies, 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.

† Ios 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 Demonides was not of the island of Ios, but of Oia, which was a borough in Attica.

ingly, by supplying the people with money for the public diversions, and for their attendance in courts of judicature,\* 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*, *King of the Sacred Rites*, or *Polemarch*. For persons were of old appointed to these offices by lot, and such as had discharged them well, and such only, were admitted as judges in the Areopagus. Pericles, therefore, by his popularity, raised a party against that council, and, by means of Epialtes, took from them the cognizance of many causes that had been under their jurisdiction. He likewise caused Cimon to be banished by the *Ostracism*, as an enemy to the people,† and a friend to the Lacedæmonians; a man who in birth and fortune had no superior, who had gained very glorious victories over the barbarians, and filled the city with money and other spoils. Such was the authority of Pericles with the common people.

The term of Cimon's banishment, as it was by *Ostracism*, was limited by law to ten years. Meantime, the Lacedæmonians, with a great army, entered the territory of Tanagra, 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 that Pericles exerted himself in a particular manner in that battle, and exposed his person to the greatest dangers. All Cimon's friends 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 of their treatment of Cimon, and longed for his return. Pericles, sensible of the people's inclinations, did not hesitate to gratify them, but himself proposed a decree for recalling Cimon; and, at his return, a peace was agreed upon through his mediation. For the Lacedæmonians had a particular regard for him, as well as aversion for Pericles, and the other demagogues. But some authors write, that Pericles did not procure an order for

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

† His treason against the state was pretended to consist in receiving presents or other gratifications from the Macedonians, whereby he was prevailed on to let slip the opportunity he had to enlarge 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 that he had made no inroads into Macedonia, because he did not conceive that he was to act as a public enemy to mankind.

Cimon's return, till they had entered into a private compact, by means of Cimon's sister Elpinice, that Cimon should have the command abroad, and with two hundred galleys lay waste the king of Persia's dominions, and Pericles have the direction of affairs at home.

Cimon died soon after in the expedition to Cyprus. And the nobility perceiving that Pericles was now arrived at a height of authority which set him far above the other citizens, were desirous of having some person to oppose him, who might be capable of giving a check to his power, and of preventing 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 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 superior rank to be dispersed and confounded with the rest of the people, because, in that case, their dignity was obscured and lost: 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 broken in two, and one of the parts was 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.

As another means of employing their attention, he sent out sixty galleys every year, manned for eight months, 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 Chersonesus, 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 Sibaris, and changed its name to Thurii. These things he did to clear the city of an 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.

That which was the chief delight of the Athenians and the wonder of strangers, and which alone serves for a proof that the boast-

ed 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 moved the spleen of his enemies more than this. In their accusations of him to the people, they insisted, "That he had brought the greatest disgrace upon the Athenians by removing the public treasures of Greece from Delos, 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 its 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 she had been obliged to contribute towards the war, lavished by the Athenians in gilding their city, and ornamenting it with statues and temples that cost a thousand talents,\* as a proud and vain woman decks herself out with jewels."

Pericles answered this charge by observing, "That they were not obliged to give the allies any account of the sums they had received, since they had kept the barbarians at a distance, and effectually defended the 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 on which it is received: that as the state was provided with all the necessaries of war, its superfluous wealth should be laid out on such works as when executed would be eternal monuments of its glory, and which, during their execution, would diffuse an universal plenty; for as so many kinds of labour, and such a variety of instruments and materials were requisite to these undertakings, every art would be exerted, every hand employed, almost the whole city would be in pay, and be at the same time both adorned and supported by itself." Indeed, such 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 had they it to support 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 considered out of the treasury (though they stirred not out of the city,) with the mariners and soldiers, guards and garrisons. For the different materials, such as stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress, furnished employment to carpenters, masons, braziers, 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

\* The Parthenon, or temple of Minerva, is said to have cost a thousand talents.



general. Thus by the exercise of these different trades, plenty was diffused among persons of every rank and condition. Thus works were raised of an astonishing magnitude, and inimitable beauty and perfection, every architect striving to surpass the magnificence of the design with the elegance of the execution; yet still 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 one prosperous man.

It is said, that when Agatharcus 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; while, on the other hand, the time which is expended in labour is recovered and repaid in the duration of the performance. Hence, we have the more reason to wonder, that the structures raised by Pericles should be built in so short a time, and yet built for ages: for as each of them, as soon as finished, had the venerable air of antiquity, so, now they are old, they have the 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 superintendant of all the public edifices, though the Athenians had then other eminent architects and excellent workmen. The *Parthenon*, or temple of *Pallas*, whose dimensions had been a hundred feet square,\* was rebuilt 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 row of columns; and Xenocles of Cholargus built the dome on the top. The long wall, the building of which Socrates says he heard Pericles propose to the people, was undertaken by Callicrates. 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 of the king of Persia's pavilion.

The orators of Thucydides's party raised a clamour against Pericles, asserting, that he wasted the public treasure and brought the revenue to nothing. Pericles, in his defence, asked the people in full assembly, "Whether they thought he had expended too much?" Upon their answering in the affirmative, "Then be it,"

\* It was called *Hecatompodon*, because it had been originally a hundred feet square: one having been burnt by the Persians, it was rebuilt by Pericles, and retained that name after it was greatly enlarged.

said he, "charged to my account,\* not yours; only let the new edifices be inscribed with my name, not that of the people of Athens." Whether it was that they admired the greatness of his spirit, or were ambitious to share the glory of such magnificent works, they cried out, "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 him and Thucydides which of them should be banished by the *ostracism*: Pericles gained the victory, banished his adversary, and entirely defeated his party. The opposition now being at an end, and unanimity taking place amongst all ranks of people, Pericles became sole master of Athens, and its dependencies. The revenues, the army, the 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 alliance of princes, were all at his command.

From this time he became a different man; he was no longer so obsequious to the humour of the populace, which is as wild and as changeable as the winds. The multitude were not indulged or courted; the government, in fact, was not popular; its 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, sharp and strong ones, when such alone are capable of restoring the patient. He was the man that had the art of controlling those many disorderly passions which necessarily spring up amongst a people possessed of so extensive a dominion. The two engines he worked with 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 its principal province consists in moving the passions and affections of the soul, which, like so many strings in a musical in-

\* It appears, from a passage in Thucydides, that the public stock of the Athenians amounted to nine thousand seven hundred talents (or one million eight hundred and seventy five thousand nine hundred and fifty pounds sterling,) of which Pericles had laid out in those public buildings three thousand seven hundred talents. It is natural, therefore, to ask, how he could tell the people that it should be at his own expense, especially since Plutarch tells 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 was politician enough to know that the vanity of the Athenians would never let them agree that he should inscribe the new magnificent buildings with his name, in exclusion of theirs; or he might venture to say any thing, being secure of a majority of votes to be given as he pleased.

strument, require the touch of a masterly and delicate hand. Nor were the powers of eloquence alone sufficient, but, as Thucydides observes, the orator was a man of probity and unblemished reputation. Money could not bribe him; he was so much above the desire of it, that, though he added greatly to the opulence of the state, which he found not inconsiderable, and though his power exceeded that of many kings and tyrants, some of whom bequeathed to their posterity the sovereignty they had obtained, yet he added not one drachma to his paternal estate.

Not that he was inattentive to his finances; but, on the contrary, neither negligent of his paternal estate, nor yet willing to have much trouble with it, as he had not much time to spare, he brought the management of it into such a method as was very easy, at the same time that it was exact. For he used to turn a whole year's produce into money altogether, and with this he bought from day to day all manner of necessaries at the market. This way of living was not agreeable to his sons, when grown up, and the allowance he made the women did not appear to them a generous one; they complained of a pittance daily measured out with scrupulous economy, which admitted of none of those superfluities so common in great houses and wealthy families, and could not bear to think of the expenses being so nicely adjusted to the income.

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 more inclinable to great attempts, procured an order, that all Greeks, wheresoever they resided, whether in Europe or in Asia, whether their cities were small or great, should send deputies to Athens, to consult about rebuilding the Grecian temples which the barbarians had burnt, 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 upwards of fifty years of age, were sent with this proposal to the different states of Greece. It took not effect, however, nor did the cities send their deputies: the reason of which is said to be, the opposition of the Lacedæmonians;\* for the proposal was first rejected in Peloponnesus. But I was willing to give 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 ne-

\* 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 all Greece; indeed, the Athenians should not have attempted it without an order or decree of the Amphictyons.

ver willingly engaged in any uncertain or very dangerous expedition, nor had any ambition to imitate those generals who are admired as great men, 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, was preparing to invade Bœotia at an unseasonable time, and that, over and above the regular troops, he had persuaded the bravest and most spirited 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, amongst the rest, of those well-known words, "If you regard not the opinion of Pericles, yet wait at least for the advice of time, who is the best of all counsellors. This saying, for the present, gained no great applause, but when, a few days after, news was brought that Tolmides was defeated and killed at Coronea,\* together with many of the bravest citizens, it procured 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.

The Lacedæmonians, persuaded 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) was, by his mother's side, related to those that were pronounced *execrable*, in the affair of Cylon. The success, however, of this application proved the reverse of what was expected by those who ordered it. Instead of rendering Pericles suspected, or involving him in trouble, it procured him the more confidence and respect from the people, when they perceived that their enemies both hated and dreaded him above all others. 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 owing either to the rights of hospitality that subsisted between them, or to a design to furnish his enemies with matter of slander, and therefore from that hour he gave his lands and houses to the city of Athens. The Lacedæmonians and confederates accordingly invaded Attica, with a great army under the command of Archidamus, and, laying waste all before them, proceeded as far as Acharnæ, where they encamped, expecting that the Athenians would not be able to endure them so near, but meet them in the field, for the honour and safety of their country. But it appeared to Pericles too hazardous to give battl

\* This defeat happened in the second year of the eighty third Olympiad, four hundred and forty-five years before the Christian era, and more than twenty years before the death of Pericles.

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. As for those who 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."

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,\* too, attacked him with great acrimony, making use of the general resentment against Pericles, as a means to increase his own popularity.

Pericles, however, regarded nothing of this kind, but calmly and silently bore all this disgrace and virulence. And though he fitted out an hundred ships, and sent 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,† which he laid waste. Whence it appears, that though the Peloponnesians greatly distressed the Athenians by land, yet, as they were equally distressed at sea, they could not have drawn out the war to so great a length, but must soon have given it up, (as Pericles fore-

\* The same Cleon that Aristophanes satirized. By his harangues and political intrigues, he got himself appointed general.

† He did not undertake this expedition until autumn, when the Lacedæmnonians were retired. In the winter of this year, the Athenians solemnized, in an extraordinary manner, the funerals of such as first died in the war. Pericles pronounced the oration on that occasion, which Thucydides has preserved.

told from the beginning,) had not some divine power prevented the effect of human counsels. A pestilence at that time broke out, 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 a number of people stuffed 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. They would needs have it, that he was the cause of all this, who, when the war began, 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, without affording the least relief or refreshment.

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

In this expedition Pericles performed nothing worthy of so great an equipment. He laid siege to the sacred city of Epidaurus,\* 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 who had intercourse with them. This ill success set the Athenians against him; he endeavoured to console them under their losses, and to animate them to new attempts. But it was not in his power to mitigate their resentment, nor could they be satisfied, until they had showed themselves masters by voting that he should be deprived of the command, and pay a fine, which, by the lowest account, was fifteen talents; some make it fifty.

The public ferment, indeed, soon subsided, the people quitting

\* This Epidaurus was in Argia. It was consecrated to Æsculapius; and Plutarch calls it *sacred*, to distinguish it from another town of the same name in Laconia.

their resentment with that blow, as a bee leaves its 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 besides had married a young and expensive wife. He 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 the name of Pericles. When the man came to demand his money, Pericles not only refused to pay him, but even prosecuted him for the demand. Xanthippus was so highly enraged at this, that he began openly to abuse his father. First he exposed and ridiculed the company he kept in his house, and the conversations he held with the philosophers. He said, that Epitimus the Pharsalian having undesignedly killed a horse with a javelin, which he threw at the public games, his father spent a whole day in disputing with Protogorus, 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 too at that time, and the greatest part of his relations and friends, who were most capable of assisting him in the business of the state. Notwithstanding these misfortunes, he lost not his dignity of sentiment and greatness of soul. He neither wept, nor performed any funeral rites, nor was he seen at the grave of any of his nearest relations, until the death of Paralus, his last surviving legitimate son. This at last subdued him. He attempted, indeed, then to keep up his usual calm behaviour and serenity of mind; but in putting the garland upon the head of the deceased, his firmness forsook him; he could not bear the sad spectacle; he broke out into loud lamentation, and shed a torrent of tears—a passion which he had never before given way to.

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 take upon him the direction of affairs both military and civil. 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 making an apology for their ungenerous treatment of him, he re-assumed the reins of government, and being appointed general, his first step was to procure the repeal of the law concerning bastards, of which he himself had been the author; for he was afraid

hat his name and family would be extinct for want of a successor. The history of that law is as follows :

Many years before, Pericles in the height of his power, and having several legitimate sons, caused a law to be made, that none should be accounted citizens of Athens, but those whose parents were both Athenians.\* After this the king of Egypt made the Athenians a present of forty thousand medimni of wheat, and as this was to be divided among the citizens, many persons were proceeded against as illegitimate upon that law, whose birth had never before been called in question, and many were disgraced upon false accusations. Near five thousand were cast and sold for slaves ; † and fourteen thousand and forty appeared to be entitled to the privilege of citizens. ‡ Though it was unequitable and strange, that a law which had been put in 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 he should 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 afterwards defeated the Peloponnesians in a sea-fight at Arginusæ, and was put to death by the people, together with his colleagues. §

About this time Pericles was seized with the plague, but not with such acute and continued symptoms as it generally shows. 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 men's characters may be changed with their fortune, and with 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

\* According to Plutarch's account, at the beginning of the life of Themistocles, this law was made before the time of Pericles. Pericles, however, might put it more strictly in execution than it had been before, from a spirit of opposition to Cimón, whose children were only of the half-blood.

† The illegitimacy did not reduce men to a state of servitude ; it only placed them in the rank of strangers.

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

§ The Athenians had appointed ten commanders on that occasion. After they had obtained the victory, they were tried, and eight of them were capitally condemned, of whom six that were on the spot were executed, and this natural son of Pericles was one of them. The only crime laid to their charge, was, that they had not buried the dead. Xenophon, in his Grecian history, has given a large account of this affair. It happened under the archonship of Callias, the second year of the ninety-third Olympiad, twenty-four years after the death of Pericles. Socrates the philosopher was at that time one of the prytanes, and resolutely refused to do his office. And a little while after the madness of the people turned the other way.



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 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 less than nine trophies to the honour of Athens. These things they talked of, supposing that he attended not to what they said, but that his senses were gone. He took notice, however, of every word they had spoken, and thereupon delivered himself audibly as follows : " I am surprised that while you dwell upon and extol these acts of mine, though Fortune had her share in them, and many other generals have performed the like, you take no notice of the greatest and most honourable part of my character, *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 to have given way to envy or anger, notwithstanding the greatness of his power, nor to have nourished an implacable hatred against his greatest 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 a propriety. Thus we think the divine powers as the authors of all good, and naturally incapable of producing evil, worthy to rule and preside over the universe.

The state of public affairs soon shewed the want of Pericles,\* 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, yet upon a trial of other orators and demagogues, after he was gone, soon acknowledged that where severity was required, no man was ever more moderate ; or, if mildness was necessary, no man better kept up his dignity than Pericles. And his so much 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, and kept from dangerous and destructive extremities.

\* Pericles died in the third year of the Peloponnesian war, that is, the last year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, and 423 years before the christian era.

## ALCIBIADES.

*Flourished 440 years before Christ.*

THOSE that have searched into the pedigree of Alcibiades, say, that Eurysaces, the son of Ajax, was founder of the family ; and that by his mother's side he was descended from Alcmaeon : for Dinomache, his mother, was the daughter of Megacles, who was of that line. His father Clinias gained great honour in the sea-fight of Artemisium, where he fought in a galley fitted out at his own expense, and afterwards was slain in the battle of Coronea, where the Bœotians won the day. Pericles and Ariphron, the sons of Xanthippus, and near relations to Alcibiades, were his guardians.

As to the beauty of Alcibiades, it may be sufficient to say, that it retained its charms through the several stages of childhood, youth and manhood. For it is not universally true what Eurypides says,

The very autumn of a form once fine  
Retains its beauties.

Yet this was the case of Alcibiades, amongst a few others, by reason of his natural vigour and happy constitution.

He had a lisping in his speech, which became him, and gave a grace and persuasive turn to his discourse. His manners were far from being uniform ; nor is it strange, that they varied according to the many vicissitudes and wonderful turns of his fortune. He was naturally a man of strong passions : but his ruling passion 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 hands of his antagonist, who let go his hold, and said, " You bite, Alcibiades, like a woman." " No," says he, " like a lion."

One day he was playing at dice with other boys in the street ; and when 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 broke away ; but Alcibiades threw 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 terror.

In the course of his education, he willingly took the lessons of his other masters, but refused learning to play upon the flute, which he looked upon as a mean art, and unbecoming a gentleman.

Thus it lost its place in the number of liberal accomplishments, and was universally exploded.

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 the mind, and bore witness to the young man's virtue and ingenuity, 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 its 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 inaccessible to the incision-knife of philosophy, and the searching-probe of free advice, surely it was Alcibiades. From the first he was surrounded with pleasure, and a multitude of admirers determined to say nothing but what they thought would please, and to keep them from all admonition and reproof; yet by his native penetration, he distinguished the value of Socrates, and attached himself to him, rejecting the rich and great who sued for his regard.

With Socrates he soon entered into the closest intimacy; and finding that he did not, like the rest of the unmanly crew, want 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.

In fact, he considered the discipline of Socrates as a provision from heaven, for the preservation and benefit of youth. Thus despising himself, 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.

Though Socrates had many rivals, yet he kept possession of Alcibiades's heart by the excellence of his genius and the pathetic turn of his conversation, which often drew tears from his young companions. And though sometimes he gave Socrates 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; the rest he held in great contempt.

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 making answer that he had nothing of Homer's, he gave him a box on the ear, and so left him. Another school-master telling him he had 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."

One day, wanting to speak to Pericles, he went to his house and being told there that he was busied in considering how to give in his accounts to the people, and therefore not at leisure; he said as he went away, "He had better consider how to avoid giving in any account at all."

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 great gallantry; but Alcibiades at last falling down wounded, Socrates advanced to defend him, which he did effectually in the sight of the whole army, saving both him and his arms. For this the prize of valour was certainly due to Socrates, yet the generals inclined to give it to 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 pressed 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,\* and Socrates, with a few others, were retreating on foot, Alcibiades observing it, did not pass him, but covered his retreat, and brought him safe off, though the enemy pressed furiously forward and killed great numbers of the Athenians. But this happened a considerable time after.

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 purely because, in a wanton frolic, he had agreed with his companions to do so. The whole city being full of the story of his insolence, and every body (as it was natural to expect) expressing some resentment, early next morning Alcibiades went to wait on 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 instead of that, Hipponicus pardoned him, and forgot all his resentment: nay, some time after, he even gave him his daughter Hipparete in marriage.

Hipparete made a prudent and affectionate wife; but at last growing very uneasy at her husband's associating with such number of courtesans, both strangers and Athenians, she quitted his house and went to her brother's. Alcibiades went on with his debaucheries, and gave himself no pain about his wife; but it was necessary for her, in order to a legal separation, to give in a bill

\* Laches, as introduced by Plato, tells us, that if others had done their duty, as Socrates did his, the Athenians would not have been defeated in the battle of Delium. That battle was fought the first year of the eighty-ninth Olympiad, eight years after the battle of Potidæa.

of divorce to the Archon, and to appear personally with it ; for the sending of it by another hand would not do. 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 after, when Alcibiades was upon his voyage to Ephesus. Nor 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 wants to be divorced to appear publicly in person, probably intended to give the husband an opportunity to meet with her and recover her.

Alcibiades had a dog of an uncommon size and beauty, which cost him seventy *minæ*, and yet his tail, which was his principal ornament, he caused to be cut off. Some of his acquaintance found great fault with 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 wanted ; for I would have the Athenians talk of this, lest they should find something worse to say of me."

The first thing that made him popular, and introduced him into the administration, was his distributing of money, not by design, but by accident. Seeing one day a great crowd of people as he was walking along, he asked what it meant ; and being informed there was a donative made to the people, he distributed money too as he went in amongst them. This meeting with great applause, he was so much delighted, that he forgot a quail which he had under his robe,\* 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 did catch it and bring it to him, was one Antiochus,† a pilot, for whom he had ever after a particular regard.

He had great advantages for introducing himself into the management of public affairs, from his birth, his estate, his personal valour, and the number of his friends and relations ; 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 ; and so does the prince of orators, in his oration against Midias, where he says that Alcibiades was the most eloquent man of his time. And if we believe Theophrastus,

\* It was the fashion in those days to breed quails. Plato reports, that 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."—*Plat in 1 Alcib.*

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

a curious searcher into antiquity, and more versed in history than the other philosophers, Alcibiades had a peculiar happiness of invention and readiness of ideas which eminently distinguished him. But as his care was employed not only upon the matter, but the expression, and he had not the greatest 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.

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

There was at Athens one Hyperbolus, of the ward of Perithois, whom Thucydides makes mention of 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 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 wanted to strike at persons in authority. At his instigation, the Athenians were ready to proceed to the ban of *ostracism*, by which they pull down and expel such of the citizens as are distinguished by their dignity and power, therein consulting their envy rather than their fear.

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 leaguings with Nicias, caused the *ostracism* to fall upon Hyperbolus himself.

Alcibiades was no less disturbed at the great esteem in which Nicias was held by the enemies of Athens, than at the respect which the Athenians themselves paid him. 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; yet when they found, that it was chiefly by means of Nicias that they obtained a peace and recovered

the captives, their regards centered in him. 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 Nicean peace. Alcibiades was very uneasy at this, and out of envy to Nicias determined to break the league.

As soon then as he perceived that the people of Argos both feared and hated the Spartans, and, consequently, wanted to get clear of all connection with them, he privately gave them hopes of assistance from Athens; and, both by his agents and in person, he 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 they had made, and would soon seek occasion to break it.

But after the Lacedæmonians had entered into alliance with the Bœotians, and had delivered Panactus to the Athenians, not with its fortifications, as they ought to have done, but, quite dismantled, he took the opportunity, while the Athenians were incensed at this proceeding, to inflame them still more. At the same time he raised a clamour against Nicias, alleging things which had a face of probability; for he reproached him with having neglected, when commander in chief, to make that\* party prisoners who were left by the enemy in Sphacteria, and with releasing them, when taken by others, to ingratiate himself with the Lacedæmonians. He farther asserted, that though Nicias had an interest with the Lacedæmonians, he would not make use of it to prevent 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.

Nicias was greatly disconcerted; but at that very juncture it happened that ambassadors from Lacedæmon arrived with moderate proposals, and declared that they had full powers to treat and decide all differences in an equitable way. The senate was satisfied, and next day the people were to be convened; but Alcibiades, dreading the success of that audience, found means to speak with the ambassadors in the mean time, and thus he addressed them—

\* After the Lacedæmonians had lost the fort of Pylos in Messenia, they left in the isle of Sphacteria, which was opposite that fort, a garrison of three hundred and twenty men, besides Helots, under the command of Epitades the son of Molobrus. The Athenians would have sent Nicias, while commander in chief, with a fleet against that island, but he excused himself. Afterwards Cleon, in conjunction with Demosthenes, got possession of it, after a long dispute, wherein several of the garrison were slain, and the rest made prisoners, and sent to Athens. Among those prisoners were a hundred and twenty Spartans, who by the assistance of Nicias got released. The Lacedæmonians afterwards recovered the port 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: which sentence, however, he commuted, by paying a vast sum of money, being the first who reversed a judgment in that manner.

“Men of Lacedæmon, 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 untractable and extravagant in their demands. Come then, retract that imprudent declaration, and if you desire to keep the Athenians within the bounds of reason, 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 Lacedæmonians.” He confirmed his promise 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 address in business, and regarding him as a very extraordinary man.

Next day the people assembled, and the ambassadors were introduced. Alcibiades asked them in an obliging manner, what their commission was, and they answered, that they did not come as plenipotentiaries. Then he began to rave and storm, as if he had received an injury, not done one; calling them faithless, prevaricating men, who were come neither to do nor to say any thing honourable. The senate was incensed; the people were enraged; and Nicias, who was ignorant of the deceitful contrivance of Alcibiades, was filled with astonishment and confusion at this change.

The proposals of the ambassadors thus rejected, Alcibiades was declared general, and soon engaged the Argives,\* the Mantineans and Eleans as allies to the Athenians. Nobody commended the manner of this transaction, but the effect was very great, since it divided and embroiled almost all Peloponnesus, in one day lifted so many arms against the Lacedæmonians at Mantinea, and removed to so great a distance from Athens the scene of war, by which the Lacedæmonians, if victorious, could gain no great advantage, whereas a miscarriage would have risked the very being of their state.

Soon after this battle at Mantinea,† the principal officers‡ of this Argive army attempted to abolish the popular government in Argos, and to take the administration into their own hands. The Lacedæmonians espoused 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, made the victory more complete. At the same time he persuaded them to extend

\* He concluded a league with these states for a hundred years.

† That battle was fought near three years after the conclusion of the treaty with Argos.

‡ Those officers availed themselves of the consternation the people of Argos were in 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.



their walls down to the sea, that they might always be in a condition to receive succours from the Athenians. From Athens he sent them carpenters and masons, exerting himself greatly on this occasion, which tended to increase his personal interest and power, as well as that of his country. He advised the people of Patræ, too, to join their city to the sea by long walls: and somebody observing to the Patrensiens, "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 little by little, whereas the Lacedæmonians will begin with the head, and eat it all at once." He exhorted the Athenians to assert the empire of the land as well of the sea, and was ever putting the young warriors in mind to show by their deeds that they remembered the oath they had taken in the temple of Agraulos.\* The oath is, that they will consider wheat, barley, vine, and olives, as the bounds of Attica; by which it is insinuated that they should endeavour to possess themselves of all lands that are cultivated and fruitful.

But these his great abilities in politics, his eloquence, his reach of genius, and keenness of apprehension, were tarnished by his luxurious living, his drinking and debauches, his effeminacy of dress, and his insolent profusion. He wore a purple robe with a long train, when 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 hanging upon girths. And in the wars he bore a shield of gold, which had none of the usual ensigns of his country, but, in their stead, a Cupid bearing a thunderbolt. The great men of Athens saw his behaviour with uneasiness and indignation, and even dreaded the consequence. They regarded his foreign manners, his profusion and contempt of the laws, as so many means to make himself absolute.

The truth is, his prodigious liberality, the games 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

\* Agraulos, one of the daughters of Cecrops, had devoted herself to death for the benefit of her country; it has been supposed, therefore, that the oath which the young Athenians took, bound them to do something of that nature, if need should require; though, as given by Plutarch, it implies only an unjust resolution to extend the Athenian dominions to all lands that were worth seizing. Demosthenes mentions the oath in his oration *de fals. Legat.* but does not explain it.

† 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. Alcibiades, in his device, referred to the beauty of his person and his martial prowess. Mottos, too, were used. Capaneus, for instance, bore a naked man with a torch in his hand, the motto this, *I will burn the city.* See more in Æschylus' tragedy of the *Seven Chiefs.*

connived at his errors, and spoke of them with all imaginable tenderness, calling them sallies of youth and good-humoured frolics.

In the time of Pericles,\* the Athenians had a desire after Sicily, and after him 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. This was a step 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 to subdue it. He inspired the people with hopes of great things, and indulged himself in expectations still more lofty: for he did not, like the rest, consider Sicily as the end of his wishes, but rather as an introduction to the mighty expeditions he had conceived; and while Nicias was dissuading the people from the siege of Syracuse, as an undertaking too difficult to succeed in, Alcibiades was dreaming of Carthage and of Lybia, and after these were gained, he designed to grasp Italy and Peloponnesus, regarding Sicily as little more than a magazine for provisions and warlike stores.

The young men immediately entered into his schemes, and listened with great attention to those who, under the sanction of age, related wonders concerning the intended expeditions, 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 Lybia and Carthage. However, we are informed, that Socrates the philosopher, and Meton the astrologer, were far from expecting that these wars would turn to the advantage of Athens.

Nicias was appointed one of the generals much against his inclination; for he would have declined the command, if it had been only on account of his having such a colleague.

The Athenians, however, thought the war would be better conducted, if they did not give free scope to the impetuosity of Alcibiades, but 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 come at all short of Alcibiades in heat and rashness.

When they came to deliberate about the number of the troops,

\* Pericles, by his prudence and authority, had restrained this extravagant ambition of the Athenians. He died the last year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, in the third year of the Peloponnesian war. Two years after this, the Athenians sent some ships to Rhegium, which were to go from thence to the succour of the Leontines, who were attacked by the Syracusans. The year following, they sent a still greater number; and two years after that, they fitted out another fleet of a greater force than the former; 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.

and the necessary preparations for the armament, Nicias again opposed their measures, and endeavoured to prevent the war. But Alcibiades replying to his arguments 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 got ready for setting sail, unlucky omens occurred, even on a festival which was celebrated at that time. Add to this, the mutilating and disfiguring of almost all the statues of Mercury,\* which happened in one night, a circumstance which alarmed even those who had long despised things of that nature. It was imputed to the Corinthians, of whom the Syracusans were a colony; and they were supposed to have done it, in hopes that such a prodigy might induce the Athenians to desist from the war. But the people paid little regard to this insinuation, or to the discourses of those who said that there was no manner of ill presage in what had happened, and that it was nothing but the wild frolic of a parcel of young fellows, flushed with wine, and bent on some extravagance. Indignation and fear made them take this event, not only for a bad omen, but for the consequence of a plot which aimed at greater matters; and therefore both senate and people assembled several times within a few days, and very strictly examined every suspicious circumstance.

In the mean time, the demagogue Androcles produced some Athenian slaves and certain sojourners, who accused Alcibiades and his friends of defacing some other statues, and of mimicking the sacred mysteries in one of their drunken revels. The people being much provoked at Alcibiades, and Androcles, his bitterest enemy, exasperating them still more, at first he was somewhat disconcerted. But when he perceived that the seamen and soldiers too, intended for the Sicilian expedition, were on this 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 the sake of Alcibiades, but that if any injury were done to him, they would immediately march home again; then he recovered his spirits, and appeared to defend himself. It was now his enemies' turn to be discouraged, and to fear that the people, on account of the need they had of him, would be favourable in their sentence. To obviate this inconvenience, they persuaded certain orators who were not reputed to be his enemies, but hated him as heartily as the most professed ones, to move it to the people, "That it was extremely absurd, that a general who was invested with a discretionary power, and a very important command, when the troops were collected, and the allies all ready

\* The Athenians had statues of Mercury at the doors of their houses, made of stone of a conical form.

to sail, should lose time, while they were casting lots for judges, and filling the glasses with water, to measure out the time of his defence. In the name of the gods let him sail, and when the war is concluded, be accountable to the laws, which will still be the same."

Alcibiades easily saw their malicious drift in wanting to put off the trial, and observed, "That it would be an intolerable hardship to leave such accusations and calumnies behind him, and 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 innocence, justice required that he should be set free from all fear of false accusers, before they sent him against their enemies." But he could not obtain that favour. He was indeed ordered to set sail,\* which he accordingly did, together with his colleagues, having near a hundred and forty galleys in his company, five thousand one hundred heavy-armed soldiers, and about a thousand three hundred archers, slingers, and others light-armed, with suitable provisions and stores.

Arriving on the coast of Italy, he landed at Rhegium. There he gave his opinion as to the manner in which the war should be conducted, and was opposed by Nicias: but as Lamachus agreed with him, he sailed to Sicily, and made himself master of Catana.† This was all he performed, being soon sent for 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 matters 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,‡ a conspiracy to change the government. All that were accused of being any ways concerned in it, they committed to prison unheard; and they 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, every friend and acquaintance of his, was very severely dealt with by the people.

Among those that were then imprisoned, in order to their trial, was the orator Andocides, whom Hellanicus the historian reckons among the descendants of Ulysses. He was thought to be no friend to a popular government, but a favourer of obligarchy.

\* The second year of the eighty-first Olympiad, and seventh of the Peloponnesian war.

† By surprise.—*Thucyd.* lib. vi.

‡ 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.

What contributed not a little to his being suspected of having some concern in defacing the *Hermæ*, was, that the great statue of Mercury, which was placed near his house, being consecrated to that god by the tribe called the *Ægeis*, was almost the only one, amongst the most remarkable, which was left entire.

It happened that amongst those who were imprisoned on the same account, Andocides contracted an acquaintance and friendship with one Timæus; a man not equal in rank to himself, but of uncommon parts and a daring spirit. He advised Andocides to accuse himself and a few more; because the decree promised impunity to any one that would 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 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 men from an enraged populace.

Andocides was prevailed upon by these arguments of Timæus; and informing against himself and some others, enjoyed the impunity promised by the decree; but all the rest 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.

However, the fury of the people was not so satisfied; but turning from the persons who had disfigured the *Hermæ*, as if it had reposed a while only to recover its strength, it fell totally upon Alcibiades. At last they sent the Salaminian galley to fetch him, artfully enough 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 it was in an enemy's country, which Alcibiades, had he been so disposed, might easily have raised. Indeed, the soldiers expressed great uneasiness at his leaving them, and expected that the war would be spun out to a great length by the dilatory counsels of Nicias, when the spur was taken away. Lamachus, indeed, was bold and brave, but he was wanting both in dignity and weight, by reason of his poverty.

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

As soon as he arrived at Thurii, he went on shore, and concealing himself there, eluded the search which was made after him.

\* He prudently embarked on a vessel of his own, and not on the Salaminian galley.

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." Afterwards being told that the republic had condemned him to die, he said, "But I will make them find that I am alive."

As he did not appear, they condemned him, confiscated his goods, and ordered all the priests and priestesses to denounce an execration against him; which was denounced accordingly 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, not for execration."

While these decrees and sentences were passing against Alcibiades, he was at Argos: having quitted Thuriæ which no longer afforded him a safe asylum, to come into Peloponnesus. Still dreading his enemies, and giving up all hopes of being restored to his country, he sent to Sparta to desire permission to live there under the protection of the public faith, promising to serve that state more effectually, now he was their friend, than he had annoyed them whilst their enemy. The Spartans granting him a safe conduct, and expressing their readiness to receive him, he went thither with pleasure. One thing he soon effected, which was to procure succours for Syracuse without further hesitation or delay, having persuaded them to send Gylippus thither, to take upon him the direction of the war, and to crush the Athenian power in Sicily. Another thing which he persuaded them to, was to declare war against the Athenians, and to begin its operations on the continent: and the third, which was the most important of all, was to get Decelia fortified; for this being in the neighbourhood of Athens, was productive of great mischief to the commonwealth.\*

These measures procured Alcibiades the public approbation at Sparta, and he was no 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

\* Agis, king of Sparta, at the head of a very numerous army of Lacedæmonians, Corinthians, and other nations of Peloponnesus, invaded Attica, and according to the advice which Alcibiades had given, seized and fortified Decelia, which stood at an equal distance from Athens and the frontiers of Bœotia, by which means the Athenians were now deprived of the profits of the silver mines, of the rents of their lands, and of the succours of their neighbours. But the greatest misfortune which happened to the Athenians, from the beginning of the war to this time, was that which befel them this year in Sicily, where they not only lost the conquest they aimed at, together with the reputation they had so long maintained, but their fleet, their army, and their generals.

those with whom he conversed, by imitating and adopting their customs and way of living. Nay, he turned himself into all manner of forms with more ease than the cameleon changes his colour. It is not, we are told, in that animal's power to assume a white, but Alcibiades could adapt himself to either 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, again, riding and drinking were his favourite amusements; and in the palace of Tissaphernes, the Persian grandee, he outvied the Persians themselves in pomp and splendour. Not that he could with so much ease change his real manners, or approve in his heart the form which he assumed; but because he knew that his native manners would be unacceptable to those whom he happened to be with, he immediately conformed to the ways and fashions of whatever place he came to. When he was at Lacedæmon, if you regarded only his outside, you would say as the proverb does, "This is not the son of Achilles, but Achilles himself;" This man has surely been brought up under the eye of Lycurgus; but then if you looked more nearly into his disposition and his actions, you would exclaim with Electra in the poet, "The same weak woman still!"\*

After the miscarriage of the Athenians in Sicily, the people of Chios, of Lesbos, and Cyzicum, sent to treat with the Spartans about quitting the interests of Athens, and putting themselves under the protection of Sparta. The Bœotians, on 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. He likewise passed over into Ionia, and prevailed with almost all that country to revolt, and attending the Lacedæmonian generals in the execution of most of their commissions, he did great prejudice to the Athenians.

But Agis could not endure his glory and prosperity; 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 timely foreseeing his danger, and cautioned by his fears, in every step he took he still served the Lacedæmonians, taking care all the while not to put himself in their power. Instead of that, he sought the protection of Tissaphernes, one of the grandees of Persia, or lieutenants of the king. With this Persian he soon attained the highest credit and authority; for himself a very subtle

\* This is spoken of Hermione, in the *Orestes* of Euripides, upon her discovering the same vanity and solicitude about her beauty, when advanced in years, that she had when she was young.

and insincere man, he admired the art and keenness of Alcibiades. Indeed, by the elegance of his conversation, and the charms of his politeness, every man was gained, all hearts were touched. Even those who feared and envied him were not insensible to pleasure in his company; and while they enjoyed it, their resentment was disarmed. Tissaphernes, in all other cases savage in his temper, and the bitterest enemy that Greece experienced among the Persians, gave himself up, notwithstanding, to the flatteries of Alcibiades, insomuch that he even vied with and exceeded him in address. For of all his gardens, that which excelled in beauty, which was remarkable for the salubrity of its streams and the freshness of its meadows, which was set off with pavilions royally adorned, and retirements finished in the most elegant taste, he distinguished by the name of *Alcibiades*; and every one continued to give it that appellation.

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 Tissaphernes. He advised him not to assist them effectually, 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. Tissaphernes 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 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 should be destroyed, he should fall into the hands of the Lacedæmonians who hated him.

At that time, the whole strength of the Athenians lay at Samos. With their ships sent out from thence, they recovered some of the towns which had revolted, and others they kept to their duty; and at sea they were in some measure able to make head against their enemies. But they were afraid of Tissaphernes and the and the Phœnician fleet of an hundred and fifty ships, which were said to be coming 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 them the friendship of Tissaphernes: not to recommend himself to the people, whom he could not trust, but to oblige the nobility, if they would but exert their superiority, to repress the insolence of the commonalty, and, taking the government into their own hands, by that means save the country.

All the officers readily embraced this proposal, except Phryni-



chus, who was of the ward of Dirades. He alone suspected what was really the case, that it was a matter of very little consequence to Alcibiades, whether an oligarchy or democracy prevailed in Athens; that it was his business to get himself recalled by any means whatever, and that, therefore, by his invective against the people, he wanted only to insinuate himself into the good graces of the nobility. Upon these reasons proceeded the opposition of Phrynichus; but, seeing his opinion disregarded, and that Alcibiades must certainly become his enemy, he gave secret intelligence to Astyochus, the enemy's admiral, of the double part which Alcibiades acted, advising him to beware of his designs, and to secure his person. But he knew not that while he was betraying he was himself betrayed. For Astyochus, wanting to make his court to Tissaphernes, informed Alcibiades of the affair, who, he knew, had the ear of that grandee.

Alcibiades immediately sent proper persons to Samos with an accusation against Phrynichus; who, seeing no other resource, as every body was against him, and expressed great indignation at his behaviour, attempted to cure one evil with another and a greater. For he sent to Astyochus to complain of his revealing the 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 therefore desired them to be upon their guard, to keep on board their ships, and to fortify their camp.

While the Athenians were doing this, letters came from Alcibiades again, 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, afterwards, when Phrynichus was stabbed in full assembly by one of Hermon's soldiers who kept guard that day, the Athenians taking cognizance of the matter, after his death, condemned Phrynichus as guilty of treason, and ordered Hermon and his party to be crowned for despatching a traitor.

The friends of Alcibiades, who now had a superior 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 Tissaphernes. This was the colour of the pretence made use of by those

who wanted to introduce an oligarchy. But when that body which were called the *five thousand*, but in fact were only *four hundred*,\* had got the power into their hands, they paid little attention to Alcibiades, and carried on the war but 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.

Such of the commonalty as were at home, were silent through fear, though much against their will ; for a number of those who had openly opposed the *four hundred* were put to death. But when they who were at Samos were informed of the affair, they were highly incensed at it, and inclined immediately to set sail for the Pyræus. 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 both them and their power. On such an occasion, almost any other man, suddenly exalted by the favor of the multitude, would have thought he must have complied with all their humours, and not have contradicted those in any thing, who, from a fugitive and a banished man, 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 error through the violence of their rage. This care of his evidently was the saving of the commonwealth. For if they had sailed home, as they promised, the enemy would have seized on Ionia immediately, and have 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 to some and force to others ; in which he was assisted by the loud harangues of Thrasybulus of the ward of Stira, who attended him through the whole, and had the strongest voice of any man among the Athenians.

Another great 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 on the enemy's side. In consequence of this promise, he set out as expeditiously as possible, and prevailed upon Tissa-

\* 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, who were for the future to be reputed the people. But when Pisander and his associates found 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 ; that the four hundred thus elected should become a senate with supreme power, and should consult the five thousand only when and on such matters as they thought fit.

phernes not to forward the ships, which were already come as far as Aspendus, but to disappoint and deceive the Lacedæmonians, Nevertheless, both sides, and particularly the Lacedæmonians, accused Alcibiades of hindering that fleet from coming to their aid; for they supposed 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 quashed,\* the friends of Alcibiades very readily assisting those who were for a democracy: and now the people in the city not only wished for him, but commanded him to return; yet he thought it not best to return 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 distinguish his appearance by his merit. Parting, therefore, from Samos with a few ships, he cruised on the sea of Cnidos, and about the isle of Coos, where he got intelligence that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, had sailed with his whole fleet towards the Hellespont to find out the Athenians. This made him hasten to the assistance of the latter, and fortunately enough he arrived 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.†

On 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's galley, and bore down directly upon the Peloponnesians, who now had the advantage, and were urging the pursuit. His vigorous impression 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 Pharnabasis succoured them from the shore, and with an armed force attempted to save their vessels. The conclusion 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 Tissaphernes, 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 he expected; for Tissaphernes, who,

\* The same year that they were set up, which was the second of the ninety-second Olympiad. The reader must carefully distinguish this faction of four hundred, from the senate of four hundred established by Solon, which these turned out the few months they were in power.

† Thucydides does not speak of this arrival of Alcibiades; but probably he did not live to have a clear account of this action, for he died this year. Xenophon, who continued his history, mentions it.

for some time, had been accused by the Lacedæmonians, and was apprehensive that the charge might reach the king's ear, thought the coming of Alcibiades a very seasonable incident, and therefore put him under arrest and confined him at Sardis, imagining that injurious proceeding would be a means to clear himself.

Thirty days after, Alcibiades having by some means or other obtained a horse, escaped from his keepers, and fled to Clazomenæ; and, by way of revenge, he pretended that Tissaphernes privately set him at liberty. From 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 even to fight with stone walls, if that should be required, in order to come at their enemies: for if the victory were not complete and universal, they could come at no money. Then he 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 not discover that he was coming against them. A great 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 the enemy were ignorant of his design, but the very Athenians, whom he had ordered in great haste on board, did not presently perceive that he was under sail. Soon after, the weather cleared up, and the Peloponnesian ships were seen riding at anchor in the road of Cyzicum: lest, therefore, the enemy 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 forty ships only, and challenged the Lacedæmonians to the combat. The stratagem had its 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 that, Alcibiades, with twenty of his best ships, breaking through the midst of them, hastened to the shore, and having made a descent, pursued those that fled from the ships, and killed great numbers of them. He likewise defeated Mindarus and Pharnabazus, who came their succour. Mindarus made a brave resistance and was slain; but Pharnabazus saved himself by flight.

The Athenians remained masters of the field, and of the spoils, and took all the enemy's ships. Having also possessed themselves of Cysicum, which was abandoned by Pharnabazus, and deprived of the assistance of the Peloponnesians, who were 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 style, was to give the Ephori an account of their misfortunes. "Our glory is faded. Mindarus is slain. Our soldiers are starving; and we know not what step to take."

On the other hand, Alcibiades's 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 the other troops that 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.\* The soldiers of Alcibiades, therefore, upbraided those of Thrasyllus with this affair, magnifying themselves and their general, and disdainingly to join others, either in the place of exercise or in the camp. But soon after, 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. Then he 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 soon dismissed them without ransom. Thence he intended to proceed and lay siege to Chalcedon, which had withdrawn its 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 the Bithynians, their friends, he led his army to the frontiers of the Bithynians, and sent a herald before them, to summon them to surrender it. They, dreading his resentment, gave up the booty, and entered into an alliance with him.

Afterwards, he returned to the siege at 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 he defeated them both; Pharnabazus betaking himself to flight, and Hippocrates being killed, together with the greatest part of his troops. This done, he sailed into the Hellespont, to raise contributions in the towns upon the coast.

In this voyage he took Selybria, but in the action unnecessarily exposed himself to great danger. The persons who promised to surrender the town to him, agreed to give him a signal at midnight with a lighted torch; but they were obliged to do it before

\* Trophies before had been of wood, but the Ephesians erected this of brass, to perpetuate the infamy of the Athenians, and it was this new and mortifying circumstance with which Alcibiades's soldiers reproached those of Thrasyllus.—*Diod.* lib. xiii

the time, for fear of some one that was in the secret, 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 opened to him, and twenty of the conspirators, lightly armed, joining his small company, he advanced with great spirit, but 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 hour 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. Their inclination to the combat was then immediately damped, partly from a supposition that the whole Athenian army was within the walls, and partly from the hopes they conceived of coming to tolerable terms. Whilst they were talking together of this order, the Athenian army came up, and Alcibiades rightly conjecturing that the inclinations of the Selybrians were for peace, was afraid of giving the Thracians an opportunity to plunder the town. These last came down in great numbers to serve under him as volunteers, from a particular attachment to his person ; but on this occasion he sent them all out of the town, and, upon the submission of the Selybrians, he saved them from being pillaged, demanding only a sum of money, and leaving a garrison in the place.

Meantime, the other generals, who carried on the siege of Chalcedon, came to an agreement with Pharnabazus on these conditions : namely, that a sum of money should be paid them by Pharnabazus ; that the Chalcedonians should return to their allegiance to the republic of Athens ; and that no injury should be done to the province of which Pharnabazus was governor, who undertook that the Athenian ambassadors 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 was reciprocally confirmed with 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, secretly promised to deliver up the place, on condition that he would keep it from being plundered. Hereupon, he caused it to be reported, that certain weighty and unexpected affairs called him back to Ionia, and in the day-time he set sail with his whole fleet ; but returning at night, he himself disembarked with the land forces, and posting them under the walls, commanded them not to make the least noise. At the same time the ships made for the harbour, and the crews pressing in

with loud shouts and great 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 in great security, while every body's attention was engaged upon the harbour and the ships.

The affair passed not, 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 were got into the town, charged them too with great vigour. The dispute was sharp, and the shock great, but victory declared for Alcibiades and Theramenes. The former of these generals 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 such were the terms on which the town was given up, that the citizens should be safe in their persons and their goods.

Alcibiades, by this time, desirous to see his native country, and still more desirous to be seen by his countrymen, after so many glorious victories, set sail with the Athenian fleet, adorned 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.

When he was landed, the multitude that came out to meet him did not vouchsafe so much as to look upon the other generals, but crowding upon him, hailed him with shouts of joy, conducted him on the way, and such as could approach him, 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 with the sense of their present success. For they concluded that they should not have miscarried in Sicily, or indeed have failed in any of their expectations, 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 its dominion of the sea, was hardly able to defend its 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 its maritime power, but to render it victorious every where by land.

The people presently meeting in full assembly, Alcibiades came in among them, and having in a pathetic manner bewailed his misfortunes, he very modestly complained of their treatment, ascribing all to his hard fortune and the influence of some envious demon. He then proceeded to discourse of the hopes and designs

of their enemies, against whom he used his utmost endeavours to animate them. And they were so much pleased with his harangue, that they crowned him with crowns of gold, and gave him the absolute command of their forces, both by sea and land. They likewise made a decree that his estate should be restored to him, and that the Eumolpidæ and the heralds should take off the execrations which they had pronounced against him by order of the people. Whilst the rest were employed in expiations for this purpose, Theodorus, the high priest, said, "For his part, he had never denounced any curse against him, if he had done no injury to the commonwealth."

Amidst this glory and prosperity of Alcibiades, some people were still uneasy, looking upon the time of his arrival as ominous. For on that very day was kept the *plynteria*,\* or purifying of the goddess Minerva. It was the twenty-fifth of May, 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 utmost care not to do 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 gallies were manned, and ready to put to sea again; but a laudable zeal detained him until the celebration of the mysteries.† For after the Lacedæmonians had fortified Decelia, which commanded the roads to Eleusis, the feast was not kept with its usual pomp, because they were obliged to conduct the procession by sea; the sacrifices, the sacred dances, and other ceremonies which had been performed on the way, called holy, 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, to restore those rites to their due solemnity, by conducting the procession with his army, and guarding it against the enemy. By that means, either king Agis would be 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 most venerable of its mysteries, in the sight of his country, and all his fellow-citizens would be witnesses of his valour.

When he had determined upon this, and communicated his design to the Eumolpidæ and the heralds, he placed sentinels upon

\* On that day, when the statue of Minerva was washed, the temples were encompassed with a cord, to denote that they were shut up, as was customary on all inauspicious days. They carried dried figs in procession, because that was the first fruit which was eaten after acorns.

† The festival of Ceres and Proserpine continued nine days. On the sixth day, they carried in procession to Eleusis the statue of Bacchus, whom they supposed to be the son of Jupiter and Ceres.



the eminences, and set out his advanced guard as soon as it was light. Next he 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 great order and profound silence, exhibiting in that march a spectacle so august and venerable, that those who did not envy him declared he had performed not only the office of a general, but of a high-priest: not a man of the enemy dared to attack him, and he conducted the procession back in great 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.

What opinion he himself had of this proposal we know not; but this is certain, that 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 colleagues. Putting to sea, therefore, with a fleet of an hundred ships, he sailed to the isle of Andros, where he fought and defeated the Andrians, and such of the Lacedæmonians as assisted them. But yet he did not take the city, which gave his enemies the first occasion for the charge which they afterwards brought against him. Indeed, if ever man was ruined by a high distinction of character, it was Alcibiades.\* For his continual successes had procured such an opinion of his courage and capacity, that when afterwards he 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 too hard for him, when he pleased 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 a war against people who were furnished out of the treasury of a great king, he was often laid under the necessity of

\* It was not altogether the universality of his success that rendered Alcibiades suspected, when he came 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 in political matters, and it is not to be wondered if such principles made him continually obnoxious to the suspicion of the people.

leaving his camp, to go in search of money and provisions for his men.

This it was that gave rise to the last accusation against him. Lysander, the Lacedæmonian admiral, out of the money 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,\* who was an experienced seaman, but rash and inconsiderate. Though he had express orders from Alcibiades to let no provocation from the enemy bring him to hazard an engagement, yet in his contempt of those 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 in the most insufferable manner, both by words and actions. Lysander sent out a few ships to pursue him; but as the whole Athenian fleet came up to assist Antiochus, he drew out the rest of his, and gave battle, and gained a complete victory. He slew Antiochus himself, took many ships and men, and erected a trophy. Upon this news, Alcibiades returned to Samos, whence he moved with the whole fleet to offer Lysander battle. But Lysander, content with the advantage he had gained, did not think proper to accept it.

Among the enemies whom Alcibiades had in the army, Thrasylulus, 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 means of losing their ships by his insolent and imprudent behaviour in command, and by leaving the direction of every thing to persons who had got into credit with him through the great merit of drinking deep and cracking seamen's jokes; whilst he was securely traversing the provinces to raise 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 shew their resentment and dislike to him, appointed new commanders of their forces.\*

Alcibiades was no sooner informed of it, than, consulting his own safety, he entirely quitted the Athenian army; and having collected a band of strangers, he made war on his own account against those Thracians who acknowledged no king. The booty

\* This was he who caught the quail for him.

† They appointed ten generals.—*Xenoph.* lib. i.

he made raised him great sums ; and at the same time he defended the Grecian frontier against the barbarians.

Tydeus, Menander, and Adimantus, the new-made generals, being now at Ægos Potamos,\* 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 passed over without notice. He therefore went and told the generals,† “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 ; whilst a fleet was observing them, which was under the orders of one man, and the strictest discipline. He therefore advised them to remove their station to Sestos.”

The generals, however, gave 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 insulted in such an insupportable manner 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 to some appeared a vain boast ; to others it seemed not at all improbable, since he might have brought down a number of Thracian archers and cavalry, to attack and harrass the Lacedæmonian camp.‡

The event soon showed that he judged right of the errors which the Athenians had committed. For Lysander falling upon them when they least expected it, eight galleys only escaped,§ along with Conon ; the rest, not much short of two hundred, were taken and carried away, together with three thousand prisoners, who were afterwards put to death ; and, within a short time after, Lysander took Athens itself, burnt the shipping, and demolished the long walls.

\* Plutarch passes over almost three years ; namely, the twenty-fifth of the Peloponnesian war ; the twenty sixth, in which the Athenians obtained the victory at Arginusæ, and put six of the ten generals to death, upon a slight accusation of their colleague, Theramenes ; and almost the whole twenty-seventh, towards the end of which the Athenians sailed to Ægos Potamos, where they received the blow that is spoken of in this place.

† The officers at the head of the Grecian armies and navy, we sometimes call generals, and sometimes admirals, because they commonly commanded both by sea and land.

‡ When a fleet remained some time at one particular station, there was generally a body of land-forces, and part of the mariners too, encamped upon the shore

§ There was a ninth ship, called Paralus, which escaped, and carried the news of their defeat to Athens. Conon himself retired to Cyprus.

Alcibiades, alarmed at the 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 with him, but still left more behind in the castle where he resided. In Bythynia he once more lost great part of his substance, being stript by the Thracians there, which determined him to go to Artaxerxes, and entreat his protection. He imagined that the king, upon trial, would find him no less serviceable than Themistocles had been, and 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. He concluded that Pharnabazus was most likely to procure him a safe conduct, and therefore went to him in Phrygia, where he stayed some time, making his court, and receiving marks of respect.

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 that would have saved them, and which they had neglected to make use of ; now they acknowledged their blindness and errors, and looked upon their second quarrel with Alcibiades as the greatest of those errors. 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 its generals. Yet amidst their present misery, there was one slight glimpse of hope, that while Alcibiades survived, Athens could not be utterly undone. For he, who before was not content 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 endeavouring at some remedy. Nor was it at all unnatural for the multitude to dream of such relief, since those thirty chiefs themselves were so solicitous to enquire after Alcibiades, and gave so much attention to what he was doing and contriving.

At last, Critias represented to Lysander, that the Lacedæmonians could never securely enjoy the empire of Greece till the Athenian democracy were absolutely destroyed ; and though the Athenians seemed at present to bear an oligarchy with some patience, yet Alcibiades, if he lived, would not suffer them long to submit to such a government. 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

\* The *Scytala* was sent to him.

was that they dreaded his great capacity and enterprising spirit, or whether it was done in complaisance to king Agis. Lysander then sent to Pharnabazus to desire him to put this order in execution; and he appointed his brother Magacus and his uncle Susamithres to manage the affair.

Alcibiades at that time resided in a small village in Phrygia, having his mistress Timandra with him. Those that 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 wrapt 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 flames. 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 wrapt the body in her own robes,\* and buried it as decently and honourably as her circumstances would allow.

Some writers, though they agree as to the manner of Alcibiades's death, yet they differ about the cause. They tell us, that catastrophe 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 in his house, 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 we have related.†

\* She buried him in a town called Meissa; and we learn from Athenæus (*in Deipnosoph.*) that the monument remained to his time; for he himself saw it. The emperor Adrian, in memory of so great a man, caused his statue of Persian marble to be set up thereon, and ordered a bull to be sacrificed to him annually.

† Ephorus the historian, as he is cited by Diodorus Siculus (lib. xiv.) gives an account of his death, quite different from those recited by Plutarch. He says, that Alcibiades having discovered the design of Cyrus the younger to take up arms, informed Pharnabazus of it, and desired that he might carry the news to the king: but Pharnabazus envying him that honour, sent a confidant of his own, and took all the merit upon himself. Alcibiades, suspecting the matter, went to Paphlagonia, and sought to procure from the governor letters of credence to the king, which Pharnabazus understanding, hired people to murder him. He was slain in the fortieth year of his age.

## TIMOLEON.

*Flourished 343 years before Christ.*

THE parentage of Timoleon was noble on both sides, his father Timodemus and his mother Demariste being of the best families in Corinth. His love of his country was remarkable, and so was the mildness of his disposition, though 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, and utterly corrupted by the 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 magnifying the good qualities which nature had given him.

In the battle between the Corinthians and the troops of Argos and Cleone, Timoleon happened to serve among the infantry, when Timophanes, who was at the head of the cavalry, was brought into extreme danger; for his horse being wounded, threw him amidst the enemy. Hereupon, part of his companions were frightened, and presently dispersed; and the few that remained, having to fight with numbers, with difficulty stood their ground. Timoleon, seeing his brother in these circumstances, 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 him.

Some time after this the Corinthians, apprehensive that their city might be surprised through some treachery of their allies, resolved to keep on foot four hundred mercenaries, and 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 absolute prince of it. Timoleon, greatly 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

ness and unfortunate ambition, and to make his fellow-citizens some amends for the crimes he had committed. But this admonition being rejected with disdain, he returned a few days after, 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 Timophanes, earnestly entreated him yet to listen to reason; but he at first laughed at them, and afterwards 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.\*

The matter being soon generally known, the principal and most valuable part of the Corinthians extolled Timoleon's detestation of wickedness, and the greatness of soul which, notwithstanding the gentleness of his heart and his affection to his relations, led him to prefer his country to his family, and justice and honour to interest and advantage. While his brother fought valiantly for his country, he had saved him; and slain him when he had 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 an horrible and impious deed, they created him great 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 manner of food. In these unhappy circumstances his friends did not abandon him. They even added force to their entreaties, till they prevailed on him to live. He determined, however, to live in solitude; and accordingly he 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, and gave himself up to melancholy. Thus the judgment, 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 its own purposes. For an action should not only be just and laudable in itself, but the *privæ*

\* Diodorus, in the circumstances of this fact, differs from Plutarch. He tells 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 ambassadors arrived, demanding a general. Whereupon they unanimously agreed to send Timoleon; but first let him know, that if he discharged his duty there well, he should be considered as one that had killed a tyrant; if not, as the murderer of his brother.—*Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. c. 10.*

ple from which it proceeds, 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, and the splendid ideas of honour and virtue that led us to perform it, will vanish; just as the glutton is soon cloyed and disgusted with the luscious viands which he had devoured with too keen an appetite. Repentance tarnishes the best actions; whereas the purposes that are grounded upon knowledge and reason never change, though they may happen to be disappointed of success.

As for Timoleon's extreme dejection in consequence of the late act, whether it proceeded from regret of his brother's fate, or the reverence 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. He was at last drawn from his retirement on the following occasion:—

Dionysius having, after the murder of Dion, re-established himself in his dominions, became the master of those who had expelled him. All who remained in Syracuse, became slaves to a tyrant, who, at the best, was of an ungentle nature, and at that time 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, 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 encounter that of Dionysius.

In the meantime the Carthaginians appearing before Sicily with a great 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,\* and the many services 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 considerable wars, not from a motive of ambition or avarice, but to maintain the freedom and independence of Greece. Hereupon Icetes, whose intention in accepting the command was not so much to deliver Syracuse from its tyrants, as to set up himself there in the same capacity, treated privately with the Carthaginians, while in public he commended the design of the Syracusans, and despatched ambassadors along with theirs into Peloponnesus. Not that he was

\* The Syracusans were a colony from Corinth, founded by Archias the Corinthian, in the second year of the eleventh Olympiad, seven hundred and thirty-three years before the Christian era. Sicily had been planted with Phœnicians and other barbarous people, as the Grecians called them, above three hundred years before.



desirous of succours from thence, but he hoped that if the Corinthians, on account of the troubles of Greece, 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 their forces, either against the Syracusans, or their present tyrant. That such were his views, a little time discovered.

When the ambassadors arrived, and their business was known, the Corinthians, always accustomed to give particular attention to the concerns of their colonies, and especially those of Syracuse, 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 proposed Timoleon, who as yet had no share in the business of the commonwealth, and was so far from hoping or wishing for such an appointment, that it seemed some god inspired him with the thought; with such indulgence did Fortune immediately promote his election, and so much did her favour afterwards signalize his actions, and add lustre to his valour!

When he was elected by the suffrages of 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 murderer of your brother."

While Timoleon was assembling his forces, and preparing to set sail, the Corinthians received letters from Ictes, which plainly discovered his revolt and treachery. For his ambassadors 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, moreover, lest 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 dangers of a voyage to Sicily; particularly, as the Carthaginians would oppose them, and were watching for their ships with a numerous fleet; and that indeed, on account 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 one and all so incensed against Ictes, that they readily supplied Timoleon with whatever he wanted, and united their endeavours to expedite his sailing.

Having obtained seven ships of Corinth, two of Corcyra, and a tenth fitted out by the Leucadians, he put to sea without delay. The fleet very soon made the coast of Italy. But the news brought thither from Sicily much perplexed Timoleon, and disheartened his forces. For Ictes having beaten Dionysius in a pitched battle,\* 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 sent twenty galleys to Rhegium, in which were ambassadors from Ictes to Timoleon, charged with proposals, quite as captious as his proceedings themselves: 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 Ictes 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 finished, and the Carthaginians were determined to prevent the passage, and ready to repel force with force."

Timoleon, on this occasion, coming to an interview with the ambassadors and the Carthaginian commanders, mildly said, "He would submit to their proposal, for what could he gain by opposing them? but he was desirous that they would give them in publicly before the people of Rhegium, ere he quitted that place, since it was a Grecian city, and common friend to both parties. For that this tended to his security, and they themselves would stand more firmly to their engagement, 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 heartily into his scheme; for they wished to see the affairs of Sicily in Corinthian hands, and dreaded the neighbourhood of the Carthaginians. They summoned, therefore, an assembly, and shut the gates, lest the citizens should go about any other business. Being convened, they made long speeches, 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, 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, and his alone

\* Ictes finding himself in want of provisions, withdrew from the siege of Syracuse towards his own country; whereupon Dionysius marched out and attacked his rear. But Ictes 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.

was left behind, he slipped through the crowd, got down to the shore, and hoisted sail\* with all speed.

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, lord of that city. This Andromachus was father to Timæus the historian; and being much the best of all the Sicilian princes of his time, he both governed his own people agreeably to the laws and principles of justice, and had ever avowed his aversion and enmity to tyrants. On this account he readily allowed Timoleon to make his city a place of arms, and persuaded his people to co-operate with the Corinthians with all their force, in restoring liberty to the whole island.

The Carthaginians at Rhegium, upon the breaking up of the assembly, seeing that Timoleon was gone, were vexed to find themselves outwitted; and it afforded no small diversion to the Rhegians, *that Phœnicians should complain of anything effected by guile.* † They despatched, however, one of their galleys with an ambassador to Tauromenium, who represented the affair at large to Andromachus, insisting with much insolence that he should immediately turn the Corinthians out of his town, and at last showing him his hand with the palm upwards, and then turning it down again, told him, if he did not comply with that condition, 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 Carthaginian galleys. The Syracusans then began to despair of a deliverance; for they saw the Carthaginians masters of their harbour, ‡ Icetes possessed of the city, and the citadel in the hands 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 them. Nor had the Sicilian states any confidence in him, plunged as they were in misfortunes, and exasperated against all that 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 Si-

\* The Carthaginians believed that the departure of those nine galleys for Corinth had been agreed on between the officers of both parties, and that the tenth was left behind to carry Timoleon to Icetes.

† *Fraus Pœnica*, Phœnician fraud, had passed into a proverb.

‡ The Carthaginians had a hundred and fifty men of war, fifty thousand foot, and three hundred chariots.

cily, and for demolishing the tyrants; yet the Sicilians soon found that the reign of former oppressors was comparatively a golden age, and reckoned those far more happy who died in servitude than such as lived to see so dismal a kind of 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 the designs of the Corinthians, and declined their proposals. Adranum was a small city, consecrated to the god *Adranus*,\* who was held in high veneration throughout all Sicily. Its inhabitants were at variance with each other; some calling in Icetes and the Carthaginians, and others applying to Timoleon. Both generals, striving who should get there first, as fortune would have it, arrived about the same time. But Icetes had five thousand men with him, and Timoleon twelve hundred at the most, whom he drew out of Tauromenium, which was forty-two miles and an 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 towards evening was informed that Icetes had just reached the town, and was encamped before it. At the same time his officers made the foremost division halt, to take some refreshment, that they might be more vigorous in the ensuing engagement. This, however, was against the opinion of Timoleon, who entreated them to march forward 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 order, than he took his buckler and put himself at the head of them, as leading them on to undoubted victory.

His men, thus encouraged, followed him very cheerfully. 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. Upon this the people of Adranum opened their gates to Timoleon, and several other cities, by their ambassadors, immediately entered into an alliance with him. Mamercus, sovereign of Catania, a warlike and wealthy prince, joined the confederacy. Dionysius himself, having bid adieu to hope, and 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.

\* This deity, by his *insignia*, afterwards mentioned, should seem to be Mars. His temple was guarded by a hundred dogs.

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 was impossible, because the enemy were upon their guard, but by stealth, and a few at a time. This corps took possession of the citadel and the tyrant's moveables, with all that he had provided for carrying on the war, namely, a good number of horses, all manner 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 up along with the stores to Timoleon. But the tyrant reserved his money to himself, and having got on board a ship, he sailed with a few of his friends, without being perceived by Icetes, and reached the camp of Timoleon.

Then it was that he first appeared in the humble figure of a private man,\* and as such, he was sent with one ship, and a very moderate sum of money to Corinth—he who was born in a splendid court, and educated as heir to an absolute monarchy. He held it for ten years;† 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 abundantly recompensed upon his own head in what he suffered.

When Dionysius arrived at Corinth, there was hardly a man in Greece who was not desirous to see him and 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 saw the influence of an invisible and divine power displayed in the affairs of feeble mortals. For neither nature nor art produced in those times any thing so remarkable as that work of fortune,‡ which showed the man who was lately sovereign of Sicily, now holding conversation in a butcher's shop at Corinth; or sitting whole days in a perfumer's; or drinking the diluted wine of taverns; or squabbling in the streets with lewd women; or directing female musicians in their singing, and disputing with them seriously about the harmony of certain airs that were sung in the theatre.§

Nevertheless, some sayings of his are recorded, by which it

\* 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.

† For he began his reign in the first year of the hundred and third Olympiad, three hundred and sixty six years before the Christian era. Dion took arms against him in the fourth year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad; and he delivered up the citadel to Timoleon, and was sent to Corinth, in the first year of the hundred and ninth.

‡ Plutarch adds, *nor art*, to give us to understand that the tragic poets had not represented so signal a catastrophe in fable.

§ Some writers tell us that the extreme poverty to which he was reduced, obliged him to open a school at Corinth, where he exercised that tyranny over children which he could no longer practise over men.—*Cic. Tusc. Quest. l. iii.*

should seem that he did not bear his present 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 converse cheerfully, notwithstanding, 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 much more to his satisfaction with them." Another time, when a certain stranger derided him, at Corinth, in a very rude and scornful manner, for having, in the meridian of his power, taken pleasure in the discourse of philosophers, and at last asked him, "What he had got by the wisdom of Plato?"—"Do you think," said he, "that we have reaped no advantage from Plato, when we bear in this manner such a change of fortune?" Aristoxenus the musician, and some others, have inquired, "What was the ground of his displeasure against Plato?" He answered, "That absolute power abounded with evils: but had this great infelicity above all the rest, that among the number of those who call themselves the friends of an arbitrary prince, there is not one who will speak his mind to him freely; and that by such false friends 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; and he, returning the jest, bade him, "Do the same when he went out, that he might not carry off some of the moveables."

One day, over their cups, Philip of Macedon, with a kind of sneer, introduced some discourse about the odes\* and tragedies which Dionysius the elder left behind him, and pretended to doubt how he could find leisure for such works. Dionysius answered smartly enough, "They were written in the time which you and I, and other happy fellows, spend over the bowl."

If the ill fortune of Dionysius appeared surprising, the success of Timoleon was no less wonderful. For within fifty days after his landing in Sicily, he became master of the citadel of Syracuse, and sent off Dionysius into Peloponnesus. The Corinthians, en-

\* Dionysius the elder valued himself upon his poetry, but has been censured as the worst poet in the world. Pilozenus, who was himself an excellent poet, attempted to undeceive him in the favourable opinion, he had of his own abilities, but was sent to the quarries for the liberty he took. However, the next day he was restored to favour, and Dionysius repeated to him some verses he had taken extraordinary pains with, expecting his approbation: but the poet, instead of giving it, looked round to the guards, and said to them very humourously,—“Take me back to the quarries.” Notwithstanding this, Dionysius disputed the prize of poetry at the Olympic games; but there he was hissed, and the rich pavilion he had sent torn in pieces. He had better success, however, at Athens; for he gained the prize of poetry at the celebrated feast of Bacchus. On this occasion he was in such raptures that he drank to excess, and the debauch threw him into violent pains, to allay which, he asked for a soporative; and his physicians gave him one that laid him asleep, out of which he never awaked.

couraged with these advantages, sent him a reinforcement of two thousand foot and two hundred horse. These got on their way as far as Thurium; but finding it impracticable to gain a passage from thence, because the sea was beset with a numerous fleet of Carthaginians, they were forced to stop there, and watch their opportunity. However, they employed their time in a very noble undertaking. For the Thurians, marching out of their city to war against the Brutians, left it in charge with these Corinthian strangers, who defended it with as much honour and integrity as if it had been their own.

Meantime, Icetes carried on the siege of the citadel with great vigour, and blocked it up so close, that no provisions could be got in 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 with the Adranites, without any sort of precaution or suspicion. The assassins being informed that he was going to offer sacrifice, went into the temple with their poniards under their clothes, and mixing with those that 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 struck one of them on the head with his sword, and laid him at his feet. Neither he that struck the blow kept his station, nor the companion of the dead man; the former with his sword in hand fled to the top of a high rock, and the latter laid hold of the altar, entreating 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.

Whilst 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 only took righteous vengeance on the wretch who had murdered his father in the city of Leontium.\* And for the truth of this, he appealed to several that were there 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. This happy escape had effects beyond the present, for it inspired the Corinthians with high expectations of Timoleon, when they saw the Sicilians now reverence and guard him, as a man whose person was sacred, and who was come as 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

\* History can hardly afford a stronger instance of an interfering Providence.

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, with 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. The Corinthians, who still held the citadel, found themselves in very dangerous and difficult circumstances: for besides that they were in want of provisions, they were employed in sharp and continual disputes about the walls, which were attacked with all manner 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 to make 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 make themselves masters of Catana, from which provisions were sent to the besieged; and 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 if they were dispersed and killing some, and putting the rest to flight, gained the quarter called *Achradina*, which was much the strongest; for Syracuse is an assemblage, as it were, of towns.\* Finding plenty 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 so much surprise, that they returned in great hurry, having neither taken the place which they went against, nor kept that which they had before.

Perhaps prudence and valour have as much right as fortune to lay claim to these successes; but the event that 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, observed 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 Brutians; and partly by persuasion, partly by force, they made

\* There were four: the *Isle*, or the citadel, which was between the two ports; *Achradina*, at a little distance from the citadel; *Tyche*, so called from the temple of Fortune; and *Neapolis*, or the new city. To these some eminent authors (and Plutarch is of the number) add a fifth, which they call *Epipolæ*.



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 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 stratagems in the world, ordered the mariners to crown themselves with garlands, and to dress up the galleys with Grecian and Phœnician bucklers, and thus equipped, he set sail to Syracuse. When he came near the citadel, he hailed it with loud huzzas, and expressions of triumph, declaring that he was just come from beating the Corinthian succours, whom he had met with at sea, as they were endeavouring at a passage. By this means he hoped to strike terror into the besieged. While he was acting this part, the Corinthians got down to Rhegium, and as the coast was clear, and the wind falling as it were miraculously, promised smooth water and a safe voyage, they immediately went on board 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.

When they had all landed, and had joined Timoleon, he soon took Messina; and from thence he marched in good order to Syracuse, depending more upon his good fortune than his forces, for he had not above four thousand men with him. On the first news of his approach, Mago was greatly perplexed and alarmed, and his suspicions were increased on the following occasions: the marshes about Syracuse,\* which receive a great deal of fresh water from the springs, and from the lakes and rivers that discharge themselves there into the sea, have such abundance of eels, that there is always plenty for those who choose to fish for them. The common soldiers of both sides amused themselves promiscuously with that sport, 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 time of truce they mixed together, and conversed familiarly. Busied 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. Whereupon one of the Corinthian soldiers thus addressed those who served under Icetes: "And can you, who are Greeks, 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

\* There is one morass that is called *Lysimelia*, and another called *Syrato*. From this last the city took its name. These morasses make the air of Syracuse very unwholesome.

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 hazard of war, purely to erect a principality for Icetes, who, if he had had the prudence which becomes a general, would never have driven out his founders, to call into his country the worst of its enemies, when he might have obtained of the Corinthians and Timoleon any proper degree of honour and power?

The soldiers that were in pay with Icetes, repeating their discourses often in their camp, gave Mago, who had long wanted a pretence to be gone, room to suspect that he was betrayed; and though Icetes entreated him to stay, and remonstrated upon their great superiority to the enemy, yet 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, they caused proclamation to be made about the city, promising a reward to any one that could give information where 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 vigourously defended those quarters of the city which he occupied, and which appeared almost impregnable. His soldiers, however, were overpowered, and put to flight on every side. Now, that the city was 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, willing, as she seems, to maintain a dispute with his valour, and that those who read his story, may rather admire his happy success, than the merit of his actions.

Timoleon, thus master of the citadel, did not proceed like Dion, or spare the place for its beauty and magnificence; but guarding against the suspicions, which first slandered, and then destroyed that great man, he 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 implements to destroy the bulwarks of tyranny." Hereupon they came one and all, considering that proclamation and that day as the surest commencement of their liberty; and they 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 built a common hall there for the seat of judicature, at once to gratify the citizens, and to show that a popular government should be erected on the ruins of tyranny.

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 grass enough for the horses to pasture upon, and for the grooms to repose themselves by them. 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 that had possessed themselves of castles and strong holds, could be persuaded to quit them, or come down into the city, for they looked with hatred and horror upon the tribunals and other seats of government, as so many nurseries of tyrants. Timoleon and the Syracusans, therefore, wrote 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, being informed that Mago had killed himself, and that the Carthaginians, provoked at his bad conduct in the expedition had crucified his body, and were collecting great forces for the invasion of Sicily the ensuing summer.

These letters of Timoleon's being delivered, the Syracusan ambassadors attended at the same time, and begged of the Corinthians to take their city into their protection, and to become founders of it anew. They did not, however, hastily seize that 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 herald: "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 equal lots among them." Then they sent envoys into Asia and the islands, where they were told the greatest part of the exiles were dispersed, 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 justest praise, and the most distinguished glory, having delivered a Grecian city from tyrants, saved it from the barbarians, and restored the citizens to their country. But the persons who met on this occasion at Corinth, not being a sufficient number, desired that they might take others along with them from Corinth, and the rest of Greece, as new colonists, by which means, having made up their number full ten thousand, they sailed to Syracuse. By this time great multitudes from Italy and Sicily had flocked in to Timoleon, who finding their number 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, and so little able to furnish the supplies for the war, that they had sold the very statues, after having formed a judicial process against each, and passed sentence upon them, as if they had been so many criminals. On 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\* which he gained over the Carthaginians at Himera.

Syracuse being thus revived, and replenished with such a number of inhabitants who flocked to it from all quarters, Timoleon was desirous to bestow the blessing of liberty on the other cities also, and to extirpate arbitrary government 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 a glorious thing, that the tyrants of Sicily should be forced to live as exiles in the city which had colonized 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, † along with Cephalus and Dinarchus, lawgivers sent from Corinth. In the meanwhile, willing that the mercenaries should reap some advantage from the enemies' country, and be kept from inaction, he sent Dinarchus and Demaretus into the Carthaginian province. These 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, which carried 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. When the Carthaginians, therefore, found

\* He defeated Hamilcar, who landed in Sicily with three hundred thousand men, in the second year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad.

† Among other wise institutions, he appointed a chief magistrate to be chosen yearly, whom the Syracusans called the *Amphipolus* of Jupiter Olympis; thus giving him a kind of sacred character. The first *Amphipolus* was Commenes. Hence arose the custom among the Syracusans to compute their years by the respective governments of these magistrates: which custom continued in the time of Diodorus Siculus, that is, in the reign of Augustus, above three hundred years after the office of *Amphipolus* was first introduced.—*Diodor. Sicul.* l. xvi. c. 12.

that their Sicilian territories were laid waste, they marched, under the command of Asdrubal and Hamilcar, in great fury against the Corinthians.

Information of this being brought directly to Syracuse, the inhabitants were struck with such terror by that prodigious armament, that scarce 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 go against an army of seventy thousand men, with only five thousand foot and a thousand horse, and to draw his handful of men, too, eight days' march from Syracuse; by which means there could be no refuge for those that fled, nor burial for those that fell in battle."

Timoleon considered it as an advantage, that these cowards discovered themselves before the engagement; and having encouraged the rest, he led them hastily to the banks of the Crimesus, where the Carthaginians were drawn together.

The summer was now begun, and the end of the month *Thargelion* brought on the solstice; the river then sending up a thick mist, the field was covered with it at first, so that nothing in the enemies' camp was discernible, only an articulate 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 lay down their shields to take breath, the sun had raised the vapours higher, so that the fog being collected upon the summits, covered *them* only, 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 by the brightness of their armour, and the slowness and good order in which they moved. They were followed by the troops of other nations, who advanced 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 got over, and part preparing to pass it, and ordered Demaretus with the cavalry to attack the Carthaginians and put them in confusion, before they had time to arrange themselves in order of battle. Then he himself descended into the plain with the infantry, forming the wing out of other Sicilians, intermingling a few strangers with them; but the natives of Syracuse and the most warlike of the mercenaries he had placed about himself in the centre, and stopped a while to see the success of the horse. While he saw

that they could not come up to a grapple with the Carthaginians, by reason 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 to the charge, sometimes here and sometimes there, 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. His troops answering 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 himself thickening his first ranks, so as to join buckler to buckler, and causing the trumpet to sound, bore down upon the Carthaginians. They sustained the first shock 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 no 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 wind, rain and hail. The tempest was on the backs of the Greeks, but beat upon the faces of the barbarians, and almost blinded them with the stormy showers and the fire continually streaming from the clouds.

These things very much distressed the barbarians, particularly such of them as were not veterans. The greatest inconvenience seems to have been the roaring of the thunder, and the clattering of the rain and hail upon their arms, which hindered them from hearing the orders of their officers. Besides, the Carthaginians not being light, but heavy armed, as I said, the dirt was troublesome to them; and, as the bosoms of their tunics were filled with water, they were very unwieldy 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 out of the mire. For the river Crimesus, swollen partly by the rains, and partly having its course stopped by the vast numbers that crossed it, had overflowed its banks. The adjacent field, 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 continuing 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. Great numbers were overtaken in the field, and put to the sword; many took to the river, and, jostling with those that were yet passing it, were carried down and drowned. The major 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 natives of Carthage—a heavy loss to that city; for none of its citizens were superior to these, either in birth, fortune, or character, nor have we any account that so many Carthaginians ever fell before in one battle. As they mostly made use of Lybians, Spaniards, and Numidians, in their wars, if they lost a victory, it was at the expense of the blood of strangers.

The Greeks discovered by the spoils the quality of the killed. 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 manner 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 spoils 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 victory, Timoleon sent to Corinth the handsomest of the arms 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 displeasing monuments of kindred blood and domestic ruin, but with the spoils of barbarians, which bore this honourable inscription, declaring the justice as well as 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 acknowledgement to the gods."

After this, Timoleon left the mercenaries to lay waste the Carthaginian province, and returned to Syracuse. By an edict published there, he banished from Sicily the thousand hired soldiers who deserted him before the battle, and obliged them to quit Syracuse before the sun set. These wretches passed over into Italy, where they were treacherously slain by the Brutians. Such was the vengeance which heaven took of their perfidiousness.

Afterwards, when Timoleon was laying siege to Calauria, Icetes took the opportunity to make an inroad into the territories of Syracuse, where he met with considerable booty; and having made great havock, he marched back by Calauria itself, in contempt of Timoleon and the slender force he had with him. Timoleon suffered him to pass, and then followed him with his cavalry and light-armed foot. When Icetes saw he was pursued, he crossed the Damyrias, and stood 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 the banks on both sides. A strange dispute of jealousy and honour, which arose among the officers of Timoleon, awhile delayed the combat: for there was not one that was willing to go after another, but every man wanted to be foremost in the attack; so that their fording was likely to be very tumultuous and disorderly by their jostling each other, and pressing to get before. To remedy this, Timoleon ordered them to decide the matter by lot, and that each for this purpose, should give him his ring. He took the rings and shook them in the skirt of his robe, and the first that 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 took flight, throwing away their arms, and leaving a thousand of their men dead upon the spot.

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 horse, were brought to him bound by the soldiers. Icetes and his son were capitally punished, as tyrants and traitors to their country. Nor 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 he made to the Leontines, upon the Corinthians taking the field, "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 other injury better than disgrace. Every hostile deed is imputed to the necessity of war, but satirical and censorious expressions are considered as the effects of hatred or malignity.

When Timoleon was returned, the Syracusans brought the wife and daughters of Icetes to a public trial, who, being there condemned to die, were executed accordingly. This seems to be 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 given them up to the resentment of the people, who were willing to make some satisfaction to the *manes* of Dion, who expelled Dionysius. For Icetes was the man who threw Arete the wife of Dion, his sister Aristomache, and his son, who was 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.\* Mamercus was defeated and put to flight, with the loss of above

\* Ptolemy, and others, call this river, *Alabus*, *Alabis*, or *Alabon*. It is near Hyb'a, between Catana and Syracuse.



two thousand men, no small part of which consisted of the Punic succours sent by Gisco. Hereupon, 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;\* 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 permit all who desired it, to renounce all friendship and alliance with the tyrants."—Mamercus, reduced by this treaty to despair, set sail for Italy, with an intent to bring the Lucanians against Timoleon and the Syracusans. But instead of that, the crews tacking about with the galleys, and returning to Sicily, delivered up Catania to Timoleon; which obliged Mamercus to take refuge at Messena, with Hippo, prince of that city. Timoleon on 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, they first scourged him, and then put him to death.

Upon this Mamercus surrendered himself to Timoleon, agreeing to take his trial at Syracuse, on condition that Timoleon himself would not be his accuser. Being conducted to Syracuse, and brought before the people, he attempted to pronounce an oration which he had composed long before for such an occasion; but being received with noise and clamour, he perceived that the assembly were determined to show him no favour. He, therefore, 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, but did not succeed according to his wish; for he was taken up alive, and suffered the punishment of thieves and robbers.

In this manner did Timoleon extirpate tyranny, and put a period to the wars. He found the whole island turned almost wild and savage, so that its very inhabitants could hardly endure it, and yet he so civilized it again, and rendered it so desirable, that strangers came to settle in the country, from which its own people had lately fled; the great cities of Agrigentum and Gela, which, after the Athenian war, had been sacked and left desolate by the Carthaginians, were now peopled again; the former by Megellus and Peristus from Elea, and the latter by Gorgus from the isle of Ceos, who also collected and brought 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.

\* Plutarch probably took the name of this river as he found it in Diodorus: but other historians call it the *Hylicus*. Indeed, the Carthaginians might possibly give it the oriental aspirate *ha* which signifies no more than the particle *the*.

Nay, to that degree did he enjoy the affections of the Sicilians in general, that no war seemed concluded, no laws enacted, no lands divided, no political regulations made, in a proper manner, except it was revised and touched 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 great men, whose achievements were highly distinguished, Timotheus (for instance), Agesilaus, Pelopidas, and Epaminondas, the last of whom Timoleon principally vied with, in the course of glory, yet we may discern in their actions a certain labour and straining, which diminishes their lustre, and some of them have afforded room for censure, and been followed with repentance; whereas there is not one action of Timoleon (if we except the extremities he proceeded to in the case of his brother) to which we may not, with Timæus, apply that passage of Sophocles—

—What *Venus*, or what *Love*,  
Plac'd the fair parts in this harmonious whole?

For as the poetry of Antimachus\* and the portraits of Dionysius,† both of them Colophonians, with all the nerve and strength with which they abound, appear to be too much laboured, and smell too much of the lamp, whereas the paintings of Nicomachus‡ and the verses of Homer, besides their other excellencies, seem to have been struck off with readiness and ease; so, if we compare the exploits of Epaminondas and Agesilaus, performed with infinite pains and difficulty, with those of Timoleon, which, glorious as they were, had a great deal of freedom and ease in them, when we consider the case well, we shall conclude the latter, not to have been the work of fortune indeed, but the effects of fortunate virtue.

He himself, it is true, ascribed all his successes to fortune. For when he wrote to his friends at Corinth, or addressed the Syracusans, he often said, he was highly indebted to that goddess, when she was resolved to save Sicily, for doing it under his name. In his house he built a chapel, and offered sacrifices to *Chance*,§ and

\* Antimachus was an epic poet, who flourished in the days of Socrates and Plato. He wrote a poem called the *Thebaid*. Quintilian (x. l.) says, he had a force and solidity, together with an elevation of style, and had the second place given 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.

† Dionysius was a portrait painter.—*Plin.* xxxv. 10.

‡ Pliny tells us:—“Nicomachus painted with a swift as well as masterly hand; and that his pieces sold for as much as a town was worth.” Aristatus 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. Hereupon the tyrant talked of punishing him; but in those few days he completed the thing in an admirable manner, and entirely to his satisfaction.

§ 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.

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; he took no part in the troubles of Greece, nor exposed himself to public envy, the rock which great generals commonly split upon in their insatiable pursuits of honour and power, but he remained in Sicily, enjoying the blessings he had established: and of which the greatest of all was to see so many cities and so many thousands of people happy through his means.

But since, according to the comparison of Simonides, every republic must have some impudent slanderer, just as every lark must have a crest on its 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 the meanest 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 did not vouchsafe him any answer; he only said, "He could not sufficiently express his gratitude to the gods, for granting his request, in permitting him to see all the Syracusans enjoy the liberty of saying what they thought fit."

Having then confessedly performed greater things than any Grecian of his time, and been the only man who realized 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 its blood. He made his courage and conduct appear in his dealings with the foreigners 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; and yet, in less than eight years, he delivered Sicily from its 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 to be imputed to the caprice of fortune,\* but

\* Plutarch here hints at an opinion, which was very prevalent among the pagans,

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 it gradually impaired by years. Athanis tells us, that during the war with Hippo and Mameucus, and while he lay before Millæ, a white speck appeared on his eye, which was a plain indication that blindness was coming on. However, this did not hinder him from continuing the siege, and prosecuting the war, until he got the tyrants in his power. But when he returned to Syracuse, he laid down the command immediately, and excused himself to the people from any farther service, as he had brought their affairs to a happy conclusion.

It is not to be wondered, that he bore his misfortune without reining; 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 amongst them, to his house in 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 their pride that he chose to spend his days with them, and despised the splendid reception which Greece was prepared to give him. Among the many votes that were passed, and things that were done in honour of him, one of the most striking was the decree of the people of Syracuse, "That whenever they should be at war with a foreign nation, they would employ a Corinthian general." Their method of proceeding, too, in their assemblies, did honour to Timoleon; for they decided smaller matters by themselves, but consulted him in the more difficult and important cases. On 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 give time for their acclamations, took cognizance 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 waited on him out with loud applauses, despatched the rest of the public business without him.

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.\* Some time being given the Syracusans to prepare for his funeral, and for the neighbouring inhabitants and strangers to assemble, the whole was conducted with great magnificence. The bier, sumptuously adorn-

that if any person was signally favoured with success, there would some misfortune happen to counterbalance it. This they imputed to the envy of some malignant demon.

\* He died the last year of the hundred and tenth Olympiad, three hundred and thirty-five years before the Christian era.

ed, was carried by young men selected by the people, over the ground where the palace and castle of the tyrants stood, before they were demolished. It was followed by many thousands of men and women, in the most pompous solemnity, 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 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, through all time, with annual games, to be celebrated with performances in music, horse-racing and wrestling: as the man who destroyed tyrants, subdued barbarians, repopled great cities which lay desolate, and restored to the Sicilians their laws and privileges."

The body was interred, and a monument erected for him in the market-place, which they afterwards 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*. They continued to make use of the form of government and the laws that he established, and this ensured their happiness for a long course of years.\*

\* This prosperity was interrupted about thirty years after, by the cruelties of Agathocles.

## ARISTIDES.

*Flourished 460 years before Christ.*

ARISTIDES, the son of Lysimachus, was of the tribe of Antiochis, and the ward of Alopece. Of his estate we have different accounts. Some say, he was always very poor, and that he left two daughters behind him, who remained a long time unmarried, on account of their poverty.\* But Demetrius the Phalerian contradicts this general opinion in his *Socrates*, and says there was a farm at Phalera which went by the name of Aristides, and that there he was buried. But it is plain that Demetrius laboured to take the imputation of poverty, as if it were some great evil, not only from Aristides, but from Socrates, who, he says, besides a house of his own, had seventy minæ† at interest in the hands of Crito.

Aristides had a particular friendship for Clisthenes, who settled the popular government of Athens after the expulsion of the tyrants;‡ yet he had, at the same time, the greatest 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, who listed in the party of the commons. Some, indeed, say, that being brought up together from their infancy, when boys, they were all at variance, not only in serious matters, but in their very sports and 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, incapable of using any falsehood, flattery or deceit, even at play.

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 without respect of persons, he said, "May I never sit on 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 they asked; and as he saw that many, depending on their interest

\* And yet, according to a law of Solon's, the bride was to carry with her only three suits of clothes, and a little household stuff of small value.

† The minæ, is equal to 100 drachmas—£3 4s. 7d. sterling—in federal money, about \$14 34.

‡ These tyrants were Pisistratidæ, who were driven out about the sixty-sixth Olympiad.

and friends, were tempted to do unwarrantable things, he never endeavoured after that support, but declared, that a good citizen should place his whole strength and security in advising and doing what is just and right.

In the changes and fluctuations of the government, his firmness was wonderful. Neither elated with honours, nor discomposed with ill success, he went on in a moderate and steady manner, persuaded that his country had a claim to his services, without the reward either of honour or profit. Hence it was, that when those verses of Æschylus concerning Amphiarus were repeated on the stage :—

To be, and not to seem, is this man's maxim;  
His mind reposes on its proper wisdom,  
And wants no other praise\*—

the eyes of the people in general were fixed on Aristides, as the man to whom this great encomium was most applicable. Indeed, he was capable of resisting the suggestions, not only of favour and affection, but of resentment and enmity 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 rose up to his assistance, entreating that he might be heard, and have the privilege which the laws allowed. Another time when he himself sat 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 thee ; for it is thy cause I am judging, not my own."

When appointed public treasurer, he made it appear, that not only those of his time, but the officers that preceded him, had applied a great deal 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 misapplying the public money, and got him condemned. But the principal and most respectable of the citizens, † incensed at this treatment of Aristides, interposed, and prevailed, not only that he might be excused the fine, but chosen again chief treasurer. He now pretended that his former proceedings were too strict, and carrying a gentler hand over those that acted under him, suffered them to pil-

\* 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 Amphiarus, which the courier, who brings an account of the enemy's attacks, and of the characters of the commanders, gives to Eteocles. Plutarch has changed one word in them for another, that suited his purpose better; reading *just*, instead of *valiant*.

† The court of Areopagus interposed in his behalf.

fer the public money, without seeming to find them out, or reckoning strictly with them; so that, fattened on the spoils of their country, they lavished their praises on Aristides, and heartily espousing his cause, begged of the people to continue him in the same office. 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 ill men, than to take proper care of the public revenue." By thus speaking and discovering their frauds, he silenced those that recommended him with so much noise and bustle, but at the same time received the truest and most valuable praise from the worthiest of the citizens.

About this time Datis, who was sent by Darius, under pretence of chastising the Athenians for burning Sardis, 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 gave the management of this war, Miltiades was first in dignity, and next to him in reputation and authority was Aristides. In a council of war that was then held, Miltiades voted for giving the enemy battle,\* 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 gave up his right to Miltiades, thus showing his colleagues, that it was no disgrace to follow the directions of the wise, but that, on the contrary, it answered honourable and salutary purposes. By this means he laid the spirit of contention, and bringing them to agree in, and follow the best opinion, he strengthened the hands of Miltiades, who now had the absolute and undivided command; the other generals no longer insisting on their days, but entirely submitting to his orders.†

In this battle, the main body of the Athenian army was pressed the hardest,‡ because there for a long time the Persians made their

\* According to Herodotus (l. vi. c. 109.) the generals were very 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. Callimachus, whose voice was decisive according to the Athenian laws, joined directly with Miltiades, and declared for giving battle immediately. Possibly Aristides might have some share in bringing Callimachus to this resolution.

† Yet he would not fight until his own proper day of command came about, for fear that, through any latent sparks of jealousy and envy, any the generals should be led not to do their duty.

‡ The Athenians and Plataeans fought with such obstinate valour on the right and left, that the barbarians were forced to fly on both sides. 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, but did not



greatest efforts against the tribes Leontis and Antiochis; and Themistocles and Aristides, who belonged to those tribes, exerting themselves at the head of them, with all the spirit of emulation, behaved with so much vigour, that the enemy were put to flight, and driven back their ships. But the Greeks perceiving that the barbarians, instead of sailing to the isles, to return to Asia, were driven by the wind and currents towards Attica,\* and fearing that Athens, unprovided for its defence, might become an easy prey to them, marched home with nine tribes, and used such expedition, that they reached the city in one day.†

Aristides was left at Marathon with his own tribe, to guard the prisoners and the spoils; and he did not disappoint the public opinion: for though there was much gold and silver scattered about, and rich garments and other booty in abundance were found in the tents and ships which they had taken, he neither had an inclination to touch any thing himself, nor permitted others to do it.

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 Plataea, a little before his death.

Of all the virtues of Aristides, the people were most struck with his justice, because the public utility was the most promoted by it. Thus he, though a poor man and a commoner, gained the royal and divine title of *the Just*, which kings and tyrants have never been fond of. It has been their ambition to be styled *Takers of cities; Thunderbolts; Conquerors*. Nay, some have chosen to be called *Eagles* and *Vultures*, preferring the fame of power to that of virtue. The Deity himself, to whom they want to be compared, is distinguished by three things, immortality, power and virtue; and of these, virtue is most excellent and divine. They desire only the two first properties of the Deity; immortality, which our nature will not admit of; and power, which depends chiefly upon fortune; while they foolishly neglect virtue, the only divine quality in their power, not considering that it is justice alone, which makes the life of those that flourish most in prosperity and high stations, heavenly and divine, while injustice renders it grovelling and brutal.

Aristides at first was loved and respected for his surname of *the Just*, and afterwards envied as much; the latter, chiefly by the management of Themistocles, who gave it out among the people, that

attempt to succour it, till they had put to flight both the wings of the Persian army; then bending the points of the wings towards their own centre, they enclosed the hitherto victorious Persians, and cut them in pieces.

\* It was reported in those times, that the Alcmaeonidæ encouraged the Persians to make a second attempt, by holding up, as they approached the shore, a shield for a signal. However, it was the Persian fleet that endeavoured to double the cape of Junium, with a view to surprise the city of Athens before the army could return.—*Herodot.* l. vi. c. 101. &c.

† From Marathon to Athens is about forty miles.

Aristides had abolished the courts of judicature, by drawing the arbitration of all causes to himself, and so was insensibly gaining sovereign power, though without guards and the other ensigns of it. 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.

The ostracism was conducted in the following manner: every citizen took a piece of a broken pot, or a shell, on which he wrote the name of the person he wished to have banished, and carried it to a part of the market-place that was enclosed with wooden rails. The magistrates then counted the number of the shells, and if it amounted not to six thousand the ostracism stood for nothing; if it did, they sorted the shells, and the person whose name was found on 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, it is reported that an illiterate burgher came to Aristides, whom he took for some ordinary person, and giving him his shell, desired him to write Aristides upon it. The good man, surprised at this adventure, asked him, "Whether 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 towards heaven, and, agreeably to his character, made a prayer very different from that of Achilles; namely, that the people of Athens might never see the day, which should force them to remember Aristides."

Three years after, when Xerxes was passing through Thessaly and Bœotia by long marches to Attica, the Athenians reversed 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 part of the citizens, and draw them over to the interest of the Persians. But they little knew the man. Before this decree 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 counsel, not disdainingly 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,\* and before he could put his purpose

\* 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

in execution, the enemy's fleet, taking the advantage of the night, had surrounded the islands, and in a manner blocked up the straits, without any one perceiving that the confederates were so hemmed in, Aristides sailed the same night from Ægina, and passed with the utmost danger through the Persian fleet. As soon as he reached the tent of Themistocles, he desired to speak with him in private, and then 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 general, and I in assisting you with my service and advice. I find that you alone have hit upon the best measures, in advising to come immediately to an engagement 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 come to an action and acquit themselves like men, there being no room left for flight."

Themistocles answered, "I could have wished, Aristides, that you had not been beforehand with me in this noble emulation; but I will endeavour to outdo this happy beginning of your's by my future actions." At the same time he acquainted him with the stratagem he had contrived to ensnare the barbarians,\* and then desired him to go, and make it appear to Eurybiades, that there could be no safety for them without venturing a sea-fight there; for he knew that Aristides had much greater influence over him than he. In the council of war, assembled on this occasion, Cleocritus the Corinthian said to Themistocles, "Your advice is not agreeable to Aristides, since he is here present and says nothing." "You are mistaken," said Aristides, "for I should not have been silent, had not the counsel of Themistocles been the most eligible; and now I hold my peace, not out of regard to the man, but because I approve his sentiments."

Aristides, 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 the island, 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. After this Aristides placed a strong guard round the island, to take notice of such as were driven ashore there, so that none of his friends might perish, nor any of the enemy escape.†

fight the Persian fleet, which was so vastly superior in numbers, with much greater advantage than in the gulf of Corinth, where there was an open sea.

\* The stratagem was to send one 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 must fall upon them immediately, before they dispersed.

† The battle of Salamis was fought in the year before Christ 480.

For about Psyttalia the battle raged the most, and the greatest efforts were made, as appears from the trophy erected there.

When the battle was over, Themistocles, by way of sounding Aristides, said, "That great things were already done, but greater still remained; for they might conquer Asia in Europe, by making all the sail they could to the Hellespont, to break down the bridge." But Aristides exclaimed against the proposal, and bade him think no more of it, but rather consider and inquire what would be the speediest method of driving the Persian out of Greece, lest, finding himself shut up with such immense forces, and no way left to escape, necessity might bring him to fight with the most desperate courage. Hereupon, Themistocles sent to Xerxes the second time, by the eunuch Arnaces, one of the prisoners,\* to acquaint him privately, that the Greeks were strongly inclined to make the best of their way to the Hellespont, to destroy the bridge which he had left there; but that, in order to save his royal person, Themistocles was using his best endeavours to dissuade them from it. Xerxes, terrified at this news, made all possible haste to the Hellespont, leaving Mardonius behind him with the land-forces, consisting 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 this style: "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 fields of Bœotia, where both horse and foot may fight to the best advantage." To the Athenians he wrote in particular, being authorized by the king to assure them that their city should be rebuilt, large sums bestowed upon them, and the sovereignty of Greece put in their hands, if they would take no farther share in the war.†

As soon as the Lacedæmonians had intelligence of these proposals, they were greatly alarmed, and sent ambassadors to Athens, to entreat the people to send their wives and children to Sparta,‡ and to accept from them what was necessary for the support of such as were in years: for the Athenians having lost both their city and country, were in great distress. Yet, when they had heard what the ambassadors had to say, they gave them such an answer, by the direction of Aristides, as can never be sufficiently

\* This expedient answered two purposes. By it he drove the king of Persia out of Europe, and in appearance conferred an obligation upon him, which might be remembered to the advantage of Themistocles when he came to have occasion for it.

† He made these proposals by Alexander king of Macedon, who delivered them in a set speech.

‡ They did not 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 foremost in the cause of liberty: and that there was no reason to believe the Persians would observe any terms with a people they hated.

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 displeas'd that the Lacedæmonians should regard only their present poverty and distress, and, forgetful of their virtue and magnanimity, call upon them to fight for Greece, for the paltry consideration of a supply of provisions." Aristides having drawn up this answer in the form of a decree, and calling all the ambassadors to an audience in full assembly, bade those of Sparta tell the Lacedæmonians, "That the people of Athens would not take all the gold, either above or under ground, for the liberties of Greece."

As for those of Mardonius, he pointed to the sun, and told them, "As long as that 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 priests should solemnly execrate all that should dare to propose an embassy to the Medes, or talk of deserting the alliance of Greece.

When Mardonius had entered Attica the second time, the Athenians retired again to Salamis; and Aristides, who, on that occasion went ambassador to Sparta, complain'd to the Lacedæmonians of their delay and neglect in abandoning Athens once more to the barbarians, and press'd them to hasten to the succour of that part of Greece which was not yet fallen into the enemy's hands. The Ephori gave him the hearing,\* but seem'd attentive to nothing but mirth and diversion, for it was the festival of Hyacinthus.† 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 smil'd, and told him that he did but trifle or dream, since their army was at that time as far as Orestium, on their march against the foreigners." Aristides told them, "It was not a time to jest, or to put their stratagems in practice upon their friends, but on their enemies."

Aristides was appointed to command the Athenians in the battle that was expected, and march'd with eight thousand foot to Plataea. There Pausanias, who was commander in chief of all the confederates, join'd him with his Spartans, and the other Grecian troops arriv'd daily in great numbers. The Persian army, which was encamp'd along the river Asopus, occupi'd an immense tract

\* They put off their answer from time to time, until they had gain'd ten days; in which time they finish'd the wall across the isthmus, which secur'd them against the barbarians.

† Among the Spartans, the feast of Hyacinthus last'd three days; the first and last were days of sorrow and mourning for Hyacinthus's death; but the second was a day of rejoicing, celebrat'd with all manner of diversions.

of ground ; and they had fortified a spot ten furlongs square, for their baggage and other things of value.

While the fate of Greece was in suspense, the affairs of the Athenians were in a very dangerous posture. For those of the best families and fortunes, being reduced by the wars and seeing their authority in the state and their distinction gone with their wealth, and others rising to honours and employments, assembled privately in a house at Platæa, and conspired to abolish the democracy, and, if that did not succeed, to ruin all Greece, and betray it to the Persians. When Aristides got intelligence of the conspiracy thus entered into in the camp, and found that numbers were corrupted, he was greatly alarmed at its happening at such a crisis, and unresolved at first how to proceed. At length he determined neither to leave the matter uninquied into, nor yet to sift it thoroughly, because he knew not how far the contagion had spread, and thought it advisable to sacrifice justice, in some degree, to the public good, by forbearing to prosecute many that were guilty. He therefore caused only eight persons to be apprehended, and, of those eight, no more than two, who were most guilty, to be proceeded against, *Æschines* of Lampra, and *Agesias* of Acharnæ, and even *they* made their escape during the prosecution. As for the rest, he discharged them, and gave them, and all who were concerned in the plot, opportunity to recover their spirits and change 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 might 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,\* *Mardonius*, to make a trial of the 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 by this means suffered much by the enemies' horse, who 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 a shower of darts and arrows, and that they were forced to contract themselves within a narrow compass, was at a loss what to resolve on, for he knew that his heavy armed Spartans were not fit to act against cavalry. He endeavoured, therefore,

\* The battle of Platæa was fought in the year before Christ 479, the year after that of Salamis. Herodotus was then about nine or ten years old, and had his accounts from persons that were present in the battle. And he informs us, that the circumstances here related by Plutarch, happened before the Greeks left their camp at *Erythræ*, in order to encamp round to Platæa, and before the contest between the *Tegetæ* and the Athenians.—Lib. ix. c. 29, 30, &c.

to awaken the emulation of the generals and other officers that were about him, that they might make it a point of honour voluntarily to undertake the defence and 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. They were all ready in a moment, and ran to attack the barbarians. Masistius, 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 a specimen 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 because of the weight of his armour, nor yet be easily slain by the Athenians that strove which should do it first, because not only his body and his head, but 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 and fled.

The importance of this achievement appeared to the Greeks, not by the number of their enemies lying dead upon the field, for that was but small, but by 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 that was next to Mardonius in courage and authority.

After this engagement with the Persian cavalry, both sides forbore the combat a long time; for the diviners, 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. But at length Mardonius, seeing but a few days provision left, and that the Grecian forces increased daily by the arrival of fresh troops, grew uneasy at the delay, and resolved to pass the Asopus next morning by break of day, 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 sentinels, bade them call Aristides the Athenian general to him. Aristides came immediately, and the unknown person said, "I am Alexander king of Macedon, who, for the friendship I bear you, have exposed myself to the greatest dangers, to prevent your fighting under the disadvantage of a surprise. For Mardonius will give you battle to-morrow; not that he is induced to it by any well-grounded hope or prospect of success, but by the scarcity of pro-

visions." Alexander having thus<sup>1</sup> opened himself to Aristides, desired him to take notice and avail himself of the intelligence, but not to communicate it to any other person.\* Aristides, however, thought it wrong to conceal it from Pausanias, who was commander in chief; but he promised not to mention the thing to any one besides, until after the battle, and assured him at the same time, that if the Greeks proved victorious, the whole army should be acquainted with this kindness. The king of Macedonia then returned to the Persian camp.

Aristides went immediately to the tent of Pausanias, and laid the whole before him: whereupon the other officers were sent for, and ordered to put the troops under arms, and have them ready for battle. At the same time, 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 more bravery, because they had made proof of their manner of fighting, and with greater assurance of success, because they had already succeeded. As for the left wing, which would have to do with those Greeks that had embraced the Median interest, he intended to command there himself.† But the Thebans being informed of this by deserters, 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 that were of his party, to the left, opposite to the Athenians. This change in the disposition of the enemies' 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 enemies' horse.

When night was come,‡ 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 were no sooner out of their first entrenchments, than many of them made off to the city of Plataea, and either dispersing there, or pitching their tents without any regard to discipline, were in the utmost confusion. It happened that the

\* According to Herodotus, Alexander had excepted Pausanias out of this charge of secrecy: and this is most probable, because Pausanias was commander in chief.

† Herodotus says the contrary; namely, that all the Athenian officers were ambitious of that post, but did not think proper to propose it, for fear of disobliging the Spartans.

‡ On this occasion Mardonius did not fail to insult Artabazus, reproaching him with his cowardly prudence, and the false notion he had conceived of the Lacedæmonians, who, as he pretended, never fled before the enemy.



Lacedæmonians alone were left behind, though against their will. For Amompharetus, an intrepid man, who had long been eager to engage, and uneasy to see the battle so often put off and delayed, plainly called this decampment a disgraceful flight, and declared, "He would not quit his post, but remain there with his troops, and stand it out against Mardonius." And when Pausanias represented to him, that this measure was taken in pursuance of the counsels 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 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: at the same time he marched with the rest of the troops towards Platæa, hoping by that means to draw Amompharetus after him.

By this time it was day, and Mardonius,\* 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 setting up such shouts, and clanking their arms in such a manner, as if they expected to have only the plundering of fugitives, and not a battle: and indeed it was like to have been so; for though Pausanias, upon seeing this motion of Mardonius, stopped, and ordered every one to his post, yet, either confused with his resentment against Amompharetus, or with the sudden attack of the Persians, he forgot to give his troops the word; and for that reason 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 wait 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 whom was Callicrates, a man who for size and beauty exceeded the whole army. This brave soldier being shot with an arrow, and ready to expire, said, "He did not lament his death, 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."

\* Having passed the Asopus, he came up with the Lacedæmonians and Tegeæ, who were separated from the body of the army, to the number of fifty-three thousand. 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 put themselves on their march 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 wonderful; for they made no defence against the enemies' charge, but waiting the time of heaven and their general, suffered themselves to be wounded and slain in their ranks.

Pausanias, extremely afflicted at these circumstances, while the priests offered sacrifice upon sacrifice, turning towards 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 not decreed that the Grecians should conquer, they might at least be permitted to sell their lives dear, and show the enemy by their deeds, that they had brave men and experienced soldiers to deal with.

The very moment that Pausanias was uttering this prayer, this token so much desired appeared in the victim, and the diviners announced him victory. Orders were immediately given the whole army to come to action, and the Spartan phalanx all at once had 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 and 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. However, when they were down, 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 and battle-axes, and wresting away their enemies' shields and grappling close with them, made a long and 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 towards the place where the noise was heard, the Greeks, who sided with the enemy, pushed against them. As soon as Aristides saw them, he advanced 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, who were running to the succour of those that were now the first to hazard their lives for the safety of Greece." 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 greatest part soon gave way and retreated, especially when they heard that the barbarians were put to flight. The sharpest part of this 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 carried out the common people against their inclination.

The battle thus divided into two parts, the Lacedæmonians first broke and routed the Persians; and Mardonius\* himself was slain by a Spartan named Arimnestus,† who fractured his skull with a stone. The barbarians, flying before the Spartans, were pursued to their camp, which they had fortified with wooden walls; and soon after the Athenians routed the Thebans, killing three hundred persons of the first distinction on the spot. Just as the Thebans began to give way, news was brought 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, they attacked and took the camp,‡ with a prodigious slaughter of the enemy. For it is said that of three hundred thousand men, only forty thousand escaped with Artabazus;§ whereas of those that fought in the cause of Greece, no more were slain than one thousand three hundred and sixty; among whom were fifty-two Athenians, all, according to Clidemus, of the tribe Aiantis, which greatly distinguished itself in that action. The Lacedæmonians lost ninety-one, and the Tegetæ sixteen.

This victory went near to 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 the decision of the sword, had not Aristides taken great pains to explain the matter, and pacify the other generals, particularly Leocrates and Mironides, persuading them to leave it to the judgment of the Greeks. A council was called accordingly, in which Theogiton gave it as his opinion, "that those two states should give up the palm to a third, if they desired to prevent a civil war." Cleocritus the Corinthian rose up, and it was expected he would

\* Mardonius, mounted on a white horse, signalized himself greatly; and, at the head of a thousand chosen men, killed a great number of the enemy, but when he fell, the whole Persian army was easily routed.

† In some copies he is called Diamnestus. Arimnestus was general of the Platæans.

‡ 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. They gave the tenth of all to Pausanias.

§ Artabazus, who, from Mardonius's 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 he had commanded, arrived safe at Byzantium, and from thence passed over into Asia. Besides these, only three thousand men escaped.—*Herodot.* l. ix. c. 31—63.

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 neither of the contending parties could be jealous of them." Aristides was the first to give up the point for the Athenians, and then Pausanias did the same for the Lacedæmonians.\*

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. Both the Lacedæmonians and Athenians erected trophies separately.

In the first general assembly of the Greeks after this victory, Aristides proposed a decree, "That deputies from all the states of Greece must meet annually at Platæa, to sacrifice to Jupiter *the deliverer*, and that every fifth year they should celebrate the games of *liberty*: that a general levy should be made through Greece of ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and an hundred ships, for the war against the barbarians; and that the Platæans should be exempt, being set apart for the service of the god, to propitiate him in behalf of Greece, and consequently their persons to be esteemed sacred."

These articles passing into a law, the Platæans undertook to celebrate the anniversary of those that were slain and buried in that place. When the Athenians returned home, Aristides observing that they endeavoured 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 force them to depart from their purpose; and therefore he caused a decree to be made, that all the citizens should have a share in the administration, and that the *archons* should be chosen out of the whole body of them.

Themistocles having one day declared to the general assembly, that he had thought of an expedient which was very salutary at Athens, † but ought to be kept secret, he was ordered to communicate it to Aristides only, and abide by his judgment. Accordingly he told him, his project was to burn the whole fleet of the confederates, by which means the Athenians would be raised to the sovereignty of all Greece. Aristides returned to the assembly, and acquainted the Athenians, "That nothing could be more

\* As to the individuals, when they came to determine which had behaved with most courage, they all gave judgment 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.

† This was before the battle of Platæa, at the time when Xerxes was put to flight, and driven back into Asia.

advantageous than the project of Themistocles, nor any thing more unjust :” And upon his report of the matter, they commanded Themistocles to give over all thoughts of it. Such regard had that people for justice, and so much confidence in the integrity of Aristides.

Some time after this,\* 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 with Cimon to behave with equal affability to the whole league. Thus he insensibly drew the chief command from the Lacedæmonians, not by force of arms, but by his gentle and obliging deportment. For the justice of Aristides, and the candour of Cimon, having made the Athenians very agreeable to the confederates, their regard was increased by the contrast they found in Pausanias’s avarice and severity of manners.

The sea-captains and land-officers of the Greeks therefore, pressed Aristides to take upon him the command of the confederate forces, and to receive them into his protection. 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.” Hereupon Uliades of Samos, and Antagoras of Chios, conspiring together, went boldly and attacked Pausanias’s galley, at the head of the fleet.

On this occasion, the magnanimity of the Spartan people appeared with great lustre. For as soon as they perceived their generals were spoiled with too much power, they sent no more, but voluntarily gave up their pretensions to the chief command, choosing rather to cultivate in their citizens a principle of modesty and tenaciousness of the laws and customs of their country, than to possess the sovereign command of Greece.

While the Lacedæmonians had the command, the Greeks paid a certain tax towards the war : and now being desirous that every city might be equally rated, they begged of the Athenians that Aristides might take it upon him, and gave him instructions to inspect their lands and revenues, in order to proportion the burden of each to its ability.

Aristides, invested with this authority, which in a manner made him master 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 tenderness and humanity, that his assessment was agreeable and convenient to all. And as the ancients praised the time of Saturn,

\* Eight years after.

so the allies of Athens blessed the settlements of Aristides, calling it the "the happy fortune of Greece;" a compliment which soon after appeared still more just, when the taxation was twice or three times as high.

The great and illustrious character which Aristides acquired by the equity of this taxation, piqued 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 he took but a feeble revenge for the freedom of Aristides. For one day Themistocles happening to say, "That he looked upon it as the principal excellence of a general to know and foresee the designs of an enemy." Aristides answered, "That is indeed a necessary qualification but there is another very excellent one, and highly 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, at the same time that he uttered the execration on those that should break the articles, he threw red-hot pieces of iron into the sea.\* However, when the urgency of affairs afterwards 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.† Upon the whole, Theophrastus says, that in all his own private concerns, and in those of his fellow citizens, he was inflexibly just; but, in affairs of state, he did many things according to the exigency of the case, to serve his country, which seemed often to have need of 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 its coming to his turn to speak, he said, "It was not just, but it was expedient."

This must be said, notwithstanding, that though he extended the dominions of Athens over so many people, he himself continued poor, and esteemed his poverty no less a glory than all the laurels he had won. The following is a clear proof of it. Callias, the torch-bearer, who was his near relative, was prosecuted in a capital cause by his enemies. When they had alleged what they had against him, which was nothing very flagrant, they launched out

\* As much as to say, as the fire in these two pieces of iron is extinguished in a moment, so may their days be extinct who break this covenant.

† Thus even the just, the upright Aristides, made a distinction between his private and 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 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 in their character.

into something foreign to their own charge, 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 he who shivers here with cold for want of clothing, be almost famished there, and destitute of all necessaries? Yet this is the man whom Callias, his cousin-german, and the richest man in Athens, absolutely neglects, and leaves, with his wife and children, in such wretchedness; though he has often made use of him, and availed himself of his interest with you." Callias, perceiving that this point affected and exasperated his judges more than any thing else, called Aristides to testify before the court, that he had many times offered him considerable sums, and strongly pressed him to accept them, but 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 in 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.

We have extraordinary instances of the candour with which he behaved towards Themistocles. For though he was his constant enemy in all affairs of government, and the means of his banishment, yet when Themistocles was accused of capital crimes against the state, and he had an opportunity to pay him in kind, he indulged not the least revenge; but, while Alcmaeon, 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 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 about some business of the state; others say he died at Athens, full of days, honoured and admired by his fellow citizens. But Craterus, the Macedonian, gives us another account of the death of this great man. He tells us, that after the banishment of Themistocles, the insolence of the people gave encouragement to a number of villainous informers, who, attacking the greatest and best men, rendered them obnoxious to the populace, now much elated with prosperity and power. Aristides himself was not spared, but, on a charge brought against him by Diaphantus of Amphitrope, was condemned for taking a bribe of the Ionians at the time he levied 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, nor does he allege any register of court, or decree the people, though on other occasions he is full of such proofs, and constantly cites his author. The other historians, without exception, who have given us an account of the unjust behaviour of the people of Athens to their generals, among many other instances, dwell upon the banishment of Themistocles, the imprisonment of Miltiades, the fine imposed upon Pericles, and the death of Paches, who, upon receiving sentence, killed himself in the judgment hall, at the foot of the tribunal. Nor do they forget the banishment of Aristides, but they say not a word of his condemnation.

His monument at Phalerum is said to have been erected at the public charge, because he did not leave enough to defray the expenses of his funeral. The city likewise provided for the marriage of his daughters, and each of them had three thousand drachmæ to her portion out of the treasury; and to his son Lysimachus, the people of Athens gave an hundred minæ of silver, and a plantation of as many acres of land, with a pension of four drachmæ a day;\* the whole being confirmed to him by a decree drawn up by Alcibiades.

\* Though this may seem no extraordinary matter to us, being only about 55 1-2 cents of federal money, yet in those days it was; for an ambassador was allowed only two drachmæ a day, as appears from the *Acharnenses* of Aristophanes. The poet, indeed, speaks of one sent to the king of Persia, at whose court an ambassador was pretty sure to be enriched.



## CATO THE CENSOR

*Flourished 640 years before Christ.*

IT is said that Marcus Cato was born at Tusculum, of which place his family originally was, and that before he was concerned in civil or military affairs, he lived upon an estate which his father 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 grandfather received several military rewards, and that having had five horses killed under him, he had the value of them paid out of the treasury, as an acknowledgement of his gallant behaviour.

Inured to labour and temperance, and brought up in camps, he had an excellent constitution with respect to strength as well as health. Considering eloquence not only useful but necessary for every man who does not choose to live obscure and inactive, he exercised and improved that talent in the neighbouring boroughs and villages, but undertaking the causes of such as applied to him; so that he was soon allowed to be an able pleader, and afterwards a good orator.

From this time all that 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 fee or reward, but it appeared that the honour to be gained in that department 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 tells us, he made his first campaign at seventeen years of age, when Hannibal was laying Italy waste with fire and sword. In battle he stood firm, had a sure and executing hand, 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 behaviour often strikes an adversary with greater 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 it is said, he never was angry or found fault with that servant, whatever he set before him; but when he was at leisure from military duty he would assist him in dressing it. All the time he was in the army, he drank nothing but water, ex-

cept that when almost burnt up with thirst, he would ask for a little vinegar, or when he found his strength and spirits exhausted, he would take a little wine

Near his country-seat was a cottage which formerly belonged to Manius Curius,\* 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 think of the peculiar virtues of Dentatus, who, though he was the greatest man in Rome, had subdued the most warlike nations, and driven Pyrrhus out of Italy, cultivated this little spot of ground with his own hands, and, after three triumphs, lived in this cottage. Here the ambassadors of the Samnites found him in the chimney corner dressing turnips, and offered a large present of gold; but he refused it and gave them this answer: "A man who can be satisfied with such a supper, has no need of gold; and I think it more glorious to conquer the owners of it, than to have it myself." Full of these thoughts, Cato returned home, and taking a view of his own estate, his servants, and manner of living, added to his own labour, and retrenched his unnecessary expenses.

When Fabius Maximus took the city of Tarentum, Cato, who was then very young, † 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 that Plato advances, "That pleasure is the greatest incentive to evil; that the greatest burden and calamity to the soul is the body, from which she cannot disengage 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 Grecian writers, among whom he improved his eloquence, somewhat by Thucydides, but by Demosthenes very greatly. Indeed, his own writings are sufficiently adorned with precepts and examples borrowed from the Greek, and among his maxims and sentences we find many that are literally translated from the same originals.

At that time there flourished a Roman nobleman of great power and eminence, called Valerius Flaccus, whose penetration enabled him to distinguish a rising genius and virtuous disposition, and whose benevolence inclined him to encourage and conduct it in

\* Manius Curius Dentatus triumphed twice in his first consulate, in the four hundred and sixty-third year of Rome, first over the Samnites and afterwards over the Sabines. And eight years after that, in his third consulate, he triumphed over Pyrrhus. After this, he led up the less triumph, called *Ovation*, for his victory over the Lucanians.

† Fabius Maximus took Tarentum in his fifth consulate, in the year of Rome 544. Cato was then twenty-three years old; but he had made his first campaign under the same Fabius five years before.

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 used 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 own farm, where, in a coarse frock, if it was winter, and naked if it was summer, he would labour with his domestics, and afterwards sit down with them, and eat the same kind of bread, and drink the same wine. They related also many other instances of his condescension and moderation, and mentioned several of his short sayings that were 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 wanted only cultivation, and deserved to be removed to a better soil. He therefore persuaded him to go to Rome, and apply himself to affairs of state.

There his pleadings soon procured him friends and admirers; the interest of Valerius, too, greatly assisted his rise to preferment; so that he was first made a military tribune, and afterwards quæstor. And having gained great reputation and honour in those employments, he was joined with Valerius himself in the highest dignities, being his colleague both as consul and as censor.

His excellence as a speaker awakened a general emulation among the youth to distinguish themselves the same way: but few were willing to imitate him in the ancient custom of tilling the field with their own hands, in 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 its primitive purity and integrity. Justly, therefore, was Cato entitled to admiration, when the other citizens were frightened at labour, and enervated by pleasure, and he alone was unconquered by either, not only while young and ambitious, but when old and grey-haired, after his consulship and triumph; like a brave wrestler, who, after he has been victorious, observes the common rules, and continues his exercises to the last.

He himself tells us that he never wore a garment that cost 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, that he might be able to endure the harder service in war.

Some imputed these things to a narrowness of spirit, while others supposed that he betook himself to his 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 burden, and turning them off, or selling them, when grown old, to the account of a mean and ungenerous spirit, which thinks that the sole tie between man and man is interest or necessity. But goodness moves in a larger sphere than justice: the obligations of law and equity reach only to mankind, but kindness and beneficence should be extended to creatures of every species. A good man will take care of his horses and dogs, not only while they are young, but when old and past service.

Cato 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 midimnus and a half of barley for his horses. And when he was governor of Sardinia, though his predecessors had put the province to a very great expense for pavillions, bedding, and apparel, and still more by the number of friends and servants they had about them, and by the great and sumptuous entertainments they gave; he, on the contrary, was as remarkable for his frugality. Indeed, he put the public to no manner of charge. Instead of making use of a carriage, he walked from one town to another, attended by only one officer, who carried his robe and a vessel for libations. But if in these things he appeared plain and easy to those that were under his command, he preserved a gravity and severity in every thing else. For he was inexorable in every thing that 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 awful or so amiable.\*

Being persuaded that a man's disposition may be discovered much better by his speech than by his looks, I shall set down some of Cato's remarkable sayings.

One day, when the Romans clamoured violently and unreasonably for a 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." Another time, complaining of the luxury of the Romans, he said, "It was a hard matter to save that city from ruin, where a fish was sold for more than an ox." On another occasion he said, "The Roman people were like sheep, for as those can scarce be brought to stir singly, but all in a body readily follow their leaders, just such 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 said, "All men naturally govern the women, we govern all men,

\* 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.

and our wives govern us." 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 esteem and commend." Exhorting the people to virtue, he said, "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." He found fault with the people for often choosing the same persons consuls. "You either," said he, "think the consulate of little worth, or that there are but few worthy of the consulate." Concerning one of his enemies, who led a very profligate and infamous life, he said, "His mother takes it for a curse and not a prayer, when any one wishes this 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 that 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 the ease imaginable." When king Eumenes\* came to Rome, the senate received him with extraordinary respect, and the great men strove which should do him the most honour, but Cato visibly neglected and shunned him. Upon which somebody said, "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,† and of all the kings that have been so much cried up, I find not one to be compared with an Epaminondas, a Themistocles, a Manius Curius, or with Hamilcar, surnamed Barca.

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 had rather his good actions should go unrewarded, than his bad ones unpunished ; and that he pardoned every body's faults sooner than his own." The Romans having sent three ambassadors to the king of Bithynia, of whom one had the gout, another had his skull trepanned, and third was reckoned little better than a fool, Cato smiled and said, "They had sent an embassy which had neither feet, head, nor heart." When Scipio applied to him, at the request of Polybius, in behalf of the Achæan‡

\* Eumenes went to Rome in the year of Rome 581. Cato was then thirty-nine years old.

† This jest is taken from the first book of Homer's Iliad.

‡ The Achæans, in the first year of the hundred and fifty-third Olympiad, entered into measures for delivering up their country to the king of Persia, but being discovered, 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, which was particularly made in favour of Polybius, who was one of the number.

exiles, and the matter was much canvassed in the senate, some speaking for their being restored, 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 those of our their country." The senate then decreed, that the exiles should return home; and Polybius, some days after, endeavoured to procure another meeting of that respectable body, to restore those exiles to their former honours in Achaia. Upon this affair he sounded Cato, who answered smiling, "This is just as if Ulysses should have wanted to enter the Cyclop's cave again, for a hat and belt which he had left behind." It was a saying of his, "That wise men learn more from fools, than fools from the wise: for the wise avoid the error of fools, while fools do not profit by the examples of the wise." Another of his sayings was, "That he liked a young man that blushed, more than one that turned pale; and that he did not like a soldier who moved his hands in marching, and his feet in fighting, and who snored louder in bed than he shouted in battle." Jestng upon a very fat man, he said, "Of what service to his country can such a body be, which is nothing but belly?" When an epicure desired so be admitted into his friendship, he said, "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 never repented but of three things; the first was, 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 passed one day without having a will by him."\* To an old debauchee he said, "Old age has deformities enough of its own; do not add to it the deformity of vice." A tribune of the people, who had the character of a poisoner, proposing a bad law, and taking great pains to have it passed, Cato said to him, "Young man, I know not which is most dangerous, to drink what you mix, or to enact what you propose." Being scurrilously treated by a man who led a dissolute and infamous life, he said, "It is upon very unequal terms that I contend with you; for you are accustomed to be spoken ill of, and can speak it with pleasure; but with me it is unusual to hear it, and disagreeable to speak 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.† While he was subduing some of the na-

\* This has been misunderstood by all the translators, who have agreed in rendering it, "that he had passed one day idly."

† As Cato's troops consisted for the most part of raw soldiers, he took great pains to discipline them, considering 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,

tions there by arms, and winning others by kindness, a great army of barbarians fell upon him, and he was in danger of being driven out with dishonour. On 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 expense; and if we are conquered, there will be no body either to pay or make the demand." He gained the battle, and every thing afterwards succeeded to his wish.

While he was settling the affairs of Spain, Scipio the Great, who was his enemy, and wished to break the course of his success, and 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 the command of the army from him. But Cato, hearing of his march, took five companies of foot, and five hundred horse, as a convoy to attend upon Scipio, and as he went to meet him, defeated the Lacetanians, 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 the commonalty, and if plebeians, like himself, would contend for excellence with men of birth and quality." Besides, as the senate had decreed, that nothing should be altered which Cato had ordered and established, the post which Scipio had made so much interest for, rather 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 act afterwards 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 business, and give up 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,\* as his lieutenant; and as a legionary tribune, he attended Manius Acilius Glabrio into Greece, in the war against Antiochus the Great, who, next to Hannibal, was the most formidable enemy the Romans ever had. For having re-

that his soldiers might place all their hopes in their valour. With the same view, when he came near the enemy, he took a compass, and posted his army behind them in the plain, so that the Spaniards were between him and his camp.

\* The year after his consulship, and the second year of the hundred and forty-sixth Olympiad.

covered 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 match for him in the field. 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, for being lately delivered by the favour of the Romans from the yoke of Philip and the Macedonians, they were free already, and were governed by their own laws.

At his approach, all Greece was in great commotion, and unresolved how to act; being corrupted with the splendid hopes infused by the orators whom Antiochus had gained.

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 the Persians had taken on a like occasion, set out in the night with a proper detachment.

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, seeing the danger, ordered them to halt, while he with one Lucius Manlius, who was dexterous in climbing the steep mountains, 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 that 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. 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 a little after, 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 wanted to speak with them in private.\* These were troops whose fidelity and courage he had experienced on the most dangerous occasions. They hastened into his presence, when he thus addressed them: "I want to take one of the enemy alive, to learn of him who, and how many, compose this advanced guard, what is the disposition and order of the 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."

\* Firmium was a Roman colony in the Picena.



When Cato had done speaking, the Firmians, without further preparation, poured down the mountain, surprised the advanced guard, dispersed them, took one armed man, and brought him to Cato. The prisoner informed 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, as well on account of their small number, as their negligence, drew his sword, and rushed upon them with all the alarm of voices and trumpets. The Ætolians no sooner saw him descend from the mountains, than they fled to the main body, and put the whole in the utmost confusion.

At the same time Manius forced the entrenchments of Antiochus 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 stand the shock of the Romans.

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. He says, "That those who saw him charging the enemy, routing and pursuing them, declared that Cato owed less to the people of Rome, than the people of Rome owed to Cato; and that the consul Manius himself, coming hot from the fight, took him in his arms as he too came panting from the action, 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 first to carry the news of his own achievements. With a favourable wind he sailed to Brundisium; 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 that brought the news of the victory.

These are the most remarkable of Cato's actions: and with respect to civil affairs, he appears to have thought the impeaching of offenders and bringing them to justice a thing that well deserved his attention. For he prosecuted several, and encouraged and assisted others in carrying on their prosecutions.

Cato, however, did not escape such attacks; but when, in the business of the state, he gave the least handle, was prosecuted, and sometimes in danger of being condemned. For it is said that near fifty impeachments were brought against him, and the last, when he was eighty-six years of age: on which occasion he made use of that memorable expression, "It is hard that I who have lived with men of one generation, should be obliged to make my defence to those of another." Nor was this the end of his contests at the

bar ; for, four years after, at the age of ninety,\* he impeached Scrvilius Galba : so that, like Nestor, he lived three generations, and, like him, was always in action. After having constantly opposed Scipio in matters of government, he lived until the time of young Scipio, his adopted grandson, and son of Paulus Æmilius, who conquered Perseus and the Macedonians.

Ten years after his consulship, Cato stood for the office of censor, which was the highest dignity in the republic. For, beside the other power and authority that attended this office, it gave the magistrate a right of inquiry into the lives and manners of the citizens, and when Cato solicited it, the principal senators opposed him.

Having consulted and prepared their measures, they put up seven candidates in opposition to Cato ; and imagining that the people wished to be governed with an easy hand, they soothed them with hopes of a mild censorship. Cato, on the contrary, without condescending to the least flattery or complaisance, in his speeches from the rostrum professed his resolution to punish every instance of vice : and loudly declaring that the city wanted great reformation, conjured the people, if they were wise, to choose, not the mildest, but the severest physician.

The Roman people, on this occasion, shewed 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 a man who solicited the office of censor, but as one who, already possessed of it, gave out his orders by virtue of his authority.

The first thing that Cato did, was to name his friend and colleague Lucius Valerius Flaccus chief of the senate, and to expel many others the house ; particularly Lucius Quintus, who had been consul seven years before, and, what was still a greater honour, was brother to Titus Flaminius †, who overthrew king Philip.

He was censured as having merely indulged his envy, when he degraded 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 what rendered him more generally obnoxious, was the reformation he introduced in point of luxury. It was impossible for him to begin his attacks upon it openly, because the whole body of the people was infected, and therefore he took an indirect

\* Plutarch here is not consistent with himself. Towards the beginning of this life, he says, that Cato was but seventeen years old at the time of Hannibal's success in Italy ; and at the conclusion he tells, that Cato died just at the beginning of the third Punic war. But Hannibal came into Italy in the year of Rome 534, and the third Punic war broke out seventy years after, in the year of Rome 604. According to this computation, Cato could not be more than eighty-seven years old when he died, and this account is confirmed by Cicero.

† Polybius, Livy, and Cicero, make the surname of this family Flaminius.

method. He caused an estimate to be taken 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; that finding themselves burdened with the tax, while the modest and frugal, with equal substance, paid much less to the public, they 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 tax, but among those who lessened the expense of their figure to avoid it. For the generality of mankind think that a prohibition to shew their wealth is the same thing as taking it away, and that opulence is seen in the superfluities, not in the necessities of life.

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 degenerating into licentiousness, by good discipline and wise institutions restored it."

Before this, he laughed at those who were fond of such honours, and said, "They were not aware that they plumed themselves upon the workmanship 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 said, "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 of 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 tells us, that those who were guilty of misdemeanors, and afterwards reprov'd for them, used to say, "They are excusable; they were not Catos:" and that such as imitated some of his actions, but did it awkwardly, were called *left-handed* Catos. He added, "That the senate, in difficult and dangerous times, used to 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 put off 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 good husband, and an excellent economist. He chose his wife rather for her family than her fortune; persuaded, that, though both the rich and the high-born have their pride, yet women of good families are more ashamed of any base

and unworthy action, and more obedient to their husbands in every thing that is good and honourable.

As soon as the dawn of understanding appeared, Cato took upon him the office of schoolmaster to his son, though he had a slave named Chilo, who was a good grammarian, and taught several other children. But he tells us, he did not choose that his son should be reprimanded by a slave, or pulled by the ears, if he happened to be slow in learning; or that he should be 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 the most rapid rivers. He farther acquaints us, that he wrote histories for him with his own hand, in large characters, that without stirring out of his father's house, he might gain a knowledge of the great actions of the ancient Romans and of the customs of his country. He was as careful not to utter an indecent word before his son, as he would have been in the presence of the Vestal Virgins; nor did he ever bathe with him. A regard to decency in this respect was indeed at that time general among the Romans.

While Cato was taking 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, with this constitution, he was an excellent soldier, and particularly distinguished himself under Paulus Æmilius in the battle against Perseus. On 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 great concern, and begged 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 found it, with much difficulty, under heaps of arms, and dead bodies of friends, as well as enemies, piled upon each other. 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 high sense of honour expressed in the recovery of his sword. The young man afterwards 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.

When Cato was far advanced in years, there arrived at Rome two ambassadors from Athens, Carneades the *Academic*, and Diogenes the *Stoic*. They were sent to beg off a fine of five hundred talents which had been imposed on the Athenians for contumacy,

by the Sicyonians, at the suit of the people of Oropus.\* Upon the arrival of these philosophers, such of the Roman youth as had a taste for learning, went to wait on them, and heard them with wonder and delight. Above all they were charmed with the graceful manners of Carneades, the force of whose eloquence being great, and his reputation equal to his eloquence, had drawn an audience of the most considerable and polite persons in Rome, and the sound of his fame, like a mighty wind, had filled the whole city.

The Romans were delighted to behold their sons thus fondly receive the Grecian literature; but Cato, from the beginning, was alarmed at it. He was afraid that the youth 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 their first speeches were translated into Latin, by Caius Acilius, a senator of great distinction, he had no longer patience, but resolved to dismiss them upon some decent and specious pretence.

He went therefore to the senate, and complained of the magistrates for detaining so long such ambassadors as those, 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 hold forth to the Grecian youth, and that our young men may give attention to the laws and the magistrates." Not that Cato was induced to this by any particular pique to Carneades, which some suppose to have been the case, but by his aversion to 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 tyrannize over his country, by abolishing its customs, and drawing the people over to opinions contrary to the laws." And to ridicule the slow methods of Isocrates's teaching, he said, "His scholars grew old in learning their art, as if they intended to exercise it in the shades below, and to plead causes there." And 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 the Romans came thoroughly to imbibe the Grecian literature, they would lose the empire of the world." But time has shewn the vanity of that invidious assertion; for Rome was never at a higher pitch of greatness, than when she was most perfect in the Grecian erudition, and most attentive to learning.†

\* 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 appearing to justify themselves, were fined five hundred talents.

† Rome had, indeed, a very extensive empire in the Augustan age. but, at the same time, she lost her ancient constitution and her liberty. Not that the learning of the Romans contributed to that loss, but their irreligion, their luxury, and corruption, occasioned it.

In his younger days he applied himself to agriculture, with a view to profit; for he used to say, he had only two ways of increasing his income, *labour* and *parsimony*: but as he grew old, he regarded it only by way of theory and amusement. He wrote a book concerning country affairs,\* 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 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 either seen himself or heard from others a variety of things that were curious and 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: as for the bad and unworthy, no mention was made of them, for he would not allow in his company one word, either good or bad, to be said of such men.

The last service he is said to have done 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 this war was this: The Carthaginians and Massinissa king of Numidia, being at war with each other, Cato was sent into Africa to inquire into the cause of the quarrel. Massinissa, from the first had been a friend to the Romans, and the Carthaginians were admitted into their alliance after the great overthrow they received from Scipio the elder, but upon terms which deprived them of great part of their dominions, and imposed a heavy tribute.† When Cato arrived at Carthage, he found that city not in the exhausted and humble condition which the Romans imagined, but full of men fit to bear arms, abounding in money, in arms, and warlike stores, and not a little elated in the thought of its 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 was their old enemy, and retained strong resentments of the usage she had lately received, and which had not only recovered herself after her losses, but was prodigiously increased in wealth and power, they would soon be exposed

\* This is the only work of his that remains entire: of the rest we have only fragments.

† Scipio Africanus obliged the Carthaginians, at the conclusion of the second Punic war, to deliver up their fleet to the Romans, yield to Massinissa part of Syphax's dominions, and pay the Romans ten thousand talents. This peace was made in the third year of the hundred and forty-fourth Olympiad, two hundred years before the Christian era.

to all their former dangers. For this reason they 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, in all probability, instead of weaker, they had made them a more skilful and warlike 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 considered it only as a suspension of arms, which they were willing to avail themselves of, till they had a favourable opportunity to renew the war.

It is said, that at the conclusion of his speech 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." Scipio, surnamed Nasicus, made it a point to maintain the contrary, and concluded all his speeches thus: "And my opinion is, that Carthage should be left standing." It is very likely that this great man, perceiving that the people were come to such a pitch of insolence, as to be led by it into the greatest excesses (so that in the pride of prosperity they could not be restrained by the senate, but by their overgrown power were able to draw the government what way they pleased,) thought it best that Carthage should remain to keep them in awe, and to moderate their presumption. For he saw that the Carthaginians were not strong enough to conquer the Romans, and yet too respectable an enemy to be despised by them. On the other hand, Cato thought 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 its misfortune: to lie watching every advantage against them. It appeared to him, therefore, the wisest course, to have all outward dangers removed from the commonwealth, that it might be at leisure to guard against internal corruption.

Thus Cato, they tell us, 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 his exploits being brought to Rome, Cato cried out,

—— He is the soul of council;  
The rest are shadows vain.

This Scipio soon confirmed by his actions.

## PYRRHUS.

*Flourished 300 years before Christ.*

THE Molossians rising against Æacides, the father of Pyrrhus, deposed him, and brought in the sons of his cousin Neoptolemus. On this occasion the friends of Æacides were taken and slain: only Androclides and Angelus escaped with his infant son, though he was much sought after by his enemies; and carried him off with his nurses and a few necessary attendants. This train rendering their flight difficult and slow, they were soon overtaken. In this extremity they put the child in the hands of Androcleon, Hippias and Neander, three active young men whom they could depend upon, and ordered them to make the best of their way to Megaræ, a town in Macedonia: while they themselves, partly by entreaty, and partly by force, stopt the course of the pursuers till evening; when, having with much difficulty got clear of them, they hastened to join those who carried the young prince. At sun-set they thought themselves near the summit of their hopes, but they met with a sudden disappointment. When they came to the river that runs by the town, they found it absolutely unfordable. For the current being swelled with the late rains, was very boisterous, and darkness added to the horror.—They now despaired of getting the child and his nurses over, without some assistance: when perceiving some of the inhabitants of the place on the other side, they begged of them to assist their passage, and held up Pyrrhus towards them. But though they called out loud and entreated earnestly, the stream ran so rapid and made such a roaring, that they could not be heard. Some time was spent, while they were crying out on one side, and listening to no purpose on the other. At last one of Pyrrhus's company thought of peeling off a piece of oak-bark, and of expressing upon it, with the tongue of a buckle, the necessities and fortunes of the child. Accordingly he put this in execution, and having rolled the piece of bark about a stone, he threw it to the other side. When the people on the other side had read it, and saw there was not a moment to lose, they cut down trees, and made a raft of them, and crossed the river upon it. It happened that the first man who reached the bank, was named Achilles. He took Pyrrhus in his arms, and conveyed him over, while his companions performed the same service for his followers.

Pyrrhus and his train, having thus got safe over, and escaped the pursuers, continued their route till they arrived at the court of Glaucias king of Illyria. They found the king sitting in his palace



with the queen his consort,\* and laid the child at his feet in the posture of a suppliant. The king, who stood in fear of Cassander, the enemy of Æacides, remained a long time silent, considering what part he should act. While Pyrrhus, of his own accord, creeping closer to him, took hold of his robe and raising himself up to his knees, by this action first excited a smile, and afterwards compassion; for he thought he saw a petitioner before him begging his protection with tears. For this reason he put him immediately in the hands of the queen, and ordered her to bring him up with his own children. His enemies demanding him soon after, and Cassander offering two hundred talents to have him delivered up, Glaucias refused to do it; and when he came to be twelve years old, conducted him into Epirus at the head of an army, and placed him upon the throne.

Pyrrhus had an air of majesty rather terrible than august. Instead of teeth in his upper jaw he had one continued bone, marked with small lines resembling the divisions of a row of teeth.

When he was about seventeen years of age, and seemed to be quite established in his kingdom, he happened to be called out of his own territories to attend the nuptials of one of Glaucias's sons, with whom he had been educated. On this occasion the Molossians revolting again, drove out his friends, pillaged his treasures, and put themselves once more under Neoptolemus. Pyrrhus having thus lost the crown, and being in want of every thing, applied to Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who had married his sister Deidamia. In the great battle of Ipsus, where all the kings of the earth were engaged,† Pyrrhus accompanied Demetrius; and, though but young, bore down all before him, and highly distinguished himself among the combatants. Nor did he forsake Demetrius, when unsuccessful, but kept for him those cities of Greece with which he was entrusted: and when the treaty was concluded with Ptolemy, he went to Egypt as an hostage. There, both in hunting and other exercises, he gave Ptolemy proofs of his strength and abilities. Observing that among Ptolemy's wives, Berenice had the greatest power, and was most eminent for virtue and understanding, he attached himself most to her. For he had a particular art of making his court to the great, while he overlooked those who were below him. And as in his whole conduct he paid great attention to decency, temperance and prudence, Antigone, who was daughter to Berenice by her first husband Philip, was given him, in preference to many other young princes.

On this account he was held in greater honour than ever, and

\* Justin calls this princess Beroa, and says she was of the family of the Æacidae: which must have been the reason of their seeking refuge for Pyrrhus in that court.

† He says all the kings of the earth were engaged, because Lysimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemy, Cassander, Antigonus, and Demetrius, were there in person. The battle was fought about three hundred years before Christ.

Antigone proving an excellent wife, procured him men and money, which enabled him to recover his kingdom of Epirus. At his arrival there, his subjects received him with open arms; for Neoptolemus was become obnoxious to the people, by his arbitrary and tyrannical government. Nevertheless, Pyrrhus, apprehending that Neoptolemus might have recourse to some of the other kings, came to an agreement with him, and associated him in the kingdom, but in process of time privately sowed dissensions and jealousies between them, and Neoptolemus was taken off by assassination.

In acknowledgment of the obligations he had to Berenice and Ptolemy, he named his son by Antigone, *Ptolemy*, and called the city which he built in the Chersonese of Epirus, *Berenicis*. From this time he began to conceive many great designs, but his first hopes laid hold of all that was near home: and he found a plausible pretence to concern himself in the affairs of Macedon. Antipater, the eldest son of Cassander, had killed his mother Thessalonica, and expelled his brother Alexander. Alexander sent to Demetrius for succour, and implored likewise the assistance of Pyrrhus. Demetrius, having many affairs upon his hands, could not presently comply; but Pyrrhus came and demanded, as the reward of his services, the city of *Nymphæa*,\* and all the maritime coast of Macedon, together with *Ambracia*, *Acarmania*, and *Amphilochia*, which were some of the countries that did not originally belong to the kingdom of Macedon. The young prince agreeing to the conditions, Pyrrhus possessed himself of these countries, and secured them with his garrisons, after which he went on conquering the rest for Alexander, and driving Antipater before him.

King Lysimachus was well inclined to give Antipater assistance, but he was so much engaged with his own affairs, that he could not find time for it. Recollecting, however, that Pyrrhus would refuse nothing to his friend Ptolemy, he forged letters in Ptolemy's name, enjoining him to evacuate Macedon, and to be satisfied with three hundred talents from Antipater. But Pyrrhus no sooner opened the letters, than he perceived the forgery. For, instead of the customary salutation, "The father to his son, greeting," they began with, "King Ptolemy to king Pyrrhus, greeting." He inveighed against Lysimachus for the fraud, but listened, notwithstanding, to proposals of peace; and the three princes met to offer sacrifices on the occasion, and to swear upon the altar to the articles. A boar, a bull, and a ram, being led up as victims, the ram dropt down dead of himself. The rest of the company laughed at the accident; but Theonotus the diviner advised Pyrrhus not to swear, declaring that the deity presigned the death of one of the kings; upon which he refused to ratify the peace.

† Dacier thinks Apollonia might be called *Nymphæa*, from *Nymphæum*, a celebrated rock in its neighbourhood. Palmerus would read *Tymphæa*, that being the name of a town in those parts. There was a city called *Nymphæum* in the *Taurica Chersonesus*, but that could not be meant here.

Alexander's affairs were thus advantageously settled;\* nevertheless Demetrius came. But it soon appeared that he came now unrequested, and that his presence excited rather fear than gratitude. When they had been a few days together, in mutual distrust they laid snares for each other; but Demetrius finding the first opportunity, was beforehand with Alexander, killed him, and got himself proclaimed king of Macedon.

He had for a long time had subjects of complaint against Pyrrhus, on account of the inroads which he had made into Thessaly. Besides, that ambition to extend their dominions, which is a dis-temper natural to kings, rendered their neighbourhood mutually alarming. These jealousies increased after the death of Deidamia. At last each having possessed himself of part of Macedonia, and having one object in view, the gaining of the whole, this produced of course new causes of contention. Demetrius marched against the Ætolians and reduced them. After which he left Pantauchus among them with a considerable force, and went himself to seek Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus, as soon as he was apprised of his design, went to meet him; but taking a wrong route, they inadvertently passed each other. Demetrius entered Epirus, and committed great ravages; and Pyrrhus, falling in with Pantauchus, gave him battle. The dispute was warm and obstinate on both sides, especially where the generals fought. For Pantauchus, who in dexterity, courage, and strength, stood foremost among the officers of Demetrius, and was a man of a high and ambitious spirit, challenged Pyrrhus to the combat. And Pyrrhus, who was behind none of the princes of his time in valour, and who was desirous to appropriate to himself the honours of Achilles, rather by his sword than by kindred, advanced through the first lines against Pantauchus. They began with the javelin; and then coming to the sword, exhausted all that art or strength could supply. Pyrrhus received one wound, and gave his adversary two, one in the thigh, and the other in the neck; by which he overpowered him, and brought him to the ground; but before he could kill him, he was rescued by his friends. The Epirots, elated with their prince's victory, and admiring his valour, broke into and dispersed the Macedonian phalanx, and pursuing the fugitives killed great numbers of them, and took five thousand prisoners.

This battle did not so much excite the resentment and hatred of the Macedonians against Pyrrhus for what they suffered, as it inspired them with an esteem of his abilities and admiration of his valour. This furnished subject of discourse to all who were witnesses of his exploits, or were engaged against him in the action. For he recalled to their minds the countenance, the swiftness, and motion of Alexander the Great: in Pyrrhus they thought they

\* Alexander was murdered soon after.

saw the very image of his force and impetuosity. And while the other kings represented that hero only in their purple robes, in the number of guards, the bend of the neck, and the lofty manner of speaking, the king of Epirus represented him in deeds of arms and personal achievements. And of his great skill in ordering and drawing up an army, we have proofs in the writings he left behind him. It is also said, that Antigonus, being asked, who was the greatest general? answered, Pyrrhus would be, if he lived to be old.

In the intercourse of life he was mild and not easily provoked, but ardent and quick to repay a kindness. For this reason he was greatly afflicted at the death of Æropus. "His friend," he said, "had only paid the tribute to nature, but he blamed and reproached himself for putting off his acknowledgments, till, by these delays, he had lost the opportunity of making any return. For those that owe money, can pay it to the heirs of the deceased, but when a return of kindness is not made to a person in his life time, it grieves the heart that has any goodness and honour in it." When some advised him to banish a certain ill-tongued Ambracian, who abused him behind his back—"Let the fellow stay here," said he, "and speak against me to a few, rather than ramble about, and give me a bad character to all the world." And some young men having taken great liberties with his character in their cups, and being afterwards brought to answer for it, he asked them—"Whether they really had said such things?"—"We did, sir," answered one of them, "and should have said a great deal more, if we had had more wine." Upon which he laughed and dismissed them.

After the death of Antigone, he married several wives for the purpose of interest and power: namely, the daughter of Autoleon, king of the Pæonians; Bircenna, the daughter of Bardyllis, king of the Illyrians; and Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles of Syracuse, who brought him in dowry the isle of Corcyra, which her father had taken. By Antigone he had a son named Ptolemy; by Lanassa he had Alexander; and by Bircenna, his youngest son Helenus. All these princes had naturally a turn for war, and he quickened their martial ardour by giving them a suitable education from their infancy. It is said, when he was asked by one of them, who was yet a child, "To which of them he would leave his kingdom?" he said, "to him who has the sharpest sword."

After the battle Pyrrhus returned home distinguished with glory, and still more elevated in his sentiments. The Epirots having given him on this occasion the name of Eagle, he said, "If I am an Eagle, you have made me one; for it is upon your arms, upon your wings, that I have risen so high."

Soon after, having intelligence that Demetrius lay dangerously ill, he suddenly entered Macedonia,\* intending only an inroad to

\* In the third year of the hundred and twenty-third Olympiad, two hundred and eighty-four years before Christ.

pillage the country. But he was very near seizing the whole, and taking the kingdom without a blow. For he pushed forward as far as Edessa without meeting with any resistance: on the contrary, many of the inhabitants repaired to his camp and joined him. The danger roused Demetrius, and made him act above his strength. His friends too, and officers, quickly assembled a considerable body of troops, and moved forward with great spirit and vigour against Pyrrhus. But as he came only with a design to plunder, he did not stand to receive them. He lost however a considerable number of men in his retreat, for the Macedonians harrassed his rear all the way.

Demetrius, though he had driven out Pyrrhus with so much ease, was far from slighting and despising him afterwards. But, as he meditated great things, and had determined to attempt the recovery of his paternal kingdom, he concluded a peace, that he might turn his arms with more security against the other kings.\* The designs of Demetrius were soon discovered by this peace, and by the greatness of his preparations. The kings were alarmed, and sent ambassadors to Pyrrhus, with letters, expressing their astonishment that he neglected this opportunity to make war upon Demetrius. They represented with how much ease he might drive him out of Macedonia, thus engaged as he was in many troublesome enterprises; instead of which he waited till Demetrius had despatched all his other affairs, and was grown so much more powerful as to be able to bring the war to his own doors, and to put him under the necessity of fighting for the altars of his gods, and and the sepulchres of his ancestors, in Molossia itself; and this, too, when he had just been deprived by Demetrius of the isle of Corcyra, together with his wife.

The kings, at the same time that they wrote these letters, took the field themselves. Pyrrhus advanced with the greatest expedition, to attack Berœa. There he fixed his headquarters, and reduced the other cities by his generals, and, having gained over the soldiers of Demetrius, became master of his camp with out striking a blow, and was proclaimed king of Macedonia.

Lysimachus made his appearance soon after, and pretending that he had contributed equally to the flight of Demetrius, demanded his share of the kingdom. Pyrrhus, as he thought himself not sufficiently established among the Macedonians, but rather in a dubious situation, accepted the proposal, and they divided the cities and provinces between them. This partition seemed to be of service for the present, and prevented their going directly to war; but, soon after, they found it the beginning of perpetual complaints and quarrels, instead of a perfect reconciliation. For, how

\* Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus.

is it possible that they whose ambition is not to be terminated by seas and mountains and uninhabitable deserts, whose thirst for dominion is not to be confined by the bounds that part Europe and Asia, should, when so near each other, and joined in one lot, sit down contented, and abstain from mutual injuries? Undoubtedly, they are always at war in their hearts, having the seeds of perfidy and envy there.

Soon after this, he concluded a peace with Demetrius; and yet Demetrius was no sooner passed into Asia, than Pyrrhus, at the instigation of Lysimachus, drew off Thessaly from its allegiance, and attacked his garrisons in Greece. He found, indeed, the Macedonians better subjects in time of war than in peace, besides that he himself was more fit for action than repose. At last, Demetrius being entirely defeated in Syria, Lysimachus, who had nothing to fear from that quarter, nor any other affairs to engage him, immediately turned his forces against Pyrrhus, who lay in quarters at Edessa. Upon his arrival, he fell upon one of the king's convoys, and took it, by which he greatly distressed his troops for want of provisions. Besides this, he corrupted the principal Macedonians by his letters and emissaries, reproaching them for choosing for their sovereign a stranger, whose ancestors had always been subject to the Macedonians, while they expelled the friends and companions of Alexander. As the majority listened to these suggestions, Pyrrhus, fearing the event, withdrew with his Epirots and auxiliary forces, and so lost Macedonia in the same manner he had gained it.

When Pyrrhus had thus retired into Epirus, he had a fair occasion given him by fortune to enjoy himself in quiet, and to govern his own kingdom in peace. But he was persuaded that neither to annoy others, nor to be annoyed by them, was a life most insufferably tedious. Like Achilles, he could not endure inaction:

He pin'd in dull repse; his heart indignant  
Bade the scene change to war, to wounds, and death.

His anxiety for fresh employment was relieved as follows:—The Romans were then at war with the Tarentines; the latter were not able to support the contest, and yet the bold and turbulent harangues of their leading men would not suffer them to put an end to it. They resolved, therefore, to call in Pyrrhus, and put their forces under his command, there being no other prince who had then so much leisure, or was so able a general. The most sensible of the citizens opposed this measure, but were overborne by the noise and violence of the multitude; and when they saw this, they no longer attended the assemblies.

There was then at the court of Pyrrhus, a Thessalian named Cineas, a man of sound sense, and who having been a disciple of

Demosthenes, was the only orator of his time that presented his hearers with a lively image of the force and spirit of that great master. This man had devoted himself to Pyrrhus, and in all the embassies he was employed in, confirmed that saying of Euripides :

The gates that steel exclude, resistless eloquence shall enter.

This made Pyrrhus say, "That Cineas had gained him more cities by his address, than he had won by his arms;" and he continued to heap honours and employments upon him. Cineas now seeing Pyrrhus intent upon his preparations for Italy, took an opportunity, when he saw him at leisure, to draw him into the following conversation :

"The Romans have the reputation of being excellent soldiers, and have the command of a great many warlike nations; if it please heaven that we conquer them, what use shall we make of our victory."

"Cineas," replied the king, "your question answers itself. When the Romans are subdued, there is no town whether Greek or barbarian, that will dare oppose us; but we shall immediately be masters of all Italy, whose greatness, power, and importance, no man knows better than you."

Cineas, after a short pause, continued—"But after we have conquered Italy, what shall we do next?"

Pyrrhus, not yet perceiving his drift, replied—"There is Sicily very near, and stretches out her arms to receive us—a fruitful and populous island, and easy to be taken."

"What you say, my prince," said Cineas, "is indeed very probable; but is the taking of Sicily to conclude our expeditions?"

"Far from it," answered Pyrrhus; "for if heaven grants us success in this, that success shall only be the prelude to greater things. Who can forbear Libya and Carthage then within reach? And when we have made such conquests, who can pretend to say that any of our enemies, who are now so insolent, will think of resisting us?"

"To be sure," said Cineas, "they will not; for so much power will enable you to recover Macedonia, and establish yourself uncontested sovereign of Greece. But when we have conquered all, what are we to do then?"

"Why, then, my friend," said Pyrrhus, laughing, "we will take our ease, and drink and be merry."

Cineas, having brought him thus far, replied—"And what hinders us from drinking and taking our ease now, when we have already those things in our hands, at which we propose to arrive through seas of blood, through infinite toils and dangers, and through innumerable calamities, which we must both cause and suffer?"

This discourse of Cineas gave Pyrrhus pain, but produced no reformation. He saw the certain happiness which he gave up, but was not able to forego the hopes that flattered his desires. In the first place, therefore, he sent Cineas to Tarentum with three thousand foot: from whence there arrived, soon after, a great number of galleys, transports, and flat-bottomed boats, on board of which he put twenty elephants, three thousand horse, twenty thousand foot, two thousand archers, and five hundred slingers. When all was ready, he set sail, but as soon as he was got into the midst of the Ionian, he was attacked by a violent wind at north, which was unusual at that season. The storm raged terribly, but by the skill and extraordinary efforts of his pilots and mariners, his ship made the Italian shore. The rest of the fleet could not hold their course, but were dispersed far and wide. The king's ship, indeed, by its size and strength, resisted the force of the waves, while the wind blew from the sea; but that coming about, and blowing directly from the shore, the ship, as she stood with her head against it, was in danger of opening by the shocks she received. And yet to be driven off again into a tempestuous sea, while the wind continually shifted from point to point, seemed the most dreadful case of all. In this extremity Pyrrhus threw himself overboard, and was immediately followed by his friends and guards. But the darkness of the night, and the roaring and resistance of the waves, which beat upon the shore, and were driven back with equal violence, rendered it extremely difficult to save him. At last, by day-break, the wind being considerably fallen, with much trouble he got ashore, greatly weakened in body, but with a strength and firmness of mind which bravely combated the distress.

At the same time the Messapians, on whose coast he was cast, ran down to give them all the succour in their power. They also met with some other of his vessels that had weathered the storm, in which were a small number of horse, not quite two thousand foot, and two elephants. With these Pyrrhus marched to Tarentum.

When Cineas was informed of this, he drew out his forces, and went to meet him. Pyrrhus, upon his arrival at Tarentum, did not have recourse to compulsion at first, nor to do any thing against the inclination of the inhabitants, till his ships were safe arrived, and the greatest part of his forces collected. But, after this, seeing the Tarentines, so far from being in a condition to defend others, that they would not defend themselves, except they were driven to it by necessity, and that they sat still at home, and spent their time about the baths or in feasting and idle talk, expecting that he would fight for them; he shut up the places of exercise, and the walks, where they used, as they sauntered along, to conduct the war with words. He also put a stop to their unseasonable entertainments,



revels, and diversions. Instead of these he called them to arms, and in his musters and reviews was severe and inexorable : so that many of them quitted the place ; for being unaccustomed to be under command, they called that slavery which was not a life of pleasure.

He now received intelligence that Lævinus, the Roman consul, was coming against him with a great army, and ravaging Lucania by the way : and though the confederates were not come, yet looking upon it as a disgrace to sit still and see the enemy approach still nearer, he took the field with the troops he had. But first he sent a herald to the Romans, with proposals, before they came to extremities, to terminate their differences amicably with the Greeks in Italy, by taking him for mediator and umpire. Lævinus answered, "That the Romans neither accepted Pyrrhus as mediator, nor feared him as an enemy." Whereupon, he marched forward, and encamped upon the plain between the cities of Pandosia and Heraclea : and having notice that the Romans were near and lay on the other side of the river Siris, he rode up to the river to take a view of them. When he saw the order of their troops, the appointment of their watches, and the regularity of their whole encampment, he was struck with admiration, and said to a friend who was by, "Megacles, the disposition of these barbarians has nothing of the barbarian in it : we shall see whether the rest will answer to it." He now became solicitous for the event, and, determined to wait for the allies, set a guard upon the river to oppose the Romans, if they should endeavour to pass it. The Romans, on their part, hastening to prevent the coming up of those forces, which he had resolved to wait for, attempted the passage. The infantry took to the fords, and the cavalry got over wherever they could : so that the Greeks were afraid of being surrounded, and retreated to their main body.

Pyrrhus, greatly concerned at this, ordered his foot officers to draw up the forces, and to stand to their arms ; while he advanced with the horse, who were about three thousand, in hopes of finding the Romans yet busied in the passage, and dispersed without any order. But when he saw a great number of shields glittering above the water, and the horse preserving their ranks as they passed, he closed his own ranks and began the attack. Beside his being distinguished by the beauty and lustre of his arms, which were of very curious fabric, he performed acts of valour worthy the great reputation he had acquired. For, though he exposed his person in the hottest of the engagement, and charged with the greatest vigour, he was never in the least disturbed, nor lost his presence of mind ; but gave his orders as coolly as if he had been out of the action, and moved to this side or that as occasion required, to support his men where he saw them maintaining an unequal fight.

Leonatus of Macedon observed an Italian horseman very intent upon Pyrrhus, changing his post as he did, and regulating all his motions by his. Whereupon he rode up, and said to him, "Do you see, sir, that barbarian upon the black horse with white feet? he seems to meditate some great and dreadful design. He keeps you in his eye: full of fire and spirit he singles you out, and takes no notice of any body else; therefore be on your guard against him." Pyrrhus answered, "It is impossible, Leonatus, to avoid our destiny. But neither this nor any other Italian shall have much satisfaction in engaging with me." While they were yet speaking, the Italian levelled his spear, and spurred his horse against Pyrrhus. He missed the king, but ran his horse through, as Leonatus did the Italian's the same moment, so that both horses fell together. Pyrrhus was carried off by his friends, who gathered round him, and killed the Italian, who fought to the very last. This brave man had the command of a troop of horse. Ferentum was the place of his birth, and his name Opicus.

This made Pyrrhus more cautious: and now seeing his cavalry give way, he sent his infantry orders to advance, and formed them as soon as they came up. Then giving his robe and his arms to Megacles, one of his friends, he disguised himself in his, and proceeded to the charge. The Romans received him with great firmness, and the success of the battle remained long undecided; it is even said, that each army was broken seven times, and rallied as often. He changed his arms very seasonably, for that saved his life, but had nearly lost him the victory. Many aimed at Megacles, but the man who first wounded him and brought him to the ground was named Dexous. Dexous seized his helmet and his robe, and rode up to Lævinus, showing the spoils, and crying out that he had slain Pyrrhus. The spoils being passed from rank to rank as it were in triumph, the Roman army shouted for joy, while that of the Greeks was struck with grief and consternation, till Pyrrhus, apprised of what had happened, rode about uncovered, stretching out his hand to his soldiers, and giving them to know him by his voice. At last the Romans were worsted, chiefly by means of the elephants. Dionysius writes, that near fifteen thousand Romans fell in this battle; but Hieronymus makes the number only seven thousand. On Pyrrhus's side, Dionysius says, there were thirteen thousand killed: Hieronymus, not quite four thousand. Among these, however, were the most valuable of his friends and officers, whose services he had made great use of, and in whom he placed the highest confidence.

Pyrrhus immediately entered the Roman camp, which he found deserted. He gained over many cities which had been in alliance with Rome, and laid waste the territories of others. Nay, he advanced to within thirty-seven miles of Rome itself. The Lucanians

and the Samnites joined him after the battle, and were reproved for their delay ; but it was plain that he was greatly elevated and delighted, with having defeated so powerful an army of Romans with the assistance of the Tarentines only.

The Romans on this occasion, did not take the command from Lævinus, though Caius Fabricius is reported to have said, "That the Romans were not overcome by the Epirots, but Lævinus by Pyrrhus:" intimating, that the defeat was owing to the inferiority of the general, not of his troops. Then raising new levies, filling up their legions, and talking in a lofty and menacing tone about the war, they struck Pyrrhus with amazement. He thought proper, therefore, to send an embassy to them first, to try whether they were disposed to peace ; being satisfied that to take the city, and make an absolute conquest, was an undertaking of too much difficulty to be effected by such an army as his was at that time ; whereas if he could bring them to terms of accommodation, and conclude a peace with them, it would be very glorious for him after such a victory.

Cineas, who was sent with this commission, applied to the great men, and sent them and their wives presents in his master's name. But they all refused them ; the women as well as the men, declaring, "That when Rome had publicly ratified a treaty with the king, they should be ready to give him every mark of their friendship and respect." And though Cineas made a very engaging speech to the senate, yet they lent not a willing ear to his propositions, although Pyrrhus offered to restore, without ransom, the prisoners he had made in the battle, and promised to assist them in the conquest of Italy, desiring nothing in return but their friendship for himself, and security for the Tarentines.

They voted, however, unanimously for the war, and dismissed Cineas with this answer, "That when Pyrrhus had quitted Italy, they would enter upon a treaty of friendship and alliance with him, if he desired it : but while he continued there in a hostile manner, they would prosecute the war against him with all their force, though he should have defeated a thousand Lævinuses."

It is said, that Cineas, while he was upon this business, took great pains to observe the manners of the Romans, and to examine into the nature of their government ; and when he had learned what he desired by conversing with their great men, he made a faithful report of all to Pyrrhus, among the rest, "That the senate appeared to him an assembly of kings ; and as to the people, they were so numerous, that he was afraid he had to do with a Lernæan hydra." For the consul had already an army on foot twice as large as the former, and had left multitudes behind in Rome of a proper age for enlisting, and sufficient to form many such armies.

After this, Fabricius came ambassador to Pyrrhus to treat about

the ransom and exchange of prisoners. Fabricius, as Cineas informed Pyrrhus, was highly valued by the Romans for his probity and martial abilities, but he was extremely poor. Pyrrhus received him with particular distinction, and privately offered him gold, not for any base purpose; but he begged him to accept of it as a pledge of friendship and hospitality. Fabricius refusing the present, Pyrrhus pressed him no farther; but the next day wanting to surprise him, and knowing that he had never seen an elephant, he ordered the biggest he had to be armed and placed behind a curtain in the room where they were to be in conference. Accordingly this was done, and upon a sign given, the curtain drawn; and the elephant raising his trunk over the head of Fabricius, made a horrid and frightful noise. Fabricius turned about, without being in the least discomposed, and said to Pyrrhus, smiling, "Neither your gold yesterday, nor your beast to-day, has made any impression upon me."

After this, Fabricius being consul,\* an unknown person came to his camp with a letter from the king's physician, who offered to take off Pyrrhus by poison, and so end the war without any farther hazard to the Romans, provided they gave him a proper compensation for his services. Fabricius detested the man's villany; and having brought his colleagues into the same sentiments, sent despatches to Pyrrhus without losing a moment's time, to caution him against the treason.

Pyrrhus punished the physician; and, to show his gratitude to Fabricius and the Romans, delivered up the prisoners without ransom, and sent Cineas again to negotiate a peace. The Romans, unwilling to receive a favour from an enemy, or reward for not consenting to an ill thing, did indeed receive the prisoners at his hands, but sent him an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites. As to peace and friendship, they would not hear any proposals about it, till Pyrrhus should have laid down his arms, drawn his forces out of Italy, and returned to Epirus in the same ships in which he came.

His affairs now requiring another battle, he assembled his army, and marched and attacked the Romans near Asculum. The ground was very rough and uneven, and marshy also towards the river, so that it was extremely inconvenient for the cavalry, and quite prevented the elephants from acting with the infantry. For this reason he had a great number of men killed and wounded, and might have been entirely defeated, had not night put an end to the battle. Next day, contriving, by an act of generalship, to engage upon even ground, where his elephants might come at the enemy, he seized in time the difficult post where they fought the day before. Then he planted a number of archers and slingers among his elephants, thickened his other ranks, and moved forward in good or-

\* Two hundred and seventy-seven years before Christ.

der, though with great force and impetuosity, against the Romans. The Romans, who had not now the advantage of ground for attacking and retreating as they pleased, were obliged to fight upon the plain, man to man. They hastened to break the enemy's infantry, before the elephants came up, and made prodigious efforts with their swords against their pikes, not regarding themselves or the wounds they received, but only looking where they might strike and slay. After a long dispute, however, the Romans were forced to give way, which they did first where Pyrrhus fought in person: for they could not resist the fury of his attack. Indeed, it was the force and weight of the elephants which put them quite to the rout. When they had all quitted the field, and Pyrrhus was congratulated on the victory, he said, "Such another victory, and we are undone!" For he had lost great part of the forces which he had brought with him, and almost all his friends and officers. He had no others to send for to supply their place, and he found his confederates here very cold and spiritless. Whereas the Romans filled up their legions with ease and despatch, from an inexhaustible fountain which they had at home; and their defeats were so far from discouraging them, that indignation gave them fresh strength and ardour for the war.

Amidst these difficulties, new hopes, as vain as the former, offered themselves to Pyrrhus, and enterprises which distracted him in the choice. On one side, ambassadors came from Sicily, who proposed to put Syracuse, Agrigentum, and the city of the Leontines into his hands, and desired him to drive the Carthaginians out of the island, and free it from tyrants; and on the other side, news was brought him from Greece, that Ptolemy Ceraunus was slain in battle by the Gauls, and that this would be a seasonable juncture for him to offer himself to the Macedonians, who wanted a king.\* On this occasion he complained greatly of fortune, for offering him two such glorious opportunities of action at once, and, afflicted to think that in embracing one, he must necessarily give up the other, he was a long time perplexed and doubtful which to fix upon. At last the expedition to Sicily appearing to him the more important, by reason of its nearness to Africa, he determined to go thither, and immediately despatched Cineas before him, according to custom, to treat with the cities in his behalf. He placed, however, a strong garrison in Tarentum, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the people, who insisted that he should either fulfil the purpose he came for, by staying to assist them effectually in the Roman war, or, if he would be gone, to leave their city as he found it. But he gave them a severe answer, ordered them to wait his time, and so set sail.

† Ptolemy Ceraunus was slain three years before, during the consulate of Lævinus. After him the Macedonians had several kings in quick succession. All, therefore, that the letters could import, must be, that the Macedonians would prefer Pyrrhus to Antigonus, who at present was in possession.

When he arrived in Sicily, he found every thing disposed agreeably to his hopes. The cities readily put themselves in his hands; and wherever force was necessary, nothing at first made any considerable resistance to his arms. But with thirty thousand foot, two thousand five hundred horse, and two hundred sail of ships, he advanced against the Carthaginians, drove them before him, and ruined their province. Eryx was the strongest city in those parts, and the best provided with men for its defence, yet he resolved to take it by storm. As soon as his army was in readiness to give the assault, he armed himself at all points, and advancing towards the walls, made a vow to Hercules, of games and sacrifices in acknowledgment of the victory, if in that day's action he should distinguish himself before the Greeks in Sicily, in a manner that became his great descent and his fortune. Then he ordered the signal to be given by sound of trumpet; and having driven the barbarians from the walls with his missive weapons, he planted the scaling ladders, and was himself the first that mounted.

There he was attacked by a crowd of enemies, some of whom he drove back, others he pushed down from the wall on both sides; but the greatest part he slew with his sword, so that there was quite a rampart of dead bodies around him. In the mean time he himself received not the least harm, but appeared to his enemies in the awful character of some superior being. When the city was taken, he offered a magnificent sacrifice to Hercules, and exhibited a variety of shows and games.

The Carthaginians were now inclined to peace, and offered him both money and ships, on condition that he granted them his friendship. But, having farther prospects, he made answer that there was only one way to peace and friendship, which was, for the Carthaginians to evacuate Sicily, and make the Libyan sea the boundary between them and the Greeks. Elated with prosperity and his present strength, he thought of nothing but pursuing the hopes which first drew him into Sicily.

His first object now was Africa. He had vessels enough for his purpose, but he wanted mariners. And in the collecting of them, he was far from proceeding with lenity and moderation. This was not the conduct which he had observed at first; for then he was gracious and affable to an extreme, placed an entire confidence in the people, and avoided giving them the least uneasiness. By these means he had gained their hearts. But now turning from a popular prince into a tyrant, his austerity drew upon him the imputation both of ingratitude and perfidiousness. Necessity, however, obliged them to furnish him with what he demanded, though they were little disposed to it. But what chiefly alienated their affections, was his behaviour to Thonon and Sostratus, two persons of the greatest authority in Syracuse. These were the men who first

invited him into Sicily, who upon his arrival immediately put their city in his hands, and who had been the principal instruments of the great things he had done in the island. Yet his suspicions would neither let him take them with him, nor leave them behind him. Sostratus took the alarm and fled. Whereupon Thonon was seized by Pyrrhus, who alleged that he was an accomplice with Sostratus, and put him to death. Then his affairs ran to ruin, not gradually, and by little and little, but all at once; and the violent hatred which the cities conceived for him, led some of them to join the Carthaginians, and others the Mamertines. While he thus saw nothing around him but cabals, seditions, and insurrections, he received letters from the Samnites and Tarentines, who being quite driven out of the field, and with difficulty defending themselves within their walls, begged his assistance. This afforded a handsome pretence for his departure, without its being called a flight and an absolute giving up his affairs in Sicily. But the truth was, that no longer being able to hold the island, he quitted it like a shattered ship, and threw himself again into Italy. It is reported, that, as he sailed away, he looked back upon the isle, and said to those about him, "What a field we leave the Carthaginians and Romans to exercise their arms in!" and his conjecture was soon after verified.

The barbarians rose against him as he set sail; and being attacked by the Carthaginians on his passage, he lost many of his ships—with the remainder he gained the Italian shore. The Mamertines, to the number of ten thousand, had got thither before him; and, though they were afraid to come to a pitched battle, they attacked and harassed him in the difficult passes, and put his whole army in disorder. He lost two elephants, and a considerable part of his rear was cut in pieces. But he immediately pushed from the van to their assistance, and risked his person in the boldest manner, against men trained by long practice to war, who fought with a spirit of resentment. In this dispute he received a wound in the head, which forced him to retire a little, and animated the enemy still more. One of them, therefore, who was distinguished both by his size and arms, advanced before the lines, and with a loud voice called upon him to come forth if he was alive. Pyrrhus, incensed at this, returned with his guards, and, a visage so fierce with anger, and so besmeared with blood, that it was dreadful to look upon, made his way through his battalions notwithstanding their remonstrances. Thus rushing upon the barbarian, he prevented his blow, and gave him such a stroke on the head with his sword, that he cleaved him quite down, and in one moment the parts fell asunder. This achievement stopped the course of the barbarians, who were struck with admiration and amazement at Pyrrhus, as at a superior being. He made the rest of his march,

therefore, without disturbance, and arrived at Tarentum with twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. Then taking with him the best troops that he found there, he advanced immediately against the Romans, who were encamped in the country of the Samnites.

The affairs of the Samnites were run to ruin, and their spirits sunk, because they had been beaten in several battles by the Romans. There remained also in their hearts some resentment against Pyrrhus on account of his leaving them to go to Sicily, so that few of them repaired to his standard. The forces that he had, he divided into two bodies, one of which he detached into Lucania, to keep one of the consuls\* employed, and hinder him from assisting his colleague; with the other corps he marched in person against the other consul, Manius Curius, who lay safely intrenched near the city of Beneventum, and declined fighting, as well in expectation of the succours from Lucania, as on account of his being deterred from action by the augurs and soothsayers.

Pyrrhus hastening to attack him before he could be joined by his colleague, took the choicest of his troops and the most warlike of his elephants, and pushed forward in the night to surprise his camp. But as he had a long circuit to take, and the roads were entangled with trees and bushes, his lights failed, and numbers of his men lost their way. At day-break he was discovered by the enemy descending from the heights, which caused no small disorder in their camp. Manius, however, finding the sacrifices auspicious, and the time pressing, issued out of his trenches, attacked the vanguard of the enemy, and put them to flight. This spread a consternation through their whole army, so that many of them were killed, and some of the elephants taken. On the other hand, the success led Manius to try a pitched battle. Engaging, therefore, in the open field, one of his wings defeated that of the enemy; but the other was borne down by the elephants, and driven back to the trenches. In this exigency he called for those troops that were left to guard the camp, who were all fresh men and well armed. These, as they descended from their advantageous situation, pierced the elephants with their javelins, and forced them to turn their backs; and those creatures, rushing upon their own battalions, threw them into the greatest confusion and disorder. This put the victory into the hands of the Romans, and empire together with the victory. For by the courage exerted, and the great actions performed this day, they acquired a loftiness of sentiment, an enlargement of power, with the reputation of being invincible, which soon gained them all Italy, and Sicily a little after.

Thus Pyrrhus fell from his hopes of Italy and Sicily, after he had wasted six years in these expeditions. It is true, he was not successful; but amidst all his defeats he preserved his courage

\* Aulus Cornelius Lentulus.



unconquerable, and was reputed to excel, in military experience and personal prowess, all the princess of his time. But what he gained by his achievements, he lost by vain hopes: his desire of something absent, never suffered him effectually to persevere in a present pursuit. Hence it was that Antigonus compared him to a gamester, who makes many good throws at dice, but knows not how to make the best of his game.

He returned to Epirus with eight thousand foot and five hundred horse; but not having funds to maintain them, he sought for a war which might answer that end; and being joined by a body of Gauls, he threw himself into Macedonia, where Antigonus the son of Demetrius reigned at that time. His design was only to pillage and carry off booty: but having taken many cities, and drawn over two thousand of Antigonus's men, he enlarged his views, and marched against the king. Coming up with him in a narrow pass, he put his whole army in disorder. The Gauls, however, who composed Antigonus's rear, being a numerous body, made a gallant resistance. The dispute was sharp, but at last most of them were cut in pieces: and they who had the charge of the elephants, being surrounded, delivered up both themselves and the beasts. After so great an advantage, Pyrrhus following his fortune rather than any rational plan, pushed against the Macedonian phalanx, now struck with terror and confusion at their loss; and perceiving that they refused to engage with him, he stretched out his hand to the commanders and other officers, at the same time calling them all by their names, by which means he drew over the enemies' infantry. Antigonus, therefore, was forced to fly: he persuaded, however, some of the maritime towns to remain under his government.

About this time, Cleonymus the Spartan, came to entreat him that he would march to Lacedæmon, and he lent a willing ear to his request. Cleonymus was of the blood royal; but being of a violent temper and inclined to arbitrary power, he was neither loved nor trusted by the Spartans, and Areus was appointed to the throne. This was an old complaint which he had against the citizens in general. But to this we must add, that when advanced in years, he had married a young woman of great beauty, named Chelidonis, who was of the royal family, and daughter to Leoty-chides. Chelidonis entertaining a violent passion for Acrotatus, the son of Areus, who was both young and handsome, rendered the match not only uneasy but disgraceful to Cleonymus. These domestic misfortunes added to his public ones, provoked him to apply to Pyrrhus, who marched to Sparta with twenty-five thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants.

Cleonymus advised him to give the assault immediately upon his arrival; but Pyrrhus, fearing that his soldiers would plunder the city if they took it by night, put him off, and said they would

proceed to the assault the next day. For he knew there were but few men within the city, and those unprepared; and that Areus the king was absent, being gone to Crete to succour the Gortynians. The contemptible idea which Pyrrhus conceived of its weakness and want of men, was the principal thing that saved the city. For supposing that he should not find the least resistance, he ordered his tents to be pitched, and sat quietly down, while the friends of Cleonymus busied themselves in adorning and preparing his house, in expectation that Pyrrhus would sup with him there that evening.

Night being come, the Lacedæmonians resolved to send off their women to Crete, but they strongly opposed it; and Archidamia entering the senate with a sword in her hand, complained of the mean opinion they entertained of the women, if they imagined they would survive the destruction of Sparta. In the next place they determined to draw a trench parallel to the enemy's camp, and at each end of it to sink waggons into the ground as deep as the naves of the wheels, that so being firmly fixed, they might stop the course of the elephants. As soon as the work was begun, both matrons and maids came and joined them; the former with their robes tucked up, and the latter in their under garments only, to assist the older sort of men. They advised those that were intended for the fight, to repose themselves, and in the mean time they undertook to finish a third part of the trench, which they effected before morning.

At day-break the enemy was in motion, whereupon the women armed the youth with their own hands, and gave them the trench in charge, exhorting them to guard it well, and representing, "How delightful it would be to conquer in the view of their country, or how glorious to expire in the arms of their mothers and their wives, when they had met their death as became Spartans." As for Chelidonis, she retired into her own apartment with a rope about her neck, determined to end her days by it, rather than fall into the hands of Cleonymus, if the city was taken.

Pyrrhus now pressed forward with his infantry against the Spartans, who waited for him under a rampart of shields. But, beside that the ditch was scarcely passable, he found that there was no firm footing on the sides of it for his soldiers, because of the looseness of the fresh earth. His son Ptolemy, seeing this, fetched a compass about the trench with two thousand Gauls and a select body of Chaonians, and endeavoured to open a passage on the quarter of the waggons. But these were so deep fixed and close locked, that they not only obstructed their passage, but made it difficult for the Spartans to come up and make a close defence.—The Gauls were now beginning to drag out the wheels and draw the waggons into the river, when young Acrotatus, perceiving the

danger, traversed the city with three hundred men, and by the advantage of some hollow ways, surrounded Ptolemy, not being seen till he began the attack upon his rear. Ptolemy was now forced to face about, and stand upon the defensive. In the confusion many of his soldiers running foul upon each other, either tumbled into the ditch, or fell under the waggons. At last, after a long dispute and great effusion of blood, they were entirely routed.—The old men and the women saw this exploit of Acrotatus; and as he returned through the city to his post, covered with blood, bold and elated with his victory, he appeared to the Spartan women taller and more graceful than ever, and they could not help envying Chelidonis such a lover.

Night parted the combatants; and Pyrrhus, as he lay in his tent, had this dream—he thought he darted lightning upon Lacedæmon, which set all the city on fire, and that the sight filled him with joy. The transport awaking him, he ordered his officers to put their men under arms; and to some of his friends he related his vision, from which he assured himself that he should take the city by storm. The thing was received with admiration and a general assent, but it did not please Lysimachus. He said, that as no foot is to tread on places that are struck by lightning, so the Deity by this might presignify to Pyrrhus, that the city should remain inaccessible to him. Pyrrhus answered: “These visions may serve as amusements for the vulgar, but there is not any thing more uncertain and obscure. While, then, you have your weapons in your hands, remember, my friends,

The best of omens is the cause of Pyrrhus.”

So saying, he arose, and, as soon as it was light, renewed the attack. The Lacedæmonians stood upon their defence with an alacrity and spirit above their strength; and the women attended, supplying them with arms, giving bread and drink to such as wanted it, and taking care of the wounded. The Macedonians then attempted to fill up the ditch, bringing great quantities of materials, and throwing them upon the arms and bodies of the dead. The Lacedæmonians on their part redoubled their efforts against them. But, all on a sudden, Pyrrhus appeared on the side of the trench where the waggons had been planted to stop the passage, advancing at full speed towards the city. The soldiers who had the charge of that post cried out, and the women fled with loud shrieks and wailings. In the mean time Pyrrhus was pushing on, and overthrowing all that opposed him; but his horse received a wound in the belly from a Cretan arrow, ran away, and threw him upon steep and slippery ground. As his friends pressed towards him in great confusion, the Spartans came boldly up, and making good use of their arrows, drove them all back. Hereupon Pyrrhus put an entire stop to the action, thinking the Spartans would abate

their vigour, now they were almost all wounded, and such great numbers killed. Just as the hopes of the Spartans were beginning to expire, Aminius the Phocæan, one of Antigonus's officers, came to their relief from Corinth with an army of strangers; and they had no sooner entered the town, but Areus their king arrived from Crete with two thousand men more. The women now retired immediately to their houses; thinking it needless to concern themselves any farther in the war; the old men too, who, notwithstanding their age, had been forced to bear arms, were dismissed, and the new supplies put in their place.

These two reinforcements to Sparta served only to animate the courage of Pyrrhus, and make him more ambitious to take the town. Finding, however, that he could effect nothing, after a series of losses and ill success, he quitted the siege, and began to collect booty from the country, intending to pass the winter there. But fate is unavoidable. There happened at that time a strong contention at Argos between the parties of Aristæas and Aristippus; and as Aristippus appeared to have a connexion with Antigonus, Aristæas, to prevent him, called in Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus, whose hopes grew as fast as they were cut off, who, if he met with success, only considered it as a step to greater things; and if with disappointment, endeavoured to compensate it by some new advantage, would neither let his victories nor losses put a period to his disturbing both the world and himself. He began his march therefore immediately for Argos. Areus, by frequent ambushes, and by possessing himself of the difficult passes, cut off many of the Gauls and Molossians who brought up his rear. In the sacrifice which Pyrrhus had offered, the liver was found without a head, and the diviner had thence forewarned him, that he was in danger of losing some person that was dear to him; but in the hurry and disorder of this unexpected attack, he forgot the menace from the victim, and ordered his son Ptolemy with some of his guards to the assistance of the rear, whilst he himself pushed on, and disengaged his main body from those dangerous passages. In the mean time Ptolemy met with a very warm reception: for he was engaged by a select party of Lacedæmonians, under the command of Eualcus. In the heat of action, a Cretan of Aptaera, named Oræsus, a man of remarkable strength and swiftness, came up with the young prince, as he was fighting with great gallantry, and with a blow on the side, laid him dead upon the spot. As soon as he fell, his party turned their backs and fled. The Lacedæmonians pursued them, and in the ardour of victory, insensibly advancing into the open plain, got at a great distance from their infantry. Pyrrhus, who by this time had heard of the death of his son, and was greatly afflicted at it, drew out his Molossian horse, and charging at the head of them, satiated himself with the blood of the Lacedæmonians.

Pyrrhus having thus sacrificed to the manes of his son, found that he had vented much of his grief in the fury of his combat, and marched more composed to Argos. Finding that Antigonus kept the high grounds adjoining to the plain, he encamped near the town of Nauplia. Next day he sent a herald to Antigonus, with a challenge in abusive terms to come down into the field, and fight with him for the kingdom. Antigonus said, "Time is the weapon that I use, as much as the sword; and if Pyrrhus is weary of his life, there are many ways to end it." To both the kings there came ambassadors from Argos, entreating them to retire, and so prevent that city from being subjected to either, which had a friendship for them both. Antigonus agreed to the overture, and sent his son to the Argives as a hostage. Pyrrhus at the same time promised to retire, but, sending no hostage, he was much suspected.

In the dead of night Pyrrhus approached the walls, and finding one of the gates opened to him by Aristes, he was not discovered till his Gauls had entered and seized the market-place. But the gate not being high enough to receive the elephants, they were forced to take off their towers; and having afterwards put them on again in the dark, it could not be done without noise and loss of time, by which they were discovered. The Argives ran into the citadel called *Aspis*,\* and other places of defence, and sent to call in Antigonus. But he only advanced towards the walls, to watch his opportunity, and contented himself with sending in some of his principal officers and his son with considerable succours.

At the same time Areus arrived in the town with a thousand Cretans and the most active of his Spartans. All these troops being joined, fell at once upon the Gauls, and put them in great disorder. Pyrrhus entered at a place called *Cylarabis*, with great noise and loud shouts, which were echoed by the Gauls; but he thought their shouts were neither full nor bold, but rather expressive of terror and distress. He therefore advanced in great haste, pushing forward his cavalry, though they marched in danger from drains and sewers, of which the city was full. Besides, in this nocturnal combat, it was impossible either to see what was done, or to hear the orders that were given. The soldiers were scattered about, and lost their way among the narrow streets; nor could the officers rally them in that darkness, amidst such a variety of noises, and

\* There was an annual feast at Argos, in honour of Juno, called *Junonia*, and also *Hecatombia*, from the hecatomb of oxen then offered. Among other games, this prize was proposed for the youth. In a place of considerable strength above the theatre, a brazen buckler was nailed to the wall, and they were to try their strength in plucking it off. The victor was crowned with a myrtle garland, and had the buckler [in Greek *Aspis*] for his pains. Hence the name of the fort. Not only the youth of Argos, but strangers, were admitted to the contest, as appears from Pindar, for, speaking of Diagoras of Rhodes, he says,—

The Argive buckler knew him.

*Olymp. Ode 7.*

in such strait passages ; so that both sides continued without doing any thing, and waited for day-light.

At the first dawn Pyrrhus was concerned to see the Aspis full of armed men ; but his concern was changed into consternation, when among the many figures in the market-place he beheld a wolf and a bull in brass represented in the act of fighting. For he recollected an oracle which had foretold, "That it was his destiny to die when he should see a wolf encountering a bull."

Pyrrhus quite dispirited at the sight, and perceiving at the same time that nothing succeeded according to his hopes, thought it best to retreat. Fearing that the gates were too narrow, he sent orders to his son Helenus, who was left with the main body without the town, to demolish part of the wall and assist the retreat, if the enemy tried to obstruct it. But the person whom he sent, mistaking the order in the hurry and tumult, and delivering it quite in a contrary sense, the young prince entered the gates with the rest of the elephants and the best of his troops, and marched to assist his father. Pyrrhus was now retiring ; and while the market-place afforded room both to retreat and fight, he often faced about and repulsed the assailants. But when from that broad place he came to crowd into the narrow street leading to the gate, he fell in with those who were advancing to his assistance. It was in vain to call out to them to fall back. Few could hear him ; and such as did near, and were most disposed to obey his orders, were pushed back by those who came pouring in behind. Besides, the largest of the elephants was fallen in the gate-way on his side, and lying there and braying in a horrible manner, he stopped those who would have got out. And among the elephants already in the town, one named Nicon, striving to take up his master who was fallen off wounded, rushed against the party that was retreating, and overturned both friends and enemies promiscuously, till he found the body. Then he took it up with his trunk, and carrying it on his two teeth returned in great fury, and trod down all before him. When they were thus pressed and crowded together, not a man could do any thing singly, but the whole multitude, like one close compacted body, rolled this way and that altogether. They exchanged but few blows with the enemy, either in front or rear, and the greatest harm they did was to themselves.

Pyrrhus, seeing the tempest rolling about him, took off the plume with which his helmet was distinguished, and gave it to one of his friends. Then trusting to the goodness of his horse, he rode in amongst the enemy who were harrassing his rear, and it happened that he was wounded through the breast-plate with a javelin. The wound was rather slight than dangerous, but he turned against the man that gave it, who was an Argive of no note, the son of a poor old woman. This woman, among others, looking upon the fight

from the roof of a house, beheld her son thus engaged. Seized with terror at the sight, she took up a large tile with both hands, and threw it at Pyrrhus. The tile fell upon his head, and notwithstanding his helmet, crushed the lower *vertebræ* of his neck. Darkness in a moment covered his eyes, his hands let go the reins, and he fell from his horse by the tomb of Licymnius. The crowd that was about him did not know him, but one Zopyrus who served under Antigonus and two or three others, coming up, knew him, and dragged him into a porch that was at hand, just as he was beginning to recover from the blow. Zopyrus had drawn his Illyrian blade to cut off his head, when Pyrrhus opened his eyes, and gave him so fierce a look, that he was struck with terror: his hands trembled, and between his desire to give the stroke, and the confusion he was in, he missed his neck, but wounded him in the mouth and chin, so that it was a long time before he could separate the head from the body.

By this time his death was generally known, and Alcyoneus, the son of Antigonus, came hastily up, and asked for the head, as if he wanted only to look at it. But as soon as he had got it, he rode off with it to his father, and cast it at his feet, as he was sitting with his friends. Antigonus, looking upon the head, and knowing it, thrust his son from him: and struck him with his staff, calling him an impious and barbarous wretch. Then putting his robe before his eyes, he wept in remembrance of the fate of his grandfather Antigonus,\* and that of his father Demetrius, two instances in his own house of the mutability of fortune. As for the head and body of Pyrrhus, he ordered them to be laid in magnificent attire on the funeral pile and burnt. After this, Alcyoneus having met with Helenus in great distress and a mean garb, addressed him in a courteous manner, and conducted him to his father, who thus expressed himself on this occasion:—"In this, my son, you have acted much better than before; but still you are deficient: for you should have taken off that mean habit, which is a greater disgrace to us who are victorious, than it is to be vanquished."

Then he paid his respects to Helenus in a very obliging manner, and sent him to Epirus with a proper equipage. He gave also the same kind of reception to the friends of Pyrrhus, after he had made himself master of his whole camp and army.

\* Antigonus the First was killed at the battle of Ipsus, and Demetrius the First long kept a prisoner by his son-in-law Seleucus.

## EUMENES.

*Flourished 318 years before Christ.*

DURIS the historian writes, that Eumenes the Cardian was the son of a waggoner in the Chersonesus, and yet that he had a liberal education both as to learning and the exercises then in vogue.\* He says that while he was but a lad, Philip happening to be in Cardia, went to spend an hour of leisure in seeing how the young men acquitted themselves in the *pancratation*,† and the boys wrestling. Among these Eumenes succeeded so well, and shewed so much activity and address, that Philip was pleased with him, and took him into his train. But others assert, with a greater appearance of probability, that Philip preferred him on account of the ties of friendship and hospitality there were between him and the father of Eumenes.

After the death of Philip, he maintained the reputation of being equal to any of Alexander's officers in capacity, and in the honour with which he discharged his commissions; and though he had only the title of principal secretary, he was looked upon in as honourable a light as the king's most intimate friends and counselors, insomuch that he had the sole direction of an Indian expedition, and upon the death of Hephæstion, when Perdiccas had the post of that favourite, he succeeded Perdiccas. Therefore, when Neoptolemus, who had been the principal armour-bearer, took upon him to say, after the death of Alexander, "That he had borne the shield and spear of the monarch, and that Eumenes had only followed with his *escritoir*," the Macedonians only laughed at his vanity, knowing that, besides other marks of honour, Alexander had thought Eumenes not unworthy his alliance.

Upon the death of Alexander a great quarrel broke out between the *phalanx* and the late king's friends and generals. Eumenes, in his heart sided with the *phalanx*, but in appearance, stood neuter, as a person perfectly indifferent, saying, it did not become him, as a stranger, to interfere in the disputes of the Macedonians; and when the other great officers retired from Babylon, he staid there, endeavouring to appease that body of infantry, and to dispose them to a reconciliation.

After these troubles were past and the generals met to consult about the dividing the provinces and armies among them, the coun-

\* There were public schools, where children of all conditions were taught, without distinction.

† The *pancratation* was a composition of wrestling and boxing.



tries assigned Eumenes, were Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, and the coast of the sea of Pontus, as far as Trapezus. These countries were not then subject to the Macedonians, for Ariarathes was king of them; but Leonatus and Antigonus were to go with a great army, and put Eumenes in possession. Antigonus, now elated with power, and despising all the world, gave no attention to the letters of Perdiccas. But Leonatus marched down from the upper provinces in Phrygia, and promised to undertake the expedition for Eumenes. Immediately after this, Hecatæus, a petty tyrant in Cardia, applied to Leonatus, and desired him rather to go to the relief of Antipater and the Macedonians, who were besieged in Lamia. Leonatus being inclined to go, called Eumenes, and attempted to reconcile him to Hecatæus. They had long had suspicions of each other on account of a family difference in point of politics, in consequence of which Eumenes had accused Hecatæus of setting himself up tyrant in Cardia, and had entreated Alexander to restore that people to their liberty. He now desired to be excused taking a share in the Grecian expedition, alleging, he was afraid Antipater, who had long hated him, to gratify himself as well as Hecatæus, would make some attempt upon his life. Upon which Leonatus, placing an entire confidence in him, opened to him all his heart. He told him the assisting Antipater was nothing but a pretext, and that he designed, as soon as he landed in Greece, to assert his claim to Macedonia. At the same time he showed him letters from Cleopatra,\* in which she invited him to Pella, and promised to give him her hand.

Whether Eumenes was really afraid of Antipater, or whether he despaired of any service from Leonatus, who was extremely obstinate in his temper, and followed every impulse of a precipitate ambition, he withdrew from him in the night with all his equipage, which consisted of three hundred horse, two hundred of his domestics, well armed, and all his treasure, amounting to five thousand talents. With this he fled to Perdiccas; and as he acquainted the general with the secret designs of Leonatus, he was immediately taken into a high degree of favour, and admitted to a share in his councils. In a little time, too, Perdiccas in person conducted him into Cappadocia, with a great army, took Ariarathes prisoner, subdued all the country, and established Eumenes in that government; in consequence of which, Eumenes put the cities under the direction of his friends, placed guards and garrisons, with proper officers at their heads, and appointed judges and superintendents of the revenue; Perdiccas leaving the entire disposition of those things to him. After this, he departed with Perdiccas, choosing to give him that testimony of respect, and not thinking it consistent with his interest to be absent from his court. But Perdiccas, satisfied

\* The sister of Alexander.

that he could himself execute the designs he was meditating, and perceiving that those provinces he had left behind required an able and faithful guardian, sent back Eumenes when he had reached Cilicia. The pretence was, that he might attend to the concerns of his own government ; but the real intention, that he should secure the adjoining province of Armenia, which was disturbed by the practices of Neoptolemus.

Neoptolemus was a man of sanguine pursuits and unbounded vanity. Eumenes, however, endeavoured to keep him to his duty, by soothing applications ; and as he saw the Macedonian infantry were become extremely insolent and audacious, he applied himself to raising a body of cavalry, which might be a counterpoise against them. For this purpose he remitted the taxes, and gave other immunities to those of his province who were good horsemen.

About this time, Craterus and Antipater, having reduced Greece, passed into Asia to overthrow the power of Perdiccas, and news was brought that their first intention was to enter Cappadocia. Perdiccas himself was engaged in war with Ptolemy : he, therefore, appointed Eumenes commander in chief of the forces in Armenia and Cappadocia, and wrote to Alcetas and Neoptolemus to obey the orders of that general, whom he had invested with discretionary powers. Alcetas refused to submit to that injunction, alleging that the Macedonians would be ashamed to fight Antipater ; and, as for Craterus, their affection to him was such, that they would receive him with open arms. On the other hand, it was visible that Neoptolemus was forming some treacherous scheme against Eumenes ; for, when called upon, he refused to join him, and, instead of that, prepared to give him battle.

This was the first occasion on which Eumenes reaped the fruits of his foresight and timely preparations ; for, though his infantry were beaten, with his cavalry he put Neoptolemus to flight, and took his baggage ; and while the phalanx were dispersed upon the pursuit, he fell upon him in such good order with his horse, that they were forced to lay down their arms, and take an oath to serve him. Neoptolemus collected some of the fugitives, and retired with them to Craterus and Antipater. They had already sent ambassadors to Eumenes, to desire him to adopt their interests, in reward of which they would confirm to him the provinces he had, and give him others, with an additional number of troops ; in which case he would find Antipater a friend instead of an enemy, and continue in friendship with Craterus, instead of turning his arms against him.

Eumenes made answer to these proposals—" That having long been on a footing of enmity with Antipater, he did not choose to be his friend at a time when he saw him treating his friends as so many enemies. As for Craterus, he was ready to reconcile him to Perdiccas, and to compromise matters between them upon just

and reasonable terms. But if he should begin hostilities, he would support his injured friend while he had an hour to live, and rather sacrifice life itself than his honour."

When this answer was reported to Antipater and Craterus, they took some time to deliberate upon the measures they should pursue. Meanwhile Neoptomelus arriving, gave them an account of the battle he had lost, and requested assistance of them both, but particularly of Craterus. He said—"The Macedonians had so extraordinary an attachment to him, that if they saw but his hat, or heard but one accent of his tongue, they would immediately run to him with their swords in their hands." Indeed, the reputation of Craterus was very great among them, and, after the death of Alexander, most of them wished to be under his command. They remembered the risks he had run of embroiling himself with Alexander for their sakes: how he had combated the inclination for Persian fashions which insensibly grew upon him, and supported the customs of his country against the insults of barbaric pomp and luxury.

Craterus now sent Antipater into Cilicia, and taking a considerable part of the forces himself, marched along with Neoptolemus against Eumenes. If Eumenes foresaw his coming and was prepared for it, we may impute it to the vigilance necessary in a general. But when, besides his concealing from the enemy what they ought not to discover, he brought his own troops to action, without knowing who was their adversary, and made them serve against Craterus, without finding out that he was the officer they had to contend with; in this we see characteristic proofs of superior genius. For he propagated a report, that Neoptolemus, assisted by Pigris, was advancing again with some Cappadocian and Paphlagonian horse.

When he came to give battle, he would not set any Macedonians to engage Craterus, but appointed to that charge two bodies of foreign horse, commanded by Pharnabazus, the son of Artabazus, and Phœnix of Tenedos. They had orders to advance on the first sight of the enemy, and come to close fighting without giving them time to retire; and if they attempted to speak or send any herald, they were not to regard it. For he had strong apprehensions that the Macedonians would go over to Craterus if they happened to know him.

Eumenes himself, with a troop of three hundred select horse, posted himself in the right wing, where he should have to act against Neoptolemus. When they had passed a little hill that separated the two armies, and came in view, they charged with such impetuosity, that Craterus was extremely surprised, and expressed his resentment in strong terms against Neoptolemus, who, he thought, had deceived him with a pretence that the Macedonians

would change sides. However, he exhorted his officers to behave like brave men, and stood forward to the encounter. In the first shock, which was very violent, the spears were soon broke, and they were then to decide the dispute with the sword.

The behaviour of Craterus did no dishonour to Alexander. He killed numbers with his own hand, and overthrew many others who assailed him in front. But at last he received a side blow from a Thracian, which brought him to the ground. Many passed over him without knowing him; but Georgias, one of Eumenes's officers, took notice of him, and being well acquainted with his person, leaped from his horse, and guarded the body. It was then, however, too late; he was at the last extremity, and in the agonies of death.

In the mean time, Neoptolemus engaged Eumenes: The most violent hatred had long subsisted between them, and this day added stings to it. They knew not one another in the two first encounters, but in the third they did; and then they rushed forward impetuously with swords drawn and loud shouts. The shock their horses met with was so violent, that it resembled that of two gallees. The fierce antagonists quitted the bridles, and laid hold on each other; each endeavouring to tear off the helmet or the breast-plate of his enemy. While their hands were thus engaged, their horses went from under them, and as they fell to the ground without quitting their hold, they wrestled for the advantage. Neoptolemus was beginning to rise first, when Eumenes wounded him in the ham, and by that means got upon his feet before him. Neoptolemus being wounded in one knee, supported himself upon the other, and fought with great courage underneath, but was not able to reach his adversary a mortal blow. At last receiving a wound in the neck, he grew faint, and stretched himself upon the ground. Eumenes, with all the eagerness of inveterate hatred, hastening to strip him of his arms, and loading him with reproaches, did not observe that his sword was still in his hand; so that Neoptolemus wounded him under the cuirass, where it touches upon the groin. However, as the stroke was but feeble, the apprehensions it gave him were greater than the real hurt.

When he had despoiled his adversary, weak as he was with the wounds he had received in his legs and arms, he mounted his horse and made up to his left wing. There, being informed of the fate of Craterus, he hastened to him, and finding his breath and his senses not quite gone, he alighted from his horse, wept over him, and gave him his hand. One while he vented his execrations upon Neoptolemus, and another while lamented his own ill fortune, and the cruel necessity he was under of coming to extremities with his most intimate friend, and either giving or receiving the fatal blow.

Eumenes won this battle about ten days after the former; and it

raised him to a high rank of honour, because it brought him the palm both of capacity and courage, but at the same time it exposed him to the envy and hatred both of his allies and his enemies. It seemed hard to them, that a stranger, a foreign adventurer, should have destroyed one of the greatest and most illustrious of the Macedonians, with the arms of those very Macedonians. Had the news of the death of Craterus been brought sooner to Perdicas, none but he would have swayed the Macedonian sceptre; but he was slain in a mutiny in Egypt, two days before the news arrived. The Macedonians were so much exasperated against Eumenes upon the late event, that they immediately decreed his death. Antigonus and Antipater were to take the direction of the war which was to carry that decree into execution. Meantime Eumenes went to the king's horses which were pasturing upon Mount Ida, and took such as he had occasion for, but gave the keepers a discharge for them. When Antipater was apprised of it, he laughed, and said—"He could not enough admire the caution of Eumenes, who must certainly expect to see the account of the king's goods and chattels stated either on one side or other.

Eumenes intended to give battle upon the plains of Lydia, near Sardis, both because he was strong in cavalry, and because he was ambitious to show Cleopatra what a respectable force he had: however, at the request of that princess, who was afraid to give Antipater any cause of complaint, he marched to Upper Phrygia, and wintered in Celæna. There Alcetas, Polemon, and Docimus, contended with him for the command; upon which he said—"This makes good the observation, every one thinks of advancing himself, but no one thinks of the danger that may accrue to the public weal."

He had promised to pay his army within three days, and as he had not money to do it, he sold them all the farms and castles in the country, together with the people and cattle that were upon them. Every captain of a Macedonian company, or officer who had a command in the foreign troops, received battering engines from Eumenes; and when he had taken the castle, he divided the spoil among his company, according to the arrears due to each particular man. This restored him the affection of the soldiers, insomuch that when papers were found in his camp, dispersed by the enemy, in which their generals promised a hundred talents and great honours to the man who should kill Eumenes, the Macedonians were highly incensed, and gave orders that from that time he should have a body-guard of a thousand officer-like men always about him, who should keep watch by turns, and be in waiting day and night.

Prosperity gives some appearance of higher sentiments even to persons of mean spirit, and we see something of grandeur and im-

portance about them in the elevation where Fortune has placed them. But he who is inspired by real fortitude and magnanimity, will show it most by the dignity of his behaviour under losses, and in the most adverse fortune. So did Eumenes. Having been defeated by Antigonus, and in the territory of the Orcynians in Cappadocia, through the treachery of one of his officers, though he was forced to fly himself, he did not suffer the traitor to escape to the enemy, but hanged him upon the spot. In his flight he took a different way from the pursuers, and privately turned round in such a manner as to regain the field of battle. There he encamped, in order to bury the dead; whom he collected, and burnt with the door-posts of the neighbouring villages. The bodies of the officers and common soldiers were burnt upon separate piles, and when he had raised great monuments of earth over them, he decamped. So that Antigonus coming that way afterwards, was astonished at his firmness and intrepidity.

Another time he fell in with the baggage of Antigonus, and could easily have taken it, together with many persons of free condition, a great number of slaves, and all the wealth which had been amassed in so many wars, and the plunder of so many countries. But he was afraid that his men, when possessed of such riches, would think themselves too heavy for flight, and be too effeminate to bear the hardship of long wandering from place to place; and yet time, he knew, was his principal resource for getting clear of Antigonus. On the other hand, he was sensible it would be extremely difficult to keep the Macedonians from flying upon the spoil, when it was so much within reach: he therefore ordered them to refresh themselves, and feed their horses, before they attacked the enemy. In the mean time he privately sent a messenger to Menander, who escorted the baggage, to acquaint him, "That Eumenes, in consideration of the friendship which had subsisted between them, advised him to provide for his safety, and to retire as fast as possible from the plain, where he might easily be surrounded, to the foot of the neighbouring mountain, where the cavalry could not act, nor any troops fall upon his rear."

Menander soon perceived his danger, and retired. After which, Eumenes sent out his scouts in the presence of all the soldiers, and commanded the latter to arm and bridle their horses, in order for the attack. The scouts brought back an account that Menander had gained a situation where he could not be taken: hereupon Eumenes pretended great concern, and drew off his forces. We are told, that upon the report Menander made of this affair to Antigonus, the Macedonians launched out in the praises of Eumenes, and began to regard him with an eye of kindness, for acting so generous a part, when it was in his power to enslave their children and dishonour their wives. The answer Antigonus gave them was

this—"Think not, my good friends, it was for your sake he let them go; it was for his own. He did not choose to have so many shackles upon him, when he designed to fly."

After this, Eumenes, being forced to wander from place to place, spoke to many of his soldiers to leave him; either out of care for their safety, or because he did not choose to have a body of men after him, who were but too few to stand a battle, and too many to fly in privacy; and when he retired to the castle of Nora,\* on the confines of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, with only five hundred horse, and two hundred foot, there again he gave all such of his friends free leave to depart, as did not like the inconveniences of the place, and the meanness of diet,† and dismissed them with great marks of kindness.

In a little time Antigonus came up, and, before he formed the siege, invited him to a conference. Eumenes answered, "Antigonus had many friends and generals to take his place, in case of accidents to himself; but the troops he had the care of, had none to command or protect them after him." He therefore insisted that Antigonus should send hostages, if he wished to treat with him in person: and when Antigonus wanted him to make his application to him first, he said, "While I am master of my sword, I shall never think any man greater than myself." At last Antigonus sent his nephew Ptolemy into the fort as a hostage, and then Eumenes came out to him. They embraced with great tokens of cordiality, having formerly been intimate friends and companions.

In the conference, which lasted a considerable time, Eumenes made no mention of security for his own life, or of an amnesty for what was past. Instead of that, he insisted on having the government of his provinces confirmed to him, and considerable rewards for his services; insomuch that all who attended on the occasion, admired his firmness, and were astonished at his greatness of mind.

During the interview, numbers of the Macedonians ran to see Eumenes; for, after the death of Craterus, no man was so much talked of in the army. But Antigonus, fearing they should offer him some violence, called to them at a distance; and, on their still crowding in, ordered them to be driven off with stones. At last he took him in his arms, and keeping off the multitude with his guards, with some difficulty got him safe again into the castle.

As the treaty ended in nothing, Antigonus drew a line of circumvallation round the place, and having left a sufficient number of troops to carry on the siege, he retired. The fort was abundantly supplied with corn, water and salt, but in want of every thing else

\* It was only two hundred and fifty paces in circumference.

† A hundred left him upon this offer.

requisite for the table. Yet with this mean provision, Eumenes furnished out a cheerful entertainment for his friends, whom he invited in their turns; for he took care to season his provisions with agreeable discourse and the utmost cordiality: his appearance was, indeed, very engaging; his countenance had nothing of a ferocious or war-worn turn, but was smooth and elegant—and the the proportion of his limbs was so excellent, that they might seem to have come from the chissel of the statuary. And though he was not very eloquent, he had a soft and persuasive way of speaking.

He observed, that the greatest inconvenience to the garrison was the narrowness of the space in which they were confined, enclosed as it was with small houses, and the whole of it not more than two furlongs in circuit: so that they were forced to take their food without exercise, and their horses to do the same. To remove the languor which is the consequence of that want, as well as to prepare him for flight, if occasion should offer, he assigned a room fourteen cubits long, the largest in the fort, for the men to walk in, and gave them orders gradually to mend their pace. As for the horses, he tied them to the roof of the stable with strong halters; then he raised their heads and fore parts by a pulley, till they could scarce touch the ground with their fore feet, but at the same time, they stood firm upon their hind feet. In this posture the grooms plied them with the whip and the voice, and the horses, thus irritated, bounded furiously on their hind feet, or strained to set their fore feet on the ground, by which efforts their whole body was exercised, till they were out of breath and in a foam. After this exercise they had their barley given them boiled, that they might sooner despatch and better digest it.

As the siege was drawn out to a considerable length, Antigonus received information of the death of Antipater in Macedonia, and of the troubles that prevailed there through the animosities between Cassander and Polyperchon. He now bade adieu to all inferior prospects, and grasped the whole empire in his schemes, in consequence of which he wished to make Eumenes his friend, and bring him to co-operate in the execution of his plan. For this purpose, he sent to him Hieronymus,\* with proposals for peace, on condition he took the oath that was offered to him. Eumenes made a correction in the oath, and left it to the Macedonians before the place, to judge which was the most reasonable. Indeed, Antigonus, to save appearances, had slightly mentioned the royal family in the beginning, and all the rest ran in his own name. Eumenes, therefore, put Olympias and the princes of the blood first; and he pro-

\* Hieronymus was of Cardia, and therefore a countryman of Eumenes. He wrote the history of those princes who divided Alexander's dominions among them, and of their successors.



posed to engage himself by oath of fealty not to Antigonus only, but to Olympias, and the princes her children. This appearing to the Macedonians much more consistent with justice than the other, they permitted Eumenes to take it, and then raised the siege. They likewise sent this oath to Antigonus, requiring him to take it on the other part.

Meantime Eumenes restored to the Cappadocians all the hostages he had in Nora, and in return they furnished him with horses, beasts of burden, and tents. He also collected great part of his soldiers, who had dispersed themselves after his defeat, and were straggling about the country. By this means he assembled near a thousand horse,\* with which he marched off as fast as possible, rightly judging he had much to fear from Antigonus. For that general not only ordered him to be besieged again, and shut up within a circular wall, but, in his letters, expressed great resentment against the Macedonians for admitting the correction of the oath.

While Eumenes was flying from place to place, he received letters from Macedonia, in which the people declared their apprehensions of the growing power of Antigonus; and others from Olympias, wherein she invited him to come and take upon him the tuition and care of Alexander's son, whose life she conceived to be in danger. At the same time, Polyperchon and King Philip sent him orders to carry on the war against Antigonus with the forces in Cappadocia. They empowered him also to take five hundred talents out of the royal treasure at Quinda for the re-establishment of his own affairs, and as much as he should judge necessary for the purposes of the war. Antigones and Teutamus, too, who commanded the *Argyraspides*, had directions to support him.

These officers, in appearance, gave Eumenes a kind reception but it was not difficult to discover the envy and jealousy they had in their hearts, and how much they disdained to act under him. Their envy he endeavoured to remove by not taking the money, which he told them he did not want. To remove their obstinacy and ambition for the first place, was not so easy an affair; for, though they knew not how to command, they were resolved not to obey. In this case he called in the assistance of superstition: he said, Alexander had appeared to him in a dream, and showed him a pavilion with royal furniture, and a throne in the middle of it, after which that prince declared—"If they would hold their councils, and despatch business there, he would be with them, and prosper every measure and action which commenced under his auspices.†

\* Diodorus Siculus says two thousand.

† In consequence of this, according to Diodorus, Eumenes proposed to take a sum out of the treasury, sufficient for making a throne of gold: to place upon that throne the diadem, the sceptre and crown, and all the other ensigns of royalty belonging to

He easily persuaded Antigones and Teutamus to believe he had this vision. They were not willing to wait upon him, nor did he choose to dishonour his commission by going to them. They prepared, therefore, a royal pavilion, and a throne in it, which they called the throne of Alexander, and thither they repaired to consult upon the most important affairs.

From thence they marched to the higher provinces, and, upon the way, were joined by Peucestas, a friend of Eumenes, and other governors of provinces. Thus the Macedonians were greatly strengthened, both in point of numbers, and in the most magnificent provision of all the requisites of war. But power and affluence had rendered these governors so untractable in society, and so dissolute in their way of living, since the death of Alexander, and they came together with a spirit of despotism, so nursed by barbaric pride, that they soon became obnoxious to each other, and no sort of harmony could subsist between them. Besides, they flattered the Macedonians without any regard to decorum, and supplied them with money in such a manner, for their entertainments and sacrifices, that in a little time their camp looked like a place of public reception for every scene of intemperance; and those veterans were to be courted for military appointments as the people are for their votes in a republic.

Eumenes soon perceived that the new-arrived grandees despised each other, but were afraid of him, and watched an opportunity to kill him. He therefore pretended he was in want of money, and borrowed large sums of those that hated him most,\* in order that they might place some confidence in him, or at least might give up their designs upon his life, out of regard to the money lent him. Thus he found guards for himself, in the opulence of others; and though men in general seek to save their lives by giving, he provided for his safety by receiving.

While no danger was near, the Macedonians took bribes of all who wanted to corrupt them, and, like a kind of guards, daily attended the gates of those that aspired to the command. But when Antigonus came and encamped over against them, and affairs called for a real general, Eumenes was applied to, not only by the soldiers, but the very grandees who had taken so much state upon them in time of peace and pleasure, freely gave place to him, and took the place he assigned them without murmuring. Indeed, when Antigonus attempted to pass the river Pasitigris, not one of the other officers who were appointed to guard it, got any intelligence of his motions: Eumenes alone was at hand to oppose him, and he did it

that prince; that every morning a sacrifice should be offered him by all the officers; and that all orders should be issued in his name. A stroke of policy suited to the genius of Eumenes.

\* Four hundred thousand crowns.

so effectually, that he filled the channel with dead bodies, and made four thousand prisoners.

The behaviour of the Macedonians, when Eumenes happened to be sick, still more particularly showed, that they thought others fit to direct in magnificent entertainments, and the solemnities of peace, but that he was the only person among them qualified to lead an army. For Peucestas having feasted them in a sumptuous manner in Persia, and given each man a sheep for sacrifice, hoped to be indulged with the command. A few days after, as they were marching against the enemy, Eumenes was so dangerously ill, that he was forced to be carried in a litter at some distance from the ranks, lest his rest should be disturbed with the noise. They had not gone far before the enemy suddenly made their appearance; for they had passed the intermediate hills, and were now descending into the plain. The lustre of their golden armour glittering in the sun, the elephants with their towers on their backs, and the purple vests which the cavalry used to wear when they were advancing to the combat, struck the troops that were to oppose them with such surprise, that the front halted, and called out for Eumenes, declaring that they would not move a step farther, if he had not the direction of them.

Eumenes no sooner heard this, than he advanced with the utmost expedition, hastening the slaves that carried the litter. He likewise opened the curtains, and stretched out his hand, in token of his joy. On the first sight of the general of their heart, the troops saluted him in the Macedonian language, clanked their arms, and, with loud shouts, challenged the enemy to advance, thinking themselves invincible while he was at their head.

Antigonus having learned from some prisoners, that Eumenes was so extremely ill, that he was forced to be carried in a litter, concluded he should find no great difficulty in beating the other generals, and therefore, hastened to the attack. But when he came to reconnoitre the enemies' army, and saw in what excellent order it was drawn up, he stood still some time in silent admiration. At last, spying the litter carried about, from one wing to the other, he laughed out aloud, as his manner was, and said to his friends—"Yon litter is the thing that pitches the battle against us."—After this he immediately retreated to his entrenchments.\*

\* There are some particulars in Diodorus, which deserve to be inserted here. After the two armies were separated without coming to action, they encamped about three furlongs distance from each other; and Antigonus soon finding the country where he lay so much exhausted, that it would be very difficult for him to subsist, sent deputies to the confederate army, to solicit them, especially the governors of provinces, and the old Macedonian corps, to desert Eumenes, and to join him; which at this time, they rejected with the highest indignation. After the deputies were dismissed, Eumenes came into the assembly, and delivered himself in the following fable:—"A lion once falling in love with a young damsel, demanded her in marriage of her father. The father made answer, That he looked on such an alliance as a great honour to his

The Macedonians had hardly recovered themselves from their fears, before they began to behave again in a disorderly and mutinous manner to their officers, and spread themselves over almost all the provinces of Gabene for winter quarters: insomuch, that the first was at a distance of a thousand furlongs from the last. Antigonus being informed of this circumstance, moved back against them, without losing a moment's time. He took a rugged road that afforded no water, because it was the shortest, hoping, if he fell upon them while thus dispersed, that it would be impossible for their officers to assemble them.

However, as soon as he had entered that desolate country, his troops were attacked with such violent winds and severe frosts, that it was difficult for them to proceed, and they found it necessary to light many fires. For this reason their march could not be concealed. The barbarians who inhabited the mountains that overlooked the desert, wondering what such a number of fires could mean, sent some persons upon dromedaries to Peucestas with an account of them.

Peucestas, distracted with terror at this news, prepared for flight, intending to take with him such troops as he could collect on the way. But Eumenes soon dispelled their fears and uneasiness, by promising so to impede the enemies' march, that they would arrive three days later than they were expected. Finding that they listened to him, he sent orders to the officers to draw all the troops from their quarters, and assemble them with speed. At the same time he took his horse, and went with his colleagues to seek out a lofty piece of ground, which might attract the attention of the troops marching below. Having found one that answered his purpose, he measured it, and caused a number of fires to be lighted at proper intervals, so as to resemble a camp.

family, but stood in fear of his claws and teeth, lest, upon any trifling dispute that might happen between them after marriage, he might exercise them a little too hastily upon his daughter. To remove this objection, the amorous lion caused both his nails and teeth to be drawn immediately: whereupon the father took a cudgel, and soon got rid of his enemy.—“This,” continued he, “is the very thing aimed at by Antigonus, who is liberal in his promises, till he has made himself master of your forces, and then beware of his teeth and paws.” A few days after this, Eumenes having intelligence that Antigonus intended to decamp in the night, presently guessed that his design was to seek quarters of refreshment for his army in the rich district of Gabene. To prevent this, and, at the same time, to gain a passage into that country, he instructed some soldiers to pretend they were deserters, and sent them into the camp of Antigonus, where they reported that Eumenes intended to attack him in his trenches that very night. But while Antigonus's troops were under arms, Eumenes marched for Gabene, which at length Antigonus suspected; and having given proper orders to his foot, marched immediately after him with his cavalry. Early in the morning, from the top of a hill, he discerned Eumenes, with his army below: and Eumenes, upon sight of the cavalry, concluding that the whole army of Antigonus was at hand, faced about, and disposed his troops in order to battle. Thus Eumenes was deceived in his turn: and, as soon as Antigonus's infantry came up, a sharp action followed, in which the victory seemed won and lost several times. At last, however, Antigonus had visibly the worst, being forced to withdraw, by lung marches, into Media — *Diod. Sic. lib. xviii.*

When Antigonus beheld those fires upon the heights, he was in the utmost distress. For he thought the enemy were apprised of his intention some time before, and were come to meet him. Not choosing, therefore, with forces so harassed and fatigued with their march, to be obliged to fight troops that were perfectly fresh, and had wintered in agreeable quarters, he left the short road, and led his men through the towns and villages, giving them abundant time to refresh themselves. But when he found that no parties came out to gall him in his march, which is usual when an enemy is near, and was informed by the neighbouring inhabitants, that they had seen no troops whatever, nor any thing but fires upon the hills, he perceived that Eumenes had outdone him in point of generalship; and this incensed him so much, that he advanced with a resolution to try his strength in a pitched battle.

Mean time the greatest part of the forces repairing to Eumenes, in admiration of his capacity, desired him to take the sole command. Upon this, Antigonus and Teutamus, who were at the head of the Argyraspides, were so exasperated with envy, that they formed a plot against his life; and having drawn into it most of the grandees and generals, they consulted upon a proper time and method to take him off. They all agreed to make use of him in the ensuing battle, and to assassinate him immediately after. But Eudamus, master of the elephants, and Phædimus, privately informed Eumenes of their resolution, not out of any kindness or benevolent regard, but because they were afraid of losing the money they had lent him. He commended them for the honour with which they behaved, and retired to his tent. There he told his friends—"That he lived among a herd of savage beasts," and immediately made his will. After which he destroyed all his papers, lest, after his death, charges and impeachments should arise against the persons who wrote them, in consequence of the secrets discovered there. He then considered, whether he should put the enemy in the way of gaining the victory, or take his flight through Media and Armenia into Cappadocia; but he could not fix upon any thing while his friends staid with him.

After revolving various expedients in his mind, which was now almost as changeable as his fortune, he drew up the forces and endeavoured to animate the Greeks and the barbarians. On the other hand, the phalanx and the Argyraspides bade him be of good courage, assuring him that the enemy would not stand the encounter. For they were veterans who had served under Philip and Alexander, and, like so many champions of the ring, had never had a fall to that day. Many of them were seventy years of age, and none less than sixty: so that when they charged the troops of Antigonus, they cried out—"Villains, you fight against your fathers!" Then they fell furiously upon his infantry, and soon routed them.

Indeed, none of the battalions could stand the shock, and most of them were cut in pieces upon the spot. But though Antigonus had such bad success in this quarter, his cavalry were victorious, through the weak and dastardly behaviour of Peucestas, and took all the baggage. Antigonus was a man who had excellent presence of mind on the most trying occasions, and here the place and occasion befriended him. It was a plain open country, the soil neither deep nor hard, but, like the sea-shore, covered with a fine dry sand, which the trampling of so many men and horses during the action reduced to a small white dust, that like a cloud of lime, darkened the air, and intercepted the prospect, so that it was easy for Antigonus to take the baggage unperceived.

After the battle was over, Teutamus sent some of his corps to Antigonus, to desire him to restore the baggage. He told them, he would not only return the Argyraspides their baggage, but treat them in all respects with the greatest kindness, provided they would put Eumenes in his hands. The Argyraspides came into that abominable measure, and agreed to give up that brave man alive to his enemies. In pursuance of this scheme, they approached him unsuspected, and planted themselves about him. Some lamented the loss of their baggage, some desired him to assume the spirit of victory which he had gained, others accused the rest of their commanders. Thus, watching their opportunity, they fell upon him, took away his sword, and bound his hands behind him with his own girdle.

Nicanor was sent by Antigonus to receive him. But as they led him through the midst of the Macedonians, he desired first to speak to them, not for any request he had to make, but of matters of great importance to them. Silence being made, he ascended an eminence, and stretching out his hands, bound as they were, he said, "What trophy, ye vilest of all the Macedonians! what trophy could Antigonus have wished to raise, like this which you are raising, by delivering up your general bound? Was it not base enough to acknowledge yourselves beaten, merely for the sake of your baggage, as if victory dwelt among your goods and chattels, and not upon the points of your swords; but you must also send your general as a ransom for that baggage? For my part, though thus led, I am not conquered. I have beaten the enemy, and am ruined by my fellow soldiers. But I conjure you, by the god of armies, and the awful deities who preside over oaths, to kill me here with your own hands. If my life be taken by another, the deed will still be yours. Nor will Antigonus complain, if you take the work out of his hands; for he wants not Eumenes alive, but Eumenes dead. If you choose not to be the immediate instruments, loose but one of my hands and that shall do the business. If you

will not trust me with a sword, throw me, bound as I am, to wild beasts. If you comply with this last request, I acquit you of all guilt with respect to me, and declare you have behaved to your general like the best and honestest of men."

The rest of the troops received this speech with sighs and tears, and every expression of sorrow; but the *Argyraspides* cried out, "Lead him on, and attend not to his trifling. For it is no such great matter, if an execrable Chersonesian, who has harrassed the Macedonians with infinite wars, have cause to lament his fate, as it would be if the best of Alexander's and Philip's soldiers should be deprived of the fruit of their labours, and have their bread to beg in their old age. And have not our wives already passed three nights with our enemies?" So saying, they drove him forward.

Antigonus, fearing some bad consequence from the crowd, (for there was not a man left in his camp,) sent out ten of his best elephants and a corps of spearmen, who were Medes and Parthians, to keep them off. He could not bear to have Eumenes brought into his presence, because of the former friendly connexions there had been between them. And when those who took the charge of him asked, in what manner he would have him kept, he said—"So as you would keep an elephant or a lion." Nevertheless, he soon felt some impressions of pity, and ordered them to take off his heavy chains, and allow him a servant who had been accustomed to wait upon him. He likewise permitted such of his friends as desired it, to pass whole days with him, and to bring him necessary refreshments. Thus he spent some considerable time in deliberating how to dispose of him, and sometimes listened to the applications and promises of Nearchus the Cretan and his son Demetrius, who made it a point to save him. But all the other officers insisted that he should be put to death, and urged Antigonus to give directions for it.

One day, we are told, Eumenes asked his keeper, Onomarchus, "Why Antigonus, now that he had got his enemy into his power, did not either immediately despatch him or generously release him?" Onomarchus answered in a contemptuous manner—"That in the battle, and not now, he should have been ready to meet death." To which Eumenes replied—"By heaven, I was so!—ask those who ventured to engage me if I was not. I do not know that I met with a better man than myself." "Well," said Onomarchus, "now you have found a better man than yourself, why do you not patiently wait his time?"

When Antigonus had resolved upon his death, he gave orders that he should have no kind of food. By this means, in two or three days time he began to draw near his end: and then Antigonus, being obliged to decamp upon some sudden emergency, sent

in an executioner to despatch him. The body he delivered to his friends, allowing them to burn it honourably, and to collect the ashes into a silver urn, in order to their being sent to his wife and children.

Thus died Eumenes : and divine justice did not go far to seek instruments of vengeance against the officers\* and soldiers who had betrayed him. Antigonus himself, detesting the Argyraspides, as impious and savage wretches, ordered Ibyrtius, governor of Arachosia,† under whose direction he put them, to take every method to destroy them ; so that not one of them might return to Macedonia, or behold the Grecian Sea.

\* Antigenes, commander in chief of the *Silver Shield*, was, by order of Antigonus, put in a coffin, and burnt alive. Eudamus, Celbanus, and many others of the enemies of Eumenes, experienced a like fate.

† A province of Parthia, near Bactriana.



## POMPEY.

*Flourished 90 years before Christ.*

THE people of Rome appear from the first to have been affected towards Pompey much in the same manner as Prometheus, in Æschylus, was towards Hercules, when, after that hero had delivered him from his chains, he said,

The sire I hated, but the son I love.\*

For never did the Romans entertain a stronger and more rancorous hatred for any general, than for Strabo, the father of Pompey. While he lived, indeed, they were afraid of his abilities as a soldier, for he had great talents for war; but upon his death, which happened by a stroke of lightning, they dragged his body from the bier, on the way to the funeral pile, and treated it with the greatest indignity. On the other hand, no man ever experienced from the same Romans an attachment more early begun, more disinterested in all the stages of his prosperity, or more constant and faithful in the decline of his fortune than Pompey.

In his youth he had a very engaging countenance, which spoke for him before he opened his lips. Yet that grace of aspect was not unattended with dignity, and amidst his youthful bloom there was a venerable and princely air. His hair naturally curled a little before, which, together with the shining moisture and quick turn of his eye, produced a stronger likeness of Alexander the Great than that which appeared in the statues of that prince. So that some seriously gave him the name of Alexander, and he did not refuse it; others applied it to him by way of ridicule. And Lucius Philippus,† a man of consular dignity, as he was one day pleading for him, said—"It was no wonder if Philip was a lover of Alexander."

While he was very young, and served under his father, who was carrying on the war against Cinna,‡ one Lucius Terentius was his comrade, and they slept in the same tent. This Terentius,

\* Of the tragedy of *Prometheus Released*, from which this line is taken, we have only some fragments remaining. Jupiter had chained Prometheus to the rocks of Caucasus, and Hercules the son of Jupiter released him.

† Lucius Marcius Philippus, one of the greatest orators of his time. He was father-in-law to Augustus, having married his mother Attia. Horace speaks of him, lib. i. ep. 7.

‡ In the year of Rome 666. And as Pompey was born the same year with Cicero, viz. in the year of Rome 647, he must, in this war with Cinna, have been nineteen years old.

gained by Cinna's money, undertook to assassinate Pompey, while others set fire to the general's tent. Pompey got information of this when he was at supper, and it did not put him in the least confusion. He drank more freely, and caressed Terentius more than usual; but when they were to have gone to rest, he stole out of his tent, and planted a guard about his father. This done, he waited quietly for the event. Terentius, as soon as he thought Pompey was asleep, drew his sword, and stabbed the coverlets of the bed in many places, imagining that he was in it.

Immediately after this, there was a great mutiny in the camp. The soldiers, who hated their general, were determined to go over to the enemy, and began to strike their tents and take up their arms. The general, dreading the tumult, did not dare to make his appearance; but Pompey was every where. He begged of them with tears to stay, and at last threw himself upon his face in the gateway. There he lay weeping, and bidding them, if they would go out, to tread upon him. Upon this they were ashamed to proceed, and all, except eight hundred, returned and reconciled themselves to their general.

After the death of Strabo, a charge was laid that he had converted the public money to his own use, and Pompey, as his heir, was obliged to answer it. Upon inquiry, he found that Alexander, one of the enfranchised slaves, had secreted most of the money, and he took care to inform the magistrates of the particulars. He was accused, however, himself of having taken some hunting nets and books out of the spoils of Asculum, and it is true his father gave them to him when he took the place; but he lost them at the return of Cinna to Rome, when that general's creatures broke into and pillaged his house. In this affair he maintained the combat well with his adversary at the bar, and showed an acuteness and firmness above his years, which gained him so much applause, that Antistius, the prætor who had the hearing of the cause, conceived an affection for him, and offered him his daughter in marriage. The proposal accordingly was made to his friends. Pompey accepted it, and the treaty was concluded privately.

Pompey in a little time married Antistia, and afterwards repaired to Cinna's camp; but finding some unjust charges laid against them there, he took the first opportunity to withdraw. As he was no where to be found, a rumour prevailed in the army, that Cinna had put the young man to death: upon which, numbers who hated Cinna, and could no longer bear with his cruelties, attacked his quarters. He fled for his life, and being overtaken by one of the inferior officers, who pursued him with a drawn sword, he fell upon his knees, and offered him his ring, which was of no small value. The officer answered with great ferocity—"I am not come to sign a contract, but to punish an impious and lawless tyrant," and then killed him upon the spot.

Such was the end of Cinna; after whom Carbo, a tyrant still more savage, took the reins of government. It was not long, however, before Sylla returned to Italy, to the great satisfaction of most of the Romans, who, in their present unhappy circumstances, thought the change of their master no small advantage. To such a desperate state had their calamities brought them, that, no longer hoping for liberty, they sought only the most tolerable servitude.

At that time Pompey was in the Picene, whither he had retired, partly because he had lands there, but more on account of an old attachment of the cities in that district to his family. As he observed that the best and most considerable of the citizens left their houses, and took refuge in Sylla's camp as in a port, he resolved to do the same. At the same time he thought it did not become him to go like a fugitive who wanted protection, but rather in a respectable manner at the head of an army: he therefore tried what levies he could make in the Picene,\* and the people readily repaired to his standard, rejecting the applications of Carbo.

Thus Pompey, at the age of twenty-three, without a commission from any superior authority, erected himself into a general; and having placed his tribunal in the most public part of the great city of Auximum, by a formal decree commanded the Venditii, two brothers who opposed him in behalf of Carbo, to depart the city; he enlisted soldiers; he appointed tribunes, centurions, and other officers, according to the established custom. So that in a little time he raised three complete legions, and furnished himself with provisions, beasts of burden, carriages, in short, with the whole apparatus of war.

In this form he moved towards Sylla, not by hasty marches, nor as if he wanted to conceal himself; for he stopped by the way to harass the enemy, and attempted to draw off from Carbo all the parts of Italy through which he passed. At last, three generals of the opposite party, Carinna, Cœlius, and Brutus, came against him, and hemmed him in with their three armies, in hopes to demolish him entirely.

Pompey, far from being terrified, assembled all his forces, and charged the army of Brutus at the head of his cavalry. The Gaulish horse on the enemy's side sustained the first shock; but Pompey attacked the foremost of them, who was a man of prodigious strength, and brought him down with a push of his spear. The rest immediately fled, and threw the infantry into such disorder that the whole was soon put to flight. This produced so great a quarrel among the three generals, that they parted, and took separate routes.

In consequence of which, the cities concluding that the fear of the enemy had made them part, adopted the interests of Pompey.

\* Now the march of Ancona.

Not long after, Scipio, the consul, advanced to engage him ; but before the infantry were near enough to discharge their lances, Scipio's soldiers saluted those of Pompey, and came over to them. Scipio, therefore, was forced to fly. At last Carbo sent a large body of cavalry against Pompey, near the river Arsis. He gave them so warm a reception, that they were soon broken, and in the pursuit drove them upon impracticable ground, so that finding it impossible to escape, they surrendered themselves with their arms and horses.

Sylla had not yet been informed of these transactions ; but upon the first news of Pompey's being engaged with so many adversaries, and such respectable generals, he dreaded the consequences, and marched with all expedition to his assistance. Pompey having intelligence of his approach, ordered his officers to see that the troops were armed and drawn up in such a manner, as to make the handsomest and most gallant appearance before the commander in chief. For he expected great honours from him, and he obtained greater. Sylla no sooner saw Pompey advancing to meet him, with an army in excellent condition, both as to age and size of the men, and the spirits which success had given them, than he alighted ; and upon being saluted of course by Pompey as *imperator*, he returned his salutation with the same title. The rest of his behaviour was as respectful as that in the first interview.

Pompey was not elated with these honours. On the contrary, when Sylla wanted to send him into Gaul, where Metellus had done nothing worthy of the forces under his direction, he said—"It was not right to take the command from a man who was his superior both in age and character ; but if Metellus should desire his assistance in the conduct of the war, it was at his service." Metellus accepted the proposal, and wrote to him to come ; whereupon he entered Gaul, and not only signalized his own valour and capacity, but excited once more the spirit of adventure in Metellus, which was almost extinguished with age.

After Sylla had made himself master of Italy, and was declared dictator, he rewarded his principal officers with riches and honours, making them liberal grants of whatever they applied for : but he was most struck with the excellent qualities of Pompey, and was persuaded that he owed more to his services than those of any other man. He therefore resolved, if possible, to take him into his alliance ; and, as his wife Metella was wholly of his opinion, they persuaded Pompey to divorce Antistia, and to marry Æmilia, the daughter-in-law of Sylla, whom Metella had by Scaurus, and who was at that time pregnant by another marriage.

Nothing could be more tyrannical than this new contract ; it was suitable indeed to the times of Sylla, but it ill became the character of Pompey to take Æmilia, pregnant as she was, from

another, and bring her into his house, and at the same time to repudiate Antistia, distressed as she must be for a father whom she had lately lost on account of this cruel husband. For Antistius was killed in the senate house, because it was thought his regard for Pompey had attached him to the cause of Sylla. And her mother upon this divorce, laid violent hands upon herself. This was an additional scene of misery in that tragical marriage, as it was also the fate of Ænilia in Pompey's house, who died there in childbed.

Soon after this Sylla received an account that Perpenna had made himself master of Sicily, where he afforded an asylum to the party which opposed the reigning powers. Pompey was sent against them with a considerable armament. He soon forced Perpenna to quit the island; and having recovered the cities, which had been much harrassed by the armies that were there before his, he behaved to them all with great humanity, except the Mameritines. That people had refused to appear before his tribunal, and to acknowledge his jurisdiction, alleging that they stood excused by an ancient privilege granted them by the Romans. He answered—"Will you never have done with citing laws and privileges to men who wear swords?" His behaviour too, to Carbo, in his misfortunes, appeared inhuman. For, if it was necessary, as perhaps it was, to put him to death, he should have done it immediately, and then it would have been the work of him that gave orders for it. But, instead of that, he caused a Roman, who had been honoured with three consulships, to be brought in chains before his tribunal, where he sat in judgment on him, to the regret of all the spectators, and ordered him to be led off to execution.

He had resolved to chastise the Himereans for attempting to support his enemies, when the orator Sthenis told him—"He would act unjustly, if he passed by the person that was guilty, and punished the innocent." Pompey asked him—"Who was the guilty person?" and he answered—"I am the man. I persuaded my friends, and compelled my enemies, to take the measures they did." Pompey, delighted with his frank confession and noble spirit, forgave him first, and afterwards all the people of Himera. Being informed that his soldiers committed great disorders in their excursions, he sealed up their swords, and if any of them broke the seal, he took care to have them punished.

While he was making these and other regulations in Sicily, he received a decree of the senate, and letters from Sylla, in which he was commanded to cross over to Africa, and to carry on the war with the utmost vigour against Domitius, who had assembled a much more powerful army than that which Marius carried not long before from Africa to Italy, when he made himself master of Rome, and of a fugitive became a tyrant. Pompey soon finished

his preparations for this expedition, and set sail with an hundred and twenty armed vessels, and eight hundred storeships, laden with provisions, arms, money and machines of war. Part of his fleet landed at Utica, and part at Carthage, immediately after which seven thousand of the enemy came over to him, and he brought with him six legions complete.

Domitius advanced to meet him, and put his troops in order of battle. There happened to be a channel between them, craggy and difficult to pass. In the morning it began moreover to rain, and the wind blew violently; insomuch that Domitius, not imagining there would be any action that day, ordered his army to retire. But Pompey looked upon this as his opportunity, and he passed the defile with the utmost expedition. The enemy stood upon their defence, but it was in a disorderly and tumultuous manner, and the resistance they made was neither general nor uniform. Besides, the wind and rain beat in their faces. The storm incommoded the Romans too, for they could not well distinguish each other. Nay, Pompey himself was in danger of being killed by a soldier, who asked him the word, and received not a speedy answer. At length, however, he routed the enemy with great slaughter, not above three thousand of them escaping out of twenty thousand. The soldiers then saluted Pompey *Imperator*, but he said he would not accept the title while the enemy's camp stood untouched; therefore, if they chose to confer such an honour upon him, they must first make themselves masters of the intrenchments.

At that instant they advanced with great fury against them. Pompey fought without his helmet, for fear of such an accident as he had just escaped. The camp was taken, and Domitius slain, in consequence of which, most of the cities immediately submitted, and the rest were taken by assault. He took Jarbas, one of the confederates of Domitius, prisoner, and bestowed his crown on Hiempsal. Advancing with the same tide of fortune, and while his army had all the spirits inspired by success, he entered Numidia, in which he continued his march for several days, and subdued all that came in his way. The whole time he passed in Africa, they tell us, was not above forty days, in which he defeated the enemy, reduced the whole country, and brought the affairs of its kings under proper regulations, though he was only in his twenty-fourth year.

Upon his return to Utica he received letters from Sylla, in which he was ordered to send home the rest of his army, and to wait there with one legion only for a successor. This gave him a great deal of uneasiness, which he kept to himself, but the army expressed their indignation aloud; insomuch that when he intreated them to return to Italy, they launched out into abusive terms against Sylla, and declared they would never abandon Pompey, or suffer him to

trust a tyrant. At first he endeavoured to pacify them with mild representations; and when he found these had no effect, he descended from the tribunal, and retired to his tent in tears. However, they went and took him thence, and placed him again upon the tribunal, where they spent great part of the day; they insisting that he should stay and keep the command, and he in persuading them to obey Sylla's orders, and to form no new faction. At last, seeing no end of their clamours and importunity, he assured them with an oath—"That he would kill himself if they attempted to force him." And even this hardly brought them to desist.

The first news that Sylla heard was, that Pompey had revolted; upon which he said to his friends,—“Then it is my fate to have to contend with boys in my old age.” This he said, because Marius, who was very young, had brought him into so much trouble and danger. But when he received true information of the affair, and observed that all the people flocked out to receive him, and to conduct him home with marks of great regard, he resolved to exceed them in his regards, if possible. He, therefore, hastened to meet him, and embracing him in the most affectionate manner, saluted him aloud by the surname of *Magnus*, or *the Great*; at the same time, he ordered all about him to give him the same appellation. Others say, it was given him by the whole army in Africa, but did not generally obtain till it was authorised by Sylla. It is certain he was the last to take it himself, and he did not make use of it till a long time after, when he was sent into Spain with the dignity of proconsul against Sertorius. Then he began to write himself, in his letters and in all his edicts, *Pompey the Great*; for the world was accustomed to the name, and it was no longer invidious. In this respect we may justly admire the wisdom of the ancient Romans, who bestowed on their great men such honourable names and titles, not only for military achievements, but for the great qualities and arts which adorn civil life. Thus, the people gave the surname of *Maximus* to Valerius,\* for reconciling them to the senate after a violent dissension, and to Fabius Rullus, for expelling some persons descended of enfranchised slaves,† who had been admitted into the senate on account of their opulent fortunes.

When Pompey arrived at Rome, he demanded a triumph, in which he was opposed by Sylla. The latter alleged,—“That the laws did not allow that honour to any person who was not either consul or prætor.‡ Hence it was that the first Scipio, when he returned vic-

\* This was Marcus Valerius, the brother of Valerius Publicola, who was dictator.

† It was not his expelling the descendants of enfranchised slaves the senate, nor yet his glorious victories, which procured Fabius the surname of Maximus, but his reducing the populace of Rome into four tribes, who before were dispersed among all the tribes, and by that means had too much influence in elections and other public affairs. These were called *tribus urbanæ*—*Liv.* ix. 46.

‡ Livy (lib. xxxi.) tells us, the senate refused L. Cornelius Lentulus a triumph for the same reason, though they thought his achievements worthy of that honour.

torious from greater wars and conflicts with the Carthaginians in Spain, did not demand a triumph; for he was neither consul nor prætor." He added,—“That if Pompey, who was yet little better than a beardless youth, and who was not of age to be admitted into the senate, should enter the city in triumph, it would bring an *odium* both upon the dictator's power, and those honours of his friend." These arguments Sylla insisted on, to show him he would not allow of his triumph; and that, in case he persisted, he would chastise his obstinacy.

Pompey, not in the least intimidated, bade him consider—“That more worshipped the rising than the setting sun;” intimating, that his power was increasing, and Sylla's upon the decline. Sylla did not well hear what he said, but perceiving by the looks and gestures of the company, that they were struck with the expression, he asked what it was. When he was told it, he admired the spirit of Pompey, and cried,—“Let him triumph! Let him triumph!”

As Pompey perceived a strong spirit of envy and jealousy on this occasion, it is said, that, to mortify those who gave into it the more, he resolved to have his chariot drawn by four elephants; for he had brought a number from Africa, which he had taken from the kings of that country. But finding the gate too narrow, he gave up that design, and contented himself with horses.

His soldiers, not having obtained all they expected, were inclined to disturb the procession, but he took no pains to satisfy them: he said—“He had rather give up his triumph, than submit to flatter them.” Whereupon Servilius, one of the most considerable men in Rome, and one who had been most vigorous in opposing the triumph, declared—“He now found Pompey really *the Great*, and worthy of a triumph.”

There is no doubt that he might then have been easily admitted a senator, if he had desired it; but his ambition was to pursue honour in a more uncommon track. It would have been nothing strange, if Pompey had been a senator before the age fixed for it; but it was a very extraordinary instance of honour, to lead up a triumph before he was a senator. And it contributed not a little to gain him the affections of the multitude; the people were delighted to see him, after his triumph, class with the equestrian order.

Sylla was not without uneasiness at finding him advance so fast in reputation and power; yet he could not think of preventing it, till, with a high hand, and entirely against his will, Pompey raised Lepidus\* to the consulship, by assisting him with all his interest in the election. Then Sylla, seeing him conducted home by the people through the *forum*, thus addressed him:—“I see, young man, you are proud of your victory. And undoubtedly, it was a great

\* Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who by Pompey's interest was declared consul with Q. Lutatius Catulus, in the year of Rome 675.



and extraordinary thing, by your management of the people, to obtain for Lepidus, the worst man in Rome, the return before Catulus, one of the worthiest and the best. But awake, I charge you, and be upon your guard: For you have now made your adversary stronger than yourself."

The displeasure Sylla entertained in his heart against Pompey, appeared most plainly in his will: he left considerable legacies to his friends, and appointed them guardians to his son, but he never once mentioned Pompey. The latter, notwithstanding, bore this with great temper and moderation; and when Lepidus and others opposed his being buried in the Campus Martius, and his having the honours of a public funeral, he interposed, and by his presence not only secured, but did honour to the procession.

Sylla's predictions were verified soon after his death. Lepidus wished to usurp the authority of a dictator, and his proceedings were not indirect, or veiled with specious pretences. He immediately took up arms, and assembled the disaffected remains of the factions which Sylla could not entirely suppress. As for his colleague Catulus, the uncorrupted part of the senate and people were attached to him, and, in point of prudence and justice, there was not a man in Rome who had a greater character; but he was more able to direct the civil government, than the operations of war. This crisis, therefore, called for Pompey, and he did not deliberate which side he should take: he joined the honest party, and was declared general against Lepidus, who by this time had reduced great part of Italy, and was master of Cisalpine Gaul, where Brutus acted for him with a considerable force.

When Pompey took the field, he easily made his way in other parts, but he lay a long time before Mutina, which was defended by Brutus. Meanwhile Lepidus advanced by hasty marches to Rome, and, sitting down before it, demanded a second consulship. The inhabitants were greatly alarmed at his numbers, but their fears were dissipated by a letter from Pompey, in which he assured them he had terminated the war without striking a blow. For Brutus, whether he betrayed his army, or they betrayed him, surrendered himself to Pompey; and having a party of horse given him as an escort, retired to a little town upon the Po. Pompey, however, sent Geminius the next day to despatch him, which brought no small stain upon his character. Lepidus, being soon driven out of Italy, fled into Sardinia, where he died of grief.

At that time, Sertorius, an officer very different from Lepidus, was in possession of Spain, and not a little formidable to Rome itself; all the remains of the civil wars being collected in him, just as in a dangerous disease all the vicious humours flow to a distempered part.

At this juncture Pompey, having an army without employment,

endeavoured to prevail with the senate to send him to the assistance of Metellus, and though Catulus ordered him to disband his forces, he found various pretences for remaining in arms in the neighbourhood of Rome, till at last he obtained the command he wanted.

When Pompey arrived in Spain, new hopes were excited, as is usual upon the appearance of a new general of reputation; and such of the Spanish nations as were not very firmly attached to Sertorius, began to change their opinions, and to go over to the Romans. Sertorius then expressed himself in a very insolent and contemptuous manner with respect to Pompey: he said,—“He should want no other weapons than a rod and ferula to chastise the boy with, were it not that he feared the old woman,” meaning Metellus. But in fact it was Pompey he was afraid of, and on his account he carried on his operations with much greater caution.

The war was carried on with various success; but Sertorius being assassinated by his own officers,\* Perpenna, who was at the head of the conspirators, undertook to supply his place. He had indeed the same troops, the same magazines and supplies, but he had not the same understanding to make a proper use of them. Pompey immediately took the field, and having intelligence that Perpenna was greatly embarrassed as to the measures he should take, he threw out ten cohorts as a bait for him, with orders to spread themselves over the plain. When he found it took, and that Perpenna was busied with that handful of men, he suddenly made his appearance with the main body, attacked the enemy, and routed him entirely. Most of the officers fell in the battle; Perpenna himself was taken prisoner and brought to Pompey, who commanded him to be put to death.

Perpenna having got the papers of Sertorius into his hands, showed letters by which some of the most powerful men in Rome, who were desirous to raise new commotions, and overturn the establishment, had invited Sertorius into Italy. But Pompey, fearing those letters might excite greater wars than that he was then finishing, put Perpenna to death, and burnt the papers without reading them.

A second triumph was decreed him, † together with the consulship. But these were not considered as the most extraordinary instances of his power. The strongest proof of his greatness was, that Crassus, the richest, the most eloquent and most powerful man in the administration, who used to look down upon Pompey and all the world, did not venture to solicit the consulship without first asking Pompey's leave. Pompey, who had long wished for an

\* It was three years after the consulate of Lucullus that Sertorius was assassinated.

† He triumphed towards the end of the year of Rome 682, and at the same time was declared consul for the year ensuing. This was a peculiar honour, to gain the consulate without first bearing the subordinate offices; but his two triumphs, and great services, excused that deviation from the common rules.

opportunity to lay an obligation upon him, received the application with pleasure, and made great interest with the people in his behalf, declaring he should take their giving him Crassus for a colleague, as kindly as their favour to himself.

Yet when they were elected consuls, they disagreed in every thing, and were embroiled in all their measures; but were reconciled before they laid down the consulship. Crassus had most interest with the senate, and Pompey with the people. For he had restored them the tribunitial power, and had suffered a law to be made, that judges should again be appointed out of the equestrian order.\* However, the most agreeable spectacle of all to the people was Pompey himself, when he went to claim his exemption from serving in the wars. It was the custom for a Roman knight, when he had served the time ordered by law, to lead his horse into the forum, before the two magistrates called censors; and after having given an account of the generals and other officers under whom he had made his campaigns, and of his own actions in them, to demand his discharge. On these occasions they received proper marks of honour or disgrace, according to their behaviour.

Gellius and Lentulus were then censors, and had taken their seats in a manner that became their dignity, to review the whole equestrian order, when Pompey was seen at a distance, with all the badges of his office, as consul, leading his horse by the bridle. As soon as he was near enough to be observed by the censors, he ordered his factors to make an opening, and advanced with his horse in hand to the foot of the tribunal. The people were struck with admiration, and a profound silence took place, at the same time a joy, mingled with reverence, was visible in the countenances of the censors. The senior censor then addressed him as follows—"Pompey the Great, I demand of you, whether you have served all the campaigns required by law?" He answered with a loud voice—"I have served them all; and all under myself, as general." The people were so charmed with this answer, that there was no end of their acclamations. At last the censors rose up, and conducted Pompey to his house, to indulge the multitude, who followed him with the loudest plaudits.

Crassus continued his former manner of life; but Pompey now seldom chose to plead the causes of those who applied to him, and by degrees he left the bar. Indeed he seldom appeared in public, and when he did, it was always with a great train of friends and attendants; so it was not easy either to speak to him or see him, but in the midst of a crowd. He took pleasure in having a number of retainers about him, because he thought it gave him an air of

\* L. Aurelius Cotta carried that point when he was prætor; and Plutarch says *again*, because Caius Gracchus had conveyed that privilege to the knights fifty years before.

greatness and majesty, and he was persuaded that dignity should be kept from being soiled by the familiarity, and indeed by the very touch of the many. For those who are raised to greatness by arms, and know not how to descend again to the equality required in a republic, are very liable to fall into contempt when they resume the robe of peace. The soldier is desirous to preserve the rank in the forum which he had in the field; and he who cannot distinguish himself in the field, thinks it intolerable to give place in the administration too. When, therefore, the latter has got the man who shone in camps and triumphs, into the assemblies at home, and finds him attempting to maintain the same pre-eminence there, he endeavours to humble him; whereas, if the warrior pretends not to take the lead in domestic councils, he is readily allowed the palm of military glory. This soon appeared from the subsequent events.

The power of the pirates had its foundation in Cilicia.—Their progress was more dangerous, because at first it was little taken notice of. In the Mithridatic war they assumed new confidence and courage, on account of some services they had rendered the king. After this, the Romans being engaged in civil wars at the very gates of their capital, the sea was left unguarded, and the pirates by degrees attempted higher things; they not only attacked ships, but islands and maritime towns. Many persons, distinguished for their wealth, their birth, and their capacity, embarked with them, and assisted in their depredations, as if their employment had been worthy the ambition of men of honour. They had in various places arsenals, ports, and watch towers, all strongly fortified. Their fleets were not only extremely well manned, supplied with skilful pilots, and fitted for their business by their lightness and celerity, but there was a parade of vanity about them more mortifying than their strength, in gilded sterns, purple canopies, and plated oars, as if they took a pride and triumph in their villainy. Music resounded, and drunken revels were exhibited on every coast. Here generals were made prisoners; there the cities the pirates had taken were paying their ransom; all to the great disgrace of the Roman power. The number of their galleys amounted to a thousand, and the cities they were master of to four hundred.

Their power extended over the whole Tuscan Sea, so that the Romans found their trade and navigation entirely cut off. The consequence of which was, that their markets were not supplied, and they had reason to apprehend a famine. This, at last, put them upon sending Pompey to clear the sea of Pirates. Gabinus, one of Pompey's intimate friends, proposed the decree\* which cre-

\* This law was made in the year of Rome 686. The crafty tribune, when he proposed it, did not name Pompey. Pompey was now in the thirty-ninth year of his age. His friend Gabinus, as appears from Cicero, was a man of infamous character.

ated him, not admiral, but monarch, and invested him with absolute power. The decree gave him the empire of the sea as far as the Pillars of Hercules, and of the land for four hundred furlongs from the coasts. There were few parts of the Roman empire which this commission did not take in; and the most considerable of the barbarous nations, and most powerful kings were moreover comprehended in it. Besides this, he was empowered to choose out of the senators fifteen lieutenants, to act under him, in such districts, and with such authority, as he should appoint. He was to take from the quæstors, and other public receivers, what money he pleased, and equip a fleet of two hundred sail. The number of marine forces, of mariners and rowers, was left entirely to his discretion.

When this decree was read in the assembly, the people received it with inconceivable pleasure. The most respectable part of the senate saw, that such an absolute and unlimited power was above envy, but they considered it as a real object of fear. They therefore all, except Cæsar, opposed its passing into a law: he was for it, not out of regard for Pompey, but to insinuate himself into the good graces of the people, which he had long been courting. The rest were very severe in their expressions against Pompey; and one of the consuls venturing to say\*—"If he imitates Romulus, he will not escape his fate," was in danger of being pulled in pieces by the populace.

The assembly broke up that day, without coming to any resolution. When the day came that they were to give their suffrages, Pompey retired into the country; and, on receiving information that the decree was passed, he returned to the city by night, to prevent the envy which the multitudes of people coming to meet him, would have excited. Next morning at break of day he made his appearance and attended the sacrifice. After which, he summoned an assembly, and obtained a grant of almost as much more as the first decree had given him. He was empowered to fit out five hundred galleys, and to raise an army of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. Twenty-four senators were selected, who had all been generals or prætors, and were appointed his lieutenants: and he had two quæstors given him. As the price of provisions fell immediately, the people were greatly pleased, and it gave them occasion to say—"The very name of Pompey had terminated the war."

However, in pursuance of his charge, he divided the whole Mediterranean into thirteen parts, appointing a lieutenant for each, and assigning him a squadron. By thus stationing his fleets in all quarters, he enclosed the pirates as it were in a net, took great numbers of them, and brought them into harbour. Such of their

\* The consuls of this year were Calpurnius Piso and Acilius Glabrio.

vessels as had dispersed and made off in time, or could escape the general chase, retired to Cilicia, like so many bees into a hive. Against these he proposed to go himself with sixty of his best galleys; but first he resolved to clear the Tuscan sea, and the coasts of Africa, Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, of all practical adventurers, which he effected in forty days, by his own indefatigable endeavours and those of his lieutenants. But, as the consul Piso was indulging his malignity at home, in wasting his stores and discharging his seamen, he sent his fleet round to Brundisium, and went himself by land through Tuscany to Rome.

As soon as the people were informed of his approach, they went in crowds to receive him, in the same manner as they had done a few days before, to conduct him on his way. Their extraordinary joy was owing to the speed with which he had executed his commission, so far beyond all expectation, and to the superabundant plenty which reigned in the markets. Having provided such things as he wanted, he went to Brundisium, and put to sea again. Though he was straitened for time, and in his haste sailed by many cities without calling, yet he stopped at Athens. He entered the town and sacrificed to the gods; after which he addressed the people, and then prepared to re-embark immediately.

Some of the pirates who yet traversed the seas, made their submission; and as he treated them in a humane manner, when he had them and their ships in his power, others entertaining hopes of mercy, and avoiding the other officers, surrendered themselves to Pompey, together with their wives and children. He spared them all, and it was principally by their means that he found out and took a number who were guilty of unpardonable crimes, and therefore had concealed themselves.

Still, however, there remained a great number, and indeed the most powerful part of these pirates, who sent their families, treasures, and all useless hands, into castles and fortified towns upon Mount Taurus. Then they manned their ships, and waited for Pompey at Coracesium, in Cilicia. A battle ensued, and the pirates were defeated, after which they retired into the fort. But they had not been long besieged before they capitulated, and surrendered themselves, together with the cities and islands which they had conquered and fortified, and which by their works, as well as situation, were almost impregnable. Thus the war was finished, and the whole force of the pirates destroyed, within three months at the farthest.

Beside the other vessels, Pompey took ninety ships with beaks of brass, and the prisoners amounted to twenty thousand. He did not choose to put them to death, and at the same time he thought it wrong to suffer them to disperse, because they were not only numerous, but warlike and necessitous, and therefore would pro-

bably knit again and give future trouble. He reflected that man by nature is neither a savage nor an unsocial creature, and when he becomes so, it is by vices contrary to nature: yet even then he may be humanized by changing his place of abode, and accustoming him to a new manner of life. For this reason he removed the pirates to a great distance from the sea, that they might taste the sweets of civil life, by living in cities, and by the culture of the ground.

When news was brought to Rome, that the war with the pirates was finished, and that Pompey was bestowing his leisure upon visiting the cities, Manilius, one of the tribunes of the people, proposed a decree which gave him all the provinces and forces under the command of Lucullus, adding likewise Bithynia, which was then governed by Glabrio. It directed him to carry on the war against Mithridates and Tigranes, for which purpose he was also to retain his naval command. This was subjecting at once the whole Roman empire to one man. By this law, Lucullus was deprived of the honours he had dearly earned, and had a person to succeed him in his triumph, rather than in the war; but that was not the thing which affected the patricians most. They were persuaded, indeed, that Lucullus was treated with injustice and ingratitude: but it was a much more painful circumstance, to think of a power in the hands of Pompey, which they could call nothing but a tyranny.\*

Lucullus, of course, complained of this treatment; and their common friends were of opinion, that it would be best for them to come to an interview; accordingly they met in Galatia. They began with mutual compliments and congratulations; but they soon lost sight even of candour and moderation: they proceeded to abusive language: Pompey reproaching Lucullus with avarice, and Lucullus accusing Pompey of an insatiable lust of power, in-somuch that their friends found it difficult to prevent violence. After this, Lucullus gave his friends and followers lands in Galatia, as a conquered country, and made other considerable grants. But Pompey, who encamped at a little distance from him, declared that he would not suffer his orders to be carried into execution, and seduced all his soldiers, except sixteen hundred, who he knew were so mutinous, that they would be as unserviceable to him as they had been ill-affected to their old general.

In a little time Lucullus departed for Rome; and Pompey having secured the sea from Phœnicia to the Bosphorus, marched in quest of Mithridates, who had an army of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, but durst not stand an engagement. That

\* "We have then got at last," said they, "a sovereign; the republic is changed into a monarchy, the services of Lucullus, the honour of Glabrio and Marcus, two zealous and worthy senators, are to be sacrificed to the promotion of Pompey. Sylla never carried his tyranny so far."

prince was in possession of a strong and secure post upon a mountain, which he quitted upon Pompey's approach, because it was destitute of water.

Pompey followed him to his new camp, and drew a line of circumvallation round him. Mithridates stood a siege of forty-five days, after which he found means to steal off with his best troops, having first killed all the sick, and such as could be of no service. Pompey overtook him near the Euphrates, and encamped over against him; but fearing he might pass the river unperceived, he drew out his troops at midnight. At that time Mithridates is said to have had a dream prefigurative of what was to befall him. He thought he was upon the Pontic Sea, sailing with a favourable wind, and in sight of the Bosphorus; so that he felicitated his friends in the ship, like a man perfectly safe, already in harbour. But suddenly he beheld himself in the most destitute condition, swimming upon a piece of wreck. While he was in all the agitation which the dream produced, his friends awaked him, and told him that Pompey was at hand. He was now under a necessity of fighting for his camp, and his generals drew up the forces with all possible expedition.

Pompey seeing them prepared, was loth to risk a battle in the dark: he thought it sufficient to surround them, so as to prevent their flight; and what inclined him still more to wait for day-light, was the consideration that his troops were much better than the enemy's. However, the oldest of his officers entreated him to proceed immediately to the attack, and at last prevailed. It was not indeed very dark; for the moon, though near her setting, gave light enough to distinguish objects; but it was a great disadvantage to the king's troops, that the moon was so low on the backs of the Romans, because she projected their shadows so far before them; that the enemy could form no just estimate of the distances, but thinking them at hand, threw their javelins before they could do the least execution.

The Romans perceiving their mistake, advanced to the charge with all the alarm of voices. The enemy were in such a consternation that they made not the least stand, and in their flight vast numbers were slain. They lost above ten thousand men, and their camp was taken. As for Mithridates, he broke through the Romans with eight hundred horse, in the beginning of the engagement.

In the mean time Pompey entered Armenia, upon the invitation of young Tigranes, who had revolted from his father, and was gone to meet the Roman general at the river Araxes. As he rode up to the entrenchments, two of Pompey's lictors came and ordered him to dismount and enter on foot, assuring him that no man was ever seen on horseback in a Roman camp. Tigranes obeyed.



ed, and even took off his sword and gave it them. As soon as he came before Pompey, he pulled off his diadem, and attempted to lay it at his feet. What was still worse, he was going to prostrate himself and embrace his knees; but Pompey perceiving it, took him by the hand, and placed him on one side of him, and his son on the other. Then addressing himself to the father, he said—"As to what you had lost before, you lost it to Lucullus. It was he who took from you Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophene. But what you kept till my time, I will restore you, on condition you pay the Romans a fine of six thousand talents for the injury you have done them. Your son I will make king of Sophene.

Tigranes thought himself so happy in these terms, and in finding that the Romans saluted him king, that in the joy of his heart he promised every private half a mina, every centurion ten minas, and every tribune a talent. But his son was little pleased at the determination, and when he was invited to supper, he said—"He had no need of such honours from Pompey, for he could find another Roman." Upon this he was bound and reserved for the triumph. Not long after, Phraates, king of Parthia, sent to demand the young prince as his son-in-law, and to propose that the Euphrates should be the boundary between him and the Roman empire. Pompey answered—"That Tigranes was certainly nearer to his father than his father-in-law: and as for the boundary justice should direct it."

When he had despatched this affair, he left Afranius to take care of Armenia, and marched himself to the countries bounding on Mount Caucasus, through which he must necessarily pass, in search of Mithridates. The Albanians at first granted Pompey a passage but as winter overtook him in their dominions, they took the opportunity of the Saturnalia, which the Romans observe religiously, to assemble their forces to the number of forty thousand men, with a resolution to attack them, and for that purpose passed the Cyrrus.\*

Pompey suffered them to pass the river, though it was in his power to have hindered it; and when they were all got over, he attacked and routed them, and killed great numbers on the spot. Their king sent ambassadors to speak for mercy: upon which Pompey forgave him the violence he had offered, and entered into alliance with him. This done, he marched against the Iberians, who were equally numerous and more warlike, and who were very desirous to signalise their zeal for Mithridates, by repulsing Pompey. The Iberians were never subject to the Medes or Persians; they escaped even the Macedonian yoke, because Alexander was obliged to leave Hyrcania in haste. Pompey, however, defeated this people too, in a great battle, in which he killed no less than nine thousand, and took above ten thousand prisoners.

\* Strabo and Pliny call this river *Cyrrus*, and so Plutarch probably wrote it.

After this, he threw himself into Colchis, and Servilius came and joined him at the mouth of the Phasis, with the fleet appointed to guard the Euxine sea. The pursuit of Mithridates was attended with great difficulties; for he had concealed himself among the nations settled about the Bosphorus and the Palus Mæotis. Besides, news was brought Pompey, that the Albanians had revolted, and taken up arms again. The desire of revenge determined him to march back, and chastise them. But it was with infinite trouble and danger that it passed the Cyrnus again, the barbarians having fenced it on their side with pallsades all along the banks. And when he was over, he had a large country to traverse, which afforded no water. This last difficulty he provided against, by filling ten thousand bottles: and pursuing his march, he found the enemy drawn up on the banks of the river Abas,\* to the number of sixty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, but many of them ill-armed, and provided with no defensive armour but skins of beasts.

They were commanded by the king's brother named Cosis; who, at the beginning of the battle, singled out Pompey, and rushing in upon him, struck his javelin into the joints of his breastplate. Pompey in return ran him through with his spear, and laid him dead on the spot.

After this action, Pompey designed to make his way to the Caspian sea, and march by its coasts into Hyrcania; but he found the number of venomous serpents so troublesome, that he was forced to return, when three days march more would have carried him as far as he proposed. The next route he took was into Armenia the Less, where he gave audience to ambassadors from the kings of the Elymæans and Medes, and dismissed them with letters expressive of his regard. Mean time the king of Parthia had entered Gordyene, and was doing infinite damage to the subjects of Tigranes. Against him Pompey sent Afranius, who put him to the rout, and pursued him as far as the province of Arbelis.

Among all the concubines of Mithridates that were brought before Pompey, he touched not one, but sent them to their parents or husbands; for most of them were either daughters or wives of the great officers and principal persons of the kingdom. But Stratonice, who was the first favourite, and had the care of a fort where the best part of the king's treasure was lodged, was the daughter of a poor old musician. She sung one evening to Mithridates at an entertainment, and he was so much pleased with her, that he detained her in his palace, and sent the old man home in no very good humour, because he had taken his daughter without condescending to speak one kind word to him. But when he waked next morning, he saw tables covered with vessels of gold and silver, a great retinue of

\* This river takes its rise in the mountains of Albania, and falls into the Caspian sea. Ptolemy calls it *Albanus*.

eunuchs and pages, who offered him choice of rich robes, and before his gate, a horse with such magnificent furniture, as is provided for those who are called the king's friends. All this he thought nothing but an insult and burlesque upon him, and therefore prepared for flight: but the servants stopped him, and assured him, that the king had given him the house of a rich nobleman lately deceased, and that what he saw was only the first fruits, a small earnest, of the fortune he intended him. At last he suffered himself to be persuaded that the scene was not visionary; he put on the purple, and mounted the horse, and as he rode through the city, cried out—"All this is mine." The inhabitants of course laughed at him; and he told them—"They should not be surprised at this behaviour of his, but rather wonder that he did not throw stones at them."

From such a glorious source sprung Stratonice.

She surrendered to Pompey the castle, and made many magnificent presents: however, he took nothing but what might be an ornament to the solemnities of religion, and add lustre to his triumph. The rest he desired she would keep for her own enjoyment. In like manner, when the king of Iberia sent him a bedstead, a table, and a throne, all of massy gold, and begged of him to accept them as a mark of his regard, he bade the quæstors apply them to the purposes of the public revenue.

In the castle of Cænon he found the private papers of Mithridates, and he read them with some pleasure, because they discovered that prince's real character. From these memoirs it appeared that he had taken off many persons by poison, among whom were his own son Ariarathes and Alcæus of Sardis. His pique against the latter took its rise merely from his having better horses for the race than he. There were also interpretations both of his own dreams and those of his wives and the lascivious letters which had passed between him and Monime.

From Cænon Pompey marched to Amisus, where his infatuating ambition put him upon very obnoxious measures. He was passionately desirous to recover Syria, and passing from thence through Arabia, to penetrate to the Red Sea, that he might go on conquering every way to the ocean which surrounds the world. In Africa he was the first whose conquests extended to the Great Sea; in Spain he stretched the Roman dominions to the Atlantic, and in his late pursuit of the Albanians, he wanted but little of reaching the Hyrcanian Sea. In order, therefore, to take the Red Sea too into the circle of his wars, he began his march; the rather, because he saw it difficult to hunt out Mithridates with a regular force, and that he was much harder to deal with in his flight than in battle. For this reason, he said—"He would leave him a stronger enemy than the Romans to cope with, which was famine." In pursuance of

this intention, he ordered a number of ships to cruise about, and prevent any vessel from entering the Bosphorus with provisions, and that death should be the punishment for such as were taken in the attempt.

Proceeding in the execution of his plan, he subdued the Arabians about Mount Amanus by his lieutenant Afranius, and descended himself into Syria, which he converted into a Roman province, because it had no lawful king. He reduced Judæa, and took its king Aristobulus prisoner: he founded some cities, and set others free, punishing the tyrants who had enslaved them. But most of his time was spent in administering justice, and in deciding the disputes between cities and princes. Where he could not go himself, he sent his friends: the Armenians and Parthians, for instance, having referred the difference they had about some territory to his decision, he sent three arbitrators to settle the affair. His reputation as to power was great, and it was equally respectable as to virtue and moderation. This palliated most of his faults, and those of his ministers. He knew not how to restrain or punish the offences of those he employed, but he gave so gracious a reception to those who came to complain of them, that they went away not ill satisfied with all they had suffered from their avarice and oppression.

The king of Arabia Petræa had hitherto considered the Romans in no formidable light, but he was really afraid of Pompey, and sent letters to acquaint him, that he was ready to obey all his commands. Pompey, to try the sincerity of his professions, marched against Petra. Many blamed this expedition, looking upon it as no better than a pretext to be excused pursuing Mithridates, against whom they would have had him turn as against the ancient enemy of Rome: an enemy, who, according to all accounts, had so far recovered his strength as to propose marching through Scythia and Pæonia into Italy. On the other hand, Pompey was of opinion that it was much easier to ruin him when at the head of an army, than to take him in his flight, and therefore would not amuse himself with a fruitless pursuit, but rather chose to wait for a new emergency, and, in the mean time, to turn his arms to another quarter.

Fortune soon resolved the doubt. He had advanced near Petra, and encamped for that day, and was taking some exercise on horseback without the trenches, when messengers arrived from Pontus; and it was plain they brought good news, because the points of their spears were crowned with laurel. The soldiers seeing this, gathered about Pompey, who was inclined to finish his exercise before he opened the packet; but they were so earnest in their entreaties, that they prevailed upon him to alight and take it. He entered the camp with it in his hand, and as there was no tribunal ready, and the soldiers were too impatient to raise one of turf, which was the common method, they piled a number

of packsaddles one upon another, upon which Pompey mounted, and gave them this information: "Mithridates is dead; he killed himself upon the revolt of his son Pharnaces. And Pharnaces has siezed all that belouged to his father, which he declares he has done for himself and the Romans."

At this news the army, as might be expected, gave a loose to their joy, which they expressed in sacrifices to the gods, and in reciprocal entertainments, as if ten thousand of their enemies had been slain in Mithridates. Pompey having thus brought the campaign and the whole war to a conclusion so happy, and so far beyond his hopes, immediately quitted Arabia, and traversed the provinces between that and Galatia with great rapidity, and soon arrived at Amisus. There he found many presents from Pharnaces, and several corpses of the royal family, among which was that of Mithridates.

Pompey, having thoroughly settled the affairs of Asia, proceeded in his return to Rome. People talked variously concerning his intentions. But as soon as it was known that his troops were disbanded, an astonishing change appeared in the face of things. The cities seeing Pompey the Great unarmed and attended by a few friends, as if he were returning only from a common tour, poured out their inhabitants after him, who conducted him to Rome with the sincerest pleasure, and with a much greater force than that which he had dismissed; so that there would have been no need of the army, if he had formed any desigus against the state.

The triumph was so great that, though it was divided into two days, the time was far from being sufficient for displaying what was prepared to be carried in procession; there remained still enough to adorn another triumph. At the head of the show appeared the titles of the conquered nations: Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, the Iberians, the Albanians, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, Palestine, Judæa, Arabia, the pirates subdued both by sea and land. In these countries it was mentioned that there were not less than a thousand castles, and near nine hundred cities taken; eight hundred gallies taken from the pirates; and thirty-nine desolated cities repeopled. On the face of the tablets it appeared besides, that whereas the revenues of the Roman empire, before these conquests, amounted to but fifty millions of drachmas, by the new acquisitions they were advanced to eighty-five millions; and that Pompey had brought into the public treasury, in money and in gold and silver vessels, to the value of twenty thousand talents, besides what he had distributed among the soldiers of whom he that received least had fifteen hundred drachmas to his share. The captives who walked in the procession, (not to mention the chiefs of the pirates,) were the son of Ti-

granes, king of Armenia, together with his wife and daughter; Zosima, the wife of Tigranes himself; Aristobulus, king of Judæa; the sister of Mithridates, with her five sons; and some Scythian women. The hostages of the Albanians and Iberians, and of the king of Commagene, also appeared in the train: and as many trophies were exhibited as Pompey had gained victories, either in person or by his lieutenants, the number of which was not small. But the most honourable circumstance, and what no other Roman could boast, was, that his third triumph was over the third quarter of the world, after his former triumphs had been over the other two. Others before him had been honoured with three triumphs; but his first triumph was over Africa, his second over Europe, and his third over Asia; so that the three seemed to declare him conqueror of the world.

At this time Cæsar returning from his province,\* undertook an affair which rendered him very popular at present, and in its consequences gained him power, but proved a great prejudice to Pompey and to the whole commonwealth. He was then soliciting his first consulship, and Crassus and Pompey being at variance, he perceived that if he should join the one, the other would be his enemy of course; he therefore set himself to reconcile them. To this union Cæsar owed his consulship: and he was no sooner appointed than he began to make his court to the indigent part of the people, by proposing laws for sending out colonies, and for the distribution of lands, by which he descended from the dignity of a consul, and in some sort took upon him the office of a tribune. His colleague Bibulus opposed him, and Cato prepared to support Bibulus in the most strenuous manner, when Cæsar placed Pompey by him upon the tribunal, and asked him before the whole assembly—"Whether he approved his laws?" and upon his answering in the affirmative, he put this farther question—"Then if any one shall with violence oppose these laws, will you come to the assistance of the people?" Pompey answered—"I will certainly come; and against those who threaten to take the sword, I will bring both sword and buckler."

Pompey till that day had never said any thing so obnoxious; and his friends could only say, by way of apology, that it was an expression which had escaped him. But it appeared by the subsequent events, that he was then entirely at Cæsar's devotion. For within a few days, to the surprise of all the world, he married Julia, Cæsar's daughter, who had been promised to Cæpio, and was upon the point of being married to him. To appease the resentment of Cæpio, he gave him his own daughter, who had been

\* It was not at the time of Cicero's going into exile, that Cæsar returned from his province of Spain, which he had governed with the title of prætor but two years before. Cæsar returned in the year of Rome 693, and Cicero quitted Rome in the year 695.

before contracted to Faustus, the son of Sylla; and Cæsar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso.

Pompey then filled the city with soldiers, and carried every thing with open force. The two Gauls on this and the other side the Alps and Illyria were allotted to Cæsar for five years, with four complete legions. Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, and Gabinius, one of the most abandoned flatterers of Pompey, were pitched upon for consuls for the ensuing year. The whole care of providing and importing corn being committed to Pompey, he sent his deputies and agents into various parts, and went in person into Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa, where he collected great quantities. When he was upon the point of re-embarking, a violent wind sprung up, and the mariners made a difficulty of putting to sea; but he was the first to go on board, and ordered them to weigh anchor, with these decisive words—"It is necessary to go; is it not necessary to live?" His success was answerable to his spirit and intrepidity. He filled the markets with corn, and covered the sea with his ships, insomuch that the overplus afforded a supply to foreigners, and from Rome, as from a fountain, plenty flowed over the world.

In the mean time the wars in Gaul lifted Cæsar to the first sphere of greatness. He entered into a treaty with Crassus and Pompey, by which it was agreed that they should apply for the consulship, and that Cæsar should assist them by sending a great number of his soldiers to vote at the election. As soon as they were chosen, they were to share the provinces, and take the command of armies according to their pleasure, only confirming Cæsar in the possession of what he had, for five years more. Thus they obtained the consulship by violence, and the rest of their measures were not conducted with more moderation. For, in the first place, when the people were going to choose Cato prætor, at the instant their suffrages were to be taken, Pompey dismissed the assembly, pretending that he had seen an inauspicious flight of birds.\* Afterwards the tribes, corrupted with money, declared Antias and Vatinius prætors. Then, in pursuance of their agreement with Cæsar, they put Trebonius, one of the tribunes, on proposing a decree, by which the government of the Gauls was continued for five years more to Cæsar; Syria, and the command against the Parthians, were given to Crassus; and Pompey was to have all Africa, and both the Spains, with four legions, two of which he lent to Cæsar, at his request, for the war in Gaul.

Crassus, upon the expiration of his consulship, repaired to the province. Pompey, remaining at Rome, opened his theatre, and

\* This was making religion merely an engine of state, and it often proved a very convenient one for the purposes of ambition. Clodius, though otherwise one of the vilest tribunes that ever existed, was very right in attempting to put a stop to that means of dismissing an assembly. He preferred a bill, that no magistrate should make any observations on the heavens while the people were assembled.

to make the dedication more magnificent, exhibited a variety of gymnastic games, entertainments of music, and battles with wild beasts, in which were killed five hundred lions; but the battle of elephants afforded the most astonishing spectacle.\* These things gained him the love and admiration of the public; but he incurred their displeasure again by leaving his provinces and armies entirely to his friends and lieutenants, and roving about Italy with his wife from one villa to another. The strong attachment of Julia appeared on an election of ædiles. The people came to blows, and some were killed so near Pompey, that he was covered with blood, and forced to change his clothes. There was a great crowd and tumult about his door, when his servants went home with the bloody robe: and Julia, who was with child, happened to see it, fainted away, and was with difficulty recovered. However, such was her terror and the agitation of her spirits, that she miscarried. After this, those who complained most of Pompey's connexion with Cæsar, could not find fault with his love of Julia. She was pregnant afterwards, and brought him a daughter, but unfortunately died in child-bed; nor did the child long survive her.

Immediately after Julia's death, the people of Rome were in great agitation, and there was nothing in their speeches and actions which did not tend to a rupture. The alliance, which rather covered than restrained the ambition of the two great competitors for power, was now no more. To add to the misfortune, news was brought soon after, that Crassus was slain by the Parthians; and in him another great obstacle to a civil war was removed. Out of fear of him, they had both kept some measures with each other. But when fortune had carried off the champion who could take up the conqueror we may say with the comic poet,

— High spirit of emprise  
 Elates each chief; they oil their brawny limbs,  
 And dip their hands in dust.—

So little able is fortune to fill the capacities of the human mind, when such a weight of power, and extent of command, could not satisfy the ambition of two men.

Yet Pompey, in an address to the people at that time, told them—“He had received every commission they had honoured him with, sooner than he expected himself; and laid it down sooner than was expected by the world.” And indeed the dismissal of his troops always bore witness to the truth of that assertion. But now being persuaded that Cæsar would not disband his army, he endeavoured to fortify himself against him by great employments at home, and this without attempting any other innovation. For he

\* Dio says, the elephants fought with armed men. There were no less than eighteen of them; and he adds, that some of them seemed to appeal, with piteous cries, to the people, who, in compassion, saved their lives. If we may believe him, an oath had been taken before they left Africa, that no injury should be done them.



would not appear to distrust him ; on the contrary, he rather affected to despise him. However, when he saw the great offices of state not disposed of agreeably to his desire, but that the people were influenced, and his adversaries preferred for money, he thought it would best serve his cause to suffer anarchy to prevail. In consequence of the reigning disorders, a dictator was much talked of. Lucillius, one of the tribunes, was the first who ventured to propose it in form to the people, and he exhorted them to choose Pompey dictator. Cato opposed it so effectually, that the tribune was in danger of being deposed. Many of Pompey's friends then stood up in defence of the purity of his intentions, and declared he neither asked nor wished for the dictatorship. Cato upon this paid the highest compliments to Pompey, and intreated him to assist in the support of order and of the constitution. Pompey could not but accede to such a proposal, and Domitius and Messala were elected consuls.\*

The same anarchy and confusion afterwards took place again, and numbers began to talk more boldly of setting up a dictator. Cato, now fearing he should be overborne, was of opinion that it was better to give Pompey some office whose authority was limited by law, than to entrust him with absolute power. Bibulus, though Pompey's declared enemy, moved in full senate, that he should be appointed sole consul. "For by that means," said he, "the commonwealth will either recover from her disorder, or if she must serve, will serve a man of the greatest merit." The whole house was surprised at the motion ; and when Cato rose up, it was expected he would oppose it. A profound silence ensued, and he said—"He should never have been the first to propose such an expedient, but as it was proposed by another, he thought it advisable to embrace it ; for he thought any kind of government better than anarchy, and knew no man fitter to rule than Pompey, in a time of so much trouble." The senate came into his opinion, and a decree was issued, that Pompey should be appointed sole consul, and that if he should have need of a colleague, he might choose one himself, provided it were not before the expiration of two months.

Pompey then went into the city and married Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio. She was a widow, having been married when very young to Publius, the son of Crassus, who was lately killed in the Parthian expedition. This woman had many charms beside her beauty : she was well versed in polite literature ; she played upon the lyre, and understood geometry ; and she had made

\* In the year of Rome 700. Such corruption now prevailed among the Romans, that candidates for the curule offices brought their money openly to the place of election, where they distributed it, without blushing, among the heads of factions ; and those who received it, employed force and violence in favour of those persons who paid them : so that scarce an office was disposed of but what had been disputed with the sword, and cost the lives of many citizens.

considerable improvements by the precepts of philosophy ; what is more, she had nothing of that petulance and affectation, which such studies are apt to produce in women of her age. And her father's family and reputation were unexceptionable. He took his father-in-law for his colleague for the remaining five months. His governments were continued to him for four years more, and he was allowed a thousand talents a year for the subsistence and pay of his troops.

Cæsar's friends laid hold on this occasion to represent, that some consideration should be had of him, too, and his many great and laborious services for his country. They said, he certainly deserved either another consulship, or to have the term of his commission prolonged. A dispute arising upon the affair, Pompey, as if inclined to fence against the odium to which Cæsar might be exposed by this demand, said, he had letters from Cæsar, in which he declared himself willing to accept a successor, and to give up the command in Gaul, only he thought it reasonable that he should be permitted, though absent, to stand for the consulship.\* Cato opposed this with all his force, and insisted—"That Cæsar should lay down his arms, and return as a private man, if he had any favour to ask of his country." And as Pompey did not labour the point, but easily acquiesced, it was suspected he had no real friendship for Cæsar. This appeared more clearly, when he sent for the two legions which he had lent him, under pretence of wanting them for the Parthian war.

After this, Pompey had a dangerous illness at Naples, of which, however, he recovered. Praxagoras advised the Neapolitans to offer sacrifices to the gods, in gratitude for his recovery. The neighbouring cities followed their example ; and the humour spreading itself over Italy, there was not a town or village which did not solemnize the occasion with festivals. No place could afford room for the crowds that came from all quarters to meet him : the high roads, the villages, the ports were filled with sacrifices and entertainments. Many received him with garlands on their heads and torches in their hands, and, as they conducted him on his way, strewed it with flowers. His returning with such pomp afforded a glorious spectacle ; but it is said to have been one of the principal causes of the civil war. For the joy he conceived on this occasion, added to the high opinion he had of his achievements, intoxicated him so far, that, bidding adieu to the caution and prudence which had put his good fortune and the glory of his actions upon a sure footing, he gave in to the most extravagant presumption, and even contempt of Cæsar, insomuch that he declared—

\* There was a law against any absent person's being admitted a candidate ; but Pompey had added a clause, which empowered the people to except any man by name from personal attendance.

“He had no need of arms, or any extraordinary preparations against him, since he could pull him down with much more ease than he had set him up.”

Mean time Cæsar was exerting himself greatly : he was now at no great distance from Italy, and not only sent his soldiers to vote in the elections, but, by private pecuniary applications, corrupted many of the magistrates. It is said, that when one of Cæsar’s officers, who stood before the senate house, waiting the issue of the debates, was informed, that they would not give Cæsar a longer term in his command, he laid his hand upon his sword and said—“But this shall give it.”

Indeed, all the actions and preparations of his general tended that way : though Curio’s demands in behalf of Cæsar seemed more plausible. He proposed, that either Pompey should likewise be obliged to dismiss his forces, or Cæsar suffered to keep his. “If they are both reduced to a private station,” said he, “they will agree upon reasonable terms : or, if each retains his power, they will be satisfied. But he who weakens the one, without doing the same by the other, must double that force which he fears will subvert the government.”\* Hereupon, Marcellus the consul called Cæsar a public robber, and insisted, that he should be declared an enemy to the state, if he did not lay down his arms. However, Curio, together with Antony and Piso, prevailed that a farther inquiry should be made into the sense of the senate. He first proposed, that such as were of opinion—“That Cæsar should dishand his army, and Pompey keep his,” should draw to one side of the house, and there appeared a majority for that motion. Then he proposed, that the number of those should be taken, whose sense it was, “That both should lay down their arms, and neither remain in command ;” upon which question Pompey had only twenty-two, and Curio all the rest. Curio, proud of his victory, ran in transports of joy to the assembly of the people, who received him with the loudest plaudits, and crowned him with flowers. Pompey was not present at the debate in the house ; for the commander of an army is not allowed to enter the city. But Marcellus rose up and said—“I will no longer sit to hear the matter canvassed : but, as I see ten legions have already passed the Alps, I will send a man to oppose them in behalf of my country.”

Upon this, the city went into mourning, as in a time of public calamity. Marcellus walked through the forum, followed by the senate, and when he was in sight of Pompey without the gate, he said—“Pompey, I charge you to assist your country ; for which purpose you shall make use of the troops you have, and levy what new ones you please. Lentulus, one of the consuls elect for the

\* Cornelius Scipio, one of Pompey’s friends, remonstrated, that, in the present case, a great difference was to be made between the proconsul of Spain and the proconsul of Gaul, since the term of the former was not expired, whereas that of the latter was.

next year, said the same. But when Pompey came to make the new levies, some absolutely refused to enlist; others gave in their names in small numbers and with no spirit; and the greatest part cried out—"A peace! A peace! For Antony, notwithstanding the injunctions of the senate to the contrary, had read a letter of Cæsar's to the people, well calculated to gain them. He proposed, that both Pompey and he should resign their governments and dismiss their forces, and then come and give an account of their conduct to the people.

At the same time news was brought, that Cæsar had seized Armenium, a considerable city in Italy, and that he was marching directly towards Rome with all his forces. Upon the first report of this at Rome, the city was in greater disorder and astonishment than had ever been known. Cato then advised that Pompey should not only be appointed general, but invested with a discretionary power, adding, "that those who were the authors of great evils, knew best how to cure them." So saying, he set out for his province of Sicily, and the other great officers departed for theirs.

Almost all Italy was now in motion, and nothing could be more perplexed than the whole face of things. The terrors of the people could not be removed, and no one would suffer Pompey to lay a plan of action for himself. According to the passion wherewith each was actuated, whether fear, sorrow, or doubt, they endeavoured to inspire him with the same, insomuch that he adopted different measures the same day. He could gain no certain intelligence of the enemy's motions, because every man brought him the report he happened to take up, and was angry if it did not meet with credit. Pompey at last caused it to be declared, by an edict in form, that the commonwealth was in danger, and no peace to be expected. After which he signified that he should look upon those who remained in the city as partisans of Cæsar, and then quitted it in the dusk of the evening. The consuls also fled, without offering the sacrifices which their customs required, before a war. However, in this great extremity, Pompey could not but be considered as happy in the affections of his countrymen. Though many blamed the war, there was not a man who hated the general. Nay, the number of those who followed him out of attachment to his person, was greater than that of the adventurers in the cause of liberty.

A few days after, Cæsar arrived at Rome. When he was in possession of the city, he behaved with great moderation in many respects, and composed, in a good measure, the minds of its remaining inhabitants. Having taken what sums he wanted out of the public treasury, he went in pursuit of Pompey, hastening to drive him out of Italy before his forces could arrive from Spain. Pompey, who was master in Brundisium, and had a sufficient number of transports, desired the consuls to embark without loss of time

and sent them before him with thirty cohorts to Dyrrhachium. At the same time he sent his father-in-law Scipio, and his son Chæus, into Syria, to provide ships of war. He had well secured the gates of the city, and planted the lightest of his slingers and archers upon the walls; and having now ordered the Brundusians to keep within doors, he caused a number of trenches to be cut, and sharp stakes to be driven into them, and then covered with earth, in all the streets, except two which led down to the sea. In three days all his other troops were embarked without interruption, and then he suddenly gave the signal to those who guarded the walls; in consequence of which, they ran swiftly down to the harbour, and got on board. Thus having his whole complement, he set sail, and crossed the sea to Dyrrhachium. This manœuvre of Pompey was commonly reckoned among the greatest acts of generalship. Cæsar however could not help wondering, that his adversary, who was in possession of a fortified town, and expected his forces from Spain, and at the same time was master of the sea, should give up Italy in such a manner.

Cæsar having thus made himself master of all Italy in sixty days without the least bloodshed, marched to Spain with an intent to gain the forces there. In the mean time Pompey assembled a great army, and at sea he was altogether invincible. For he had five hundred ships of war, and the number of his lighter vessels was still greater. As for his land forces, he had seven thousand horse, the flower of Rome and Italy,\* all men of family, fortune, and courage. His infantry, though numerous, was a mixture of raw, undisciplined soldiers: he therefore exercised them during his stay at Bercœa, where he was by no means idle, but went through all the exercises of a soldier, as if he had been in the flower of his age. It inspired his troops with new courage, when they saw Pompey the Great, at the age of fifty-eight, going through the whole military discipline, in heavy armour, on foot; and then mounting his horse, drawing his sword with ease when at full speed, and as dexterously sheathing it again. As to the javelin, he threw it not only with great exactness, but with such force that few of the young men could dart it at a greater distance.

Many kings and princes repaired to his camp, and the number of Roman officers who had commanded armies was so great, that it was sufficient to make up a complete senate. Labienus,† who

\* Cæsar, on the contrary, says, that this body of horse was almost entirely composed of strangers:—"There were six hundred Galatians, five hundred Cappadocians, as many Thracians, two hundred Macedonians, five hundred Gauls or Germans, eight hundred raised out of his own estates, or out of his own retinue;" and so of the rest, whom he particularly mentions, and tells us to what countries they belonged.

† It seemed very strange, says Dio, that Labienus should abandon Cæsar, who had loaded him with honours, and given him the command of all the forces on the other side of the Alps, while he was at Rome. But he gives this reason for it:—"Labienus, elated with his immense wealth, and proud of his preferments, forgot himself to such

had been honoured with Cæsar's friendship, and served under him in Gaul, now joined Pompey. Even Brutus, the son of that Brutus who was killed by him, not very fairly, in the Cisalpine Gaul,\* a man of spirit, who had never spoken to Pompey before, because he considered him as the murderer of his father, now ranged himself under his banners, as the defender of the liberties of his country. Cicero too, though he had written and advised otherwise, was ashamed not to appear in the number of those who hazarded their lives for Rome.

After Pompey had assembled his senate, and at the motion of Cato, a decree was made, "that no Roman should be killed, except in battle, nor any city that was subject to the Romans be plundered." Pompey's party gained ground daily. Those who lived at too great a distance, or were too weak to take a share in the war, interested themselves in the cause as much as they were able, and, with words at least, contended for it, looking upon those as enemies both to the gods and men, who did not wish that Pompey might conquer.

Not but that Cæsar made a merciful use of his victories. He had lately made himself master of Pompey's forces in Spain, and though it was not without a battle, he dismissed the officers, and incorporated the troops with his own. After this, he passed the Alps again, and marched through Italy to Brundisium, where he arrived at the time of the winter solstice. There he crossed the sea, and landed at Oricum: from whence he despatched Vibullius,† one of Pompey's friends, whom he had brought prisoner thither, with proposals of a conference between him and Pompey, "In which they should agree to disband their armies within three days, renew their friendship, confirm it with solemn oaths, and then both return to Italy."

Pompey took this overture for another snare, and therefore drew down in haste to the sea, and secured all the forts and places of strength for land forces, as well as all the ports and other commodious stations for shipping: so that there was not a wind that blew, which did not bring him either provisions, or troops, or money.

a degree, as to assume a character very unbecoming a person in his circumstances. He was even for putting himself upon an equality with Cæsar, who thereupon grew cool towards him, and treated him with some reserve, which Labienus resented, and went over to Pompey."

\* The former English translator renders this *Galatia*. He ought to have remembered, that this Brutus was killed by Geminius, in a village near the Po, by Pompey's order, after he had accepted his submission, if not promised him his life. The authors of the Universal History have copied the error.

† In the printed text it is *Jubius*; but one of the manuscripts gives us *Vibullius*, which is the name he had in Cæsar's *Com. lib. iii.* Vibullius Rufus travelled night and day, without allowing himself any rest, till he reached Pompey's camp, who had not yet received advice of Cæsar's arrival, but was no sooner informed of the taking of Oricum and Apollonia, than he immediately decamped, and by long marches reached Oricum before Cæsar.

On the other hand, Cæsar was reduced to such straits, both by sea and land, that he was under the necessity of seeking a battle. Accordingly, he attacked Pompey's intrenchments, and bade him defiance daily. In most of these attacks and skirmishes he had the advantage; but one day was in danger of losing his whole army. Pompey fought with so much valour, that he put Cæsar's whole detachment to flight, after having killed two thousand of them upon the spot; but was either unable or afraid to pursue his blow, and enter the camp with them. Cæsar said to his friends on the occasion—"This day the victory had been the enemy's had their general known how to conquer."\*

After this last engagement, Cæsar was in such want of provisions, that he was forced to decamp, and he took his way through Athamania to Thessaly. This added so much to the high opinion Pompey's soldiers had of themselves, that it was impossible to keep it within bounds. They cried out with one voice—"Cæsar is fled." Some called upon their general to pursue; some, to pass over to Italy. Others sent their friends and servants to Rome, to engage houses near the forum, for the convenience of soliciting the great offices of the state. And not a few went of their own accord to Cornelia, who had been privately lodged in Lesbos, to congratulate her upon the conclusion of the war.

On this great emergency, a council of war was called, in which Afranius gave it as his opinion—"That they ought immediately to regain Italy, for that was the great prize aimed at in the war. Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, and both the Gauls, would soon submit to those who were masters there. What should affect Pompey still more was, that his native country just by, stretched out her hands to him as a suppliant: and it could not be consistent with his honour to let her remain under such indignities, and in so disgraceful a vassalage to the slaves and flatterers of tyrants." But Pompey thought it would neither be for his reputation to fly a second time from Cæsar, and again to be pursued, when fortune put it in his power to pursue; nor agreeable to the laws of piety, to leave his father-in-law, Scipio, and many other persons of consular dignity, in Greece and Thessaly, a prey to Cæsar, with all their treasures and forces. As for Rome, he should take the best care of her, by fixing the scene of war at the greatest distance from her; that, without feeling its calamities, or perhaps hearing the report of them, she might quietly wait for the conqueror.

This opinion prevailing, he set out in pursuit of Cæsar, with a resolution not to hazard a battle, but to keep near enough to hold him as it were, besieged, and to wear him out with famine. This he thought the best method he could take; and a report was moreover brought him, of its being whispered among the equestrian order—"That as soon as they had taken off Cæsar, they could do

nothing better than take off him too." Some say, this was the reason why he did not employ Cato in any service of importance, but upon his march against Cæsar, sent him to the sea-coast, to take care of the baggage, lest, after he had destroyed Cæsar, Cato would soon oblige him to lay down his commission.

While he thus softly followed the enemy's steps, a complaint was raised against him, and urged with much clamour, that he was not exercising his generalship upon Cæsar, but upon the senate and the whole commonwealth, in order that he might for ever keep the command in his hands, and have those for his guards and servants, who had a right to govern the world. Domitius Ænobarbus always called him Agamemnon, or king of kings. Favonius piqued him no less with a jest, than others by their unreasonable severity; he went about crying, "My friends, we shall eat no figs in Tusculum this year." And Lucius Afranius, who lost the forces in Spain, and was accused of having betrayed them into the enemy's hand, now when he saw Pompey avoid a battle, said, "He was surprised that his accuser should make any difficulty of fighting that merchant (as they called him,) who trafficked for provinces."

These, and many other like sallies of ridicule, had such an effect upon Pompey, who was ambitious of being spoken well of by the world, and had too much deference for the opinions of his friends, that he gave up his own better judgment, to follow them in the career of their false hopes and prospects. This would have been unpardonable in the pilot or master of a ship, much more in the commander in chief of so many nations, and such numerous armies. He had often commended the physician who gives no indulgence to the whimsical longings of his patients, and yet he humoured the sickly cravings of his army, and was afraid to give them pain, though necessary for the preservation of their life and being. For who can say that army was in a sound and healthy state, when some of the officers went about the camp, canvassing for the offices of consul and prætor; and others, namely, Spinther, Domitius, and Scipio, were engaged in quarrels and cabals, about Cæsar's high priesthood, as if their adversary had been only a Tigranes, a king of Armenia, or a prince of the Nabathæans; and not that Cæsar and that army, who had stormed a thousand cities, subdued above three hundred nations, gained numberless battles of the Germans and Gauls, taken a million of prisoners, and killed as many fairly in the field? Notwithstanding all this, they continued loud and tumultuous in their demands of a battle, and when they came to the plains of Pharsalia, forced Pompey to call a council of war. Labienus, who had the command of the cavalry, rose up first and took an oath, "That he would not return from the battle, till he had put the enemy to flight." All the other officers swore the same.

Cæsar was preparing, at break of day, to march to Scotu-



sa;\* his soldiers were striking their tents, and the servants and beasts of burden were already in motion, when his scouts brought intelligence, that they had seen arms handed about in the enemy's camp, and perceived a noise and bustle which indicated an approaching battle. After these, others came and assured him, that the first ranks were drawn up. Upon this Cæsar said, "The long-desired day is come, on which we shall fight with men, and not with want and famine." Pompey placed himself in his right wing, over against Antony, and his father-in-law, Scipio, in the centre, opposite Domitius Calvinus. His left wing was commanded by Lucius Domitius and supported by the cavalry; for they were almost all ranged on that side, in order to break in upon Cæsar, and cut off the tenth legion, which was accounted the bravest in his army, and in which he used to fight in person.

Pompey having taken a view of the order of both armies, and finding that the enemy kept their ranks with the utmost exactness, and quietly waited for the signal of battle, while his own men, for want of experience, were fluctuating and unsteady, he was afraid they would be broken on the first onset. He therefore commanded the vanguard to stand firm in their ranks,† and in that close order to receive the enemy's charge. Cæsar condemned this measure, as not only tending to lessen the vigour of the blows, which is always greatest in the assailants, but also to damp the fire and spirit of the men, whereas those who advance with impetuosity, and animate each other with shouts, are filled with an enthusiastic valour and superior ardour.

Cæsar's army consisted of twenty-two thousand men, and Pompey's was something more than twice that number. When the signal was given on both sides, and the trumpets sounded a charge, each common man attended only to his own concern. But some of the principal Romans and Greeks, who only stood and looked on, when the dreadful moment of action approached, could not help considering to what the avarice and ambition of two men had brought the Roman empire. The same arms on both sides, the troops marshalled in the same manner, the same standards; in short, the strength and flower of one and the same city turned upon itself! What could be a stronger proof of the blindness and infatuation of human nature, when carried away by its passions? Had they been willing to enjoy the fruits of their labours in peace and tranquility, the greatest and best part of the world was their own. Or, if they must have indulged their thirst of victories and triumphs,

\* Scotusa was a city of Thessaly. Cæsar was persuaded that Pompey would not come to action, and therefore chose to march in search of provisions, as well as to harass the enemy with frequent movements, and to watch his opportunity, in some of those movements, to fall upon them.

† Vide *Cæs. ubi supra*. This, however, must be said in excuse for Pompey, that generals of experience have sometimes done as he did.

the Parthians and Germans were yet to be subdued; Scythia and India yet remained; together with a very plausible colour for their lust of new acquisitions, the pretence of civilizing barbarians.

The plain of Pharsalia was now covered with men, and horses, and arms; and the signal of battle being given on both sides, the first on Cæsar's side who advanced to the charge, was Caius Crastinus, who commanded a corps of a hundred and twenty men. Many followed to support him. They soon took to their swords, and numbers were slain; but as Crastinus was making his way forward, and cutting down all before him, one of Pompey's men stood to receive him, and pushed his sword in at his mouth with such force that it went through his neck. Crastinus thus killed, the fight was maintained with equal advantage on both sides.

Pompey did not immediately bring on his right wing, but often directed his eyes to the left, and lost time in waiting to see what execution his cavalry would do there. Meanwhile they extended their squadrons to surround Cæsar, and prepared to drive the few horse he had placed in front, back upon the foot. At that instant Cæsar gave the signal, upon which his cavalry retreated a little; and the six cohorts, which consisted of three thousand men, and had been placed behind the tenth legion, advanced to surround Pompey's cavalry, who fled back with great dishonour. Cæsar's men took no care to pursue them, but turned their force upon the enemy's infantry, particularly to that wing which, now stripped of its horse, lay open to the attack on all sides. The six cohorts, therefore, took them in flank, while the tenth legion charged them in front: and they, who had hoped to surround the enemy, and now saw themselves surrounded, made but a short resistance, and then took to a precipitate flight.

By the great dust that was raised, Pompey conjectured the fate of his cavalry, and it is hard to say what passed in his mind at that moment. He appeared like a man moon-struck and distracted, and without considering that he was Pompey the Great, or speaking to any one, he quitted the ranks, and retired step by step towards his camp.

Having entered his tent, he sat down, and uttered not a word, till at last, upon finding that some of the enemy entered the camp with the fugitives, he said, "What! into my camp too!" After this short exclamation, he rose up, and dressing himself in a manner suitable to his fortune, privately withdrew.\* All the other legions

\* Cæsar tells us, that the cohorts appointed to defend the camp made a vigorous resistance; but being at length overpowered, fled to a neighbouring mountain, where he resolved to invest them. But before he had finished his lines, want of water obliged them to abandon that post, and retire towards Larissa. Cæsar pursued the fugitives at the head of four legions, (not of the fourth legion, as the authors of the Universal History erroneously say,) and after six miles march came up with them. But they not daring to engage troops flushed with victory, fled for refuge to a high hill, the foot of which was watered by a little river. Though Cæsar's men were quite spear,

fled, and a great slaughter was made in the camp, of the servants and others who had the care of the tents. But Asinius Pollio, who then fought on Cæsar's side, assures us, that of the regular troops there were not above six thousand men killed.\*

Upon the taking of the camp, there was a spectacle which showed in strong colours the vanity and folly of Pompey's troops. All the tents were crowned with myrtle; the beds strewed with flowers; the tables covered with cups and bowls of wine set out. In short, every thing had the appearance of preparations for feasts and sacrifices, rather than for men going out to battle. To such a degree had their vain hopes corrupted them, and with such a senseless confidence they took the field!

When Pompey had got a little distance from the camp, he quitted his horse: he had very few people about him; and, as he saw he was not pursued, he went softly on, wrapt up in such thoughts as we may suppose a man to have, who had been used for thirty-four years to conquer and carry all before him, and now in his old age first came to know what it was to be defeated and to fly. We may easily conjecture what his thought must be, when in one short hour he had lost the glory and the power which had been growing up amidst so many wars and conflicts; and he who was lately guarded with such armies of horse and foot, and such great and powerful fleets, was reduced to so mean and contemptible an equipage, that his enemies, who were in search of him, could not know him.

He passed by Larissa and came to Tempe, where, burning with thirst, he threw himself upon his face and drank out of the river; after which, he passed through the valley, and went down to the sea-coast. There he spent the remainder of the night in a poor fisherman's cabin. Next morning, about break of day, he went on board a small river-boat, taking with him such of his company as were freemen. The slaves he dismissed, bidding them go to Cæsar, and fear nothing.

As he was coasting along, he saw a ship of burden just ready to sail, the master of which was Peticus, a Roman citizen, who, though not acquainted with Pompey, knew him by sight. It happened, that this man the night before, dreamed that he saw Pompey come and talk to him, not in the figure he had formerly known him, but in mean and melancholy circumstances. He was giving the passengers an account of his dream, as persons who have a and ready to faint with the excessive heat and the fatigue of the whole day, yet, by his obliging manner, he prevailed upon them to cut off the conveniency of the water from the enemy by a trench. Hereupon the unfortunate fugitives came to a capitulation, threw down their arms, and implored the clemency of the conqueror. This they all did, except some senators, who, as it was now night, escaped in the dark. *Vide Cæs. Bell. Civil. liv. iiii. c. 80.*

\* Cæsar says, that in all there were fifteen thousand killed, and twenty-four thousand taken prisoners.

great deal of time upon their hands, love to discourse about such matters, when on a sudden one of the mariners told him he saw a little boat rowing from the land, and the crew making signs, by shaking their garments and stretching out their hands. Upon this, Peticious stood up, and could distinguish Pompey among them, in the same form as he had seen him in his dream. Then beating his head for sorrow, he ordered the seamen to let down the ship's boat, and held out his hand to Pompey to invite him on board: for by his dress he perceived his change of fortune. Therefore, without waiting for any farther application, he took him up, and such of his companions as he thought proper, and then hoisted sail. The persons Pompey took with him were the two Lentuli and Favonius; and a little after they saw King Deiotarus beckoning to them with great earnestness from the shore, and took him up likewise. The master of the ship provided them the best supper he could, and when it was almost ready, Pompey, for want of a servant, was going to wash himself, but Favonius seeing it, stepped up, and both washed and anointed him. All the time he was on board, he continued to wait upon him in all the offices of a servant, even to the washing of his feet and providing his supper, insomuch that one who saw the unaffected simplicity and sincere attachment with which Favonius performed these offices, cried out,

—The generous mind adds dignity  
To every act, and nothing misbecomes it.

Pompey, in the course of his voyage, sailed by Amphipolis, and from thence steered for Mitylene, to take up Cornelia and his son. As soon as his wife and his friends were embarked, he set sail, and continued his course, without touching at any port, except for water and provisions, till he came to Attalia, a city of Pamphylia. There he was joined by some Cilician galleys; and beside collecting a number of soldiers, he found in a little time sixty senators about him. When he was informed that his fleet was still entire, and that Cato was gone to Africa with a considerable body of men which he had collected after their flight, he lamented to his friends his great error, in suffering himself to be forced into an engagement at land, and making no use of those forces, in which he was confessedly stronger; nor even taking care to fight near his fleet, that, in case of meeting with a check at land, he might have been supplied from sea with another army, capable of making head against the enemy.

As it was necessary to undertake something with the small means he had left, he sent to some cities, and sailed to others himself, to raise money, and to get a supply of men for his ships. But knowing the extraordinary celerity of the enemy's motions, he was afraid he might be beforehand with him, and seize all that was preparing.

He therefore began to think of retiring to some asylum, and proposed the matter in council; where it was determined that they should seek for refuge in Egypt. He accordingly set sail from Cyprus with Corneliā, in a Selucian galley; the rest accompanied him, some in ships of war, and some in merchantmen, and they made a safe voyage. Being informed that Ptolemy was with his army at Pelusium, where he was engaged in war with his sister, he proceeded thither, and sent a messenger before him to notify his arrival, and to entreat the king's protection.

Ptolemy was very young, and Photinus, his prime minister, called a council of his ablest officers, though their advice had no more weight than he was pleased to allow it; he ordered each, however, to give his opinion. But who can, without indignation, consider that the fate of Pompey the Great was to be determined by Photinus, an eunuch, by Theodotus, a man of Chios, who was hired to teach the prince rhetoric, and by Achilles, an Egyptian? For among the king's chamberlains and tutors, these had the greatest influence over him, and were the persons he most consulted. Pompey lay at anchor at some distance from the place, waiting the determination of this respectable board, while he thought it beneath him to be indebted to Cæsar for his safety. The council were divided in their opinions, some advising the prince to give him an honourable reception, and others to send him an order to depart. But Theodotus, to display his eloquence, insisted that both were wrong. "If you receive him," said he, "you will have Cæsar for your enemy, and Pompey for your master. If you order him off, Pompey may one day revenge the affront, and Cæsar resent your not having put him in his hands: the best method, therefore, is to send for him and put him to death. By this means you will do Cæsar a favour, and have nothing to fear from Pompey." He added with a smile, "Dead men do not bite."

This advice being approved of, the execution of it was committed to Achilles. In consequence of which, he took with him Septimus, who had formerly been one of Pompey's officers, and Salvius, who had also acted under him as a centurion, with three or four assistants, and made up to Pompey's ship, where his principal friends and officers had assembled, to see how the affair went on. When they perceived there was nothing magnificent in their reception, nor suitable to the hopes which Theophanes had conceived, but that a few men only, in a fishing-boat, came to wait upon them, such want of respect appeared a suspicious circumstance; and they advised Pompey, while he was out of reach of missive weapons, to get out to the main sea.

Mean time, the boat approaching, Septimus spoke first, addressing Pompey, in Latin, by the title of Imperator. Then Achilles saluted him in Greek and desired him to come into the boat, be-

cause the water was very shallow towards the shore, and a galley must strike upon the sands; at the same time they saw several of the king's ships getting ready, and the shore covered with troops, so that if they would have changed their minds, it was then too late; besides, their distrust would have furnished the assassins with a pretence for their injustice. He therefore embraced Cornelia, who lamented his sad exit before it happened; and ordered two centurions, one of his enfranchised slaves named Philip, and a servant called Scenes, to get into the boat before him. When Achilles had hold of his hand, and he was going to step in himself, he turned to his wife and son, and repeated that verse of Sophocles,

Seek'st thou a tyrant's door? then farewell freedom!  
Tho' free as air before.

These were the last words he spoke to them.

As there was a considerable distance between the galley and the shore, and he observed that not a man in the boat showed him the least civility, or even spoke to him, he looked at Septimus, and said, "Methinks I remember you to have been my fellow-soldier;" but he answered only with a nod, without testifying any regard or friendship. A profound silence again taking place, Pompey took out a paper, in which he had written a speech in Greek, that he designed to make to Ptolemy, and amused himself with reading it.

When they approached the shore, Cornelia, with her friends in the galley, watched the event with great anxiety. She was a little encouraged, when she saw a number of the king's great officers coming down to the strand, in all appearance to receive her husband and to do him honour. But the moment Pompey was taking hold of Philip's hand, to raise him with more ease, Septimus came behind, and ran him through the body; after which Salvius and Achilles also drew their swords. Pompey took his robe in both hands, and covered his face; and without saying or doing the least thing unworthy of him, submitted to his fate, only uttering a groan, while they despatched him with many blows. He was just then fifty-nine years old; for he was killed the day after his birth-day.\*

Cornelia, and her friends in the galleys, upon seeing him murdered, gave a shriek that was heard to the shore, and weighed anchor immediately. Their flight was assisted by a brisk gale as they got out more to sea; so that the Egyptians gave up their design of pursuing them.

The murderers having cut off Pompey's head, threw the body out of the boat naked, and left it exposed to all who were desirous of

\* Some divines, in saying that Pompey never prospered after he presumed to enter the sanctuary in the temple at Jerusalem, intimate, that his misfortunes were owing to that profanation; but we forbear, with Plutarch, to comment upon the providential determinations of the Supreme Being. Indeed, he fell a sacrifice to as vile a set of people as he had before insulted; for, the Jews excepted, there was not on earth a more despicable race of men than the cowardly cruel Egyptians.

such a sight. Philip staid till their curiosity was satisfied, and then washed the body with sea-water, and wrapped it one of his own garments, because he had nothing else at hand. The next thing was to look out for wood for the funeral pile: and casting his eyes over the shore, he spied the old remains of a fishing boat, which, though not large, would make a sufficient pile for a poor naked body that was not quite entire.

While he was collecting the pieces of plank and putting them together, an old Roman, who had made some of his first campaigns under Pompey, came up, and said to Philip, "Who are you that are preparing the funeral of Pompey the Great?" Philip answered, "I am his freed-man."—"But you shall not," said the old Roman, "have this honour entirely to yourself. As a work of piety offers itself, let me have a share in it, that I may not absolutely repent my having passed so many years in a foreign country; but, to compensate many misfortunes, may have the consolation of doing some of the last honours\* to the greatest general Rome ever produced."

Next day Lucius Lentulus, who knew nothing of what had passed, because he was upon his voyage from Cyprus, arrived upon the Egyptian shore, and, as he was coasting along, saw the funeral pile, and Philip, whom he did not yet know, standing by it. Upon which he said to himself, "Who has finished his days, and is going to leave his remains upon this shore?" adding, after a short pause, with a sigh, "Ah, Pompey the Great! perhaps thou mayest be the man." Lentulus soon after went on shore, and was taken and slain.

Such was the end of Pompey the Great. As for Cæsar, he arrived not long after in Egypt, which he found in great disorder. When they came to present the head, he turned from it, and the person that brought it, as a sight of horror. He received the seal, but it was with tears. The device was a lion holding a sword. The two assassins, Achillas and Photinus, he put to death; and the king, being defeated in battle, perished in the river. Theodotus, the rhetorician, escaped the vengeance of Cæsar, by leaving Egypt; but he wandered about, a miserable fugitive, and was hated wherever he went. At last Marcus Brutus, who killed Cæsar, found the wretch in the province of Asia, and put him to death, after having made him suffer the most exquisite tortures. The ashes of Pompey were carried to Cornelia, who buried them near Alba.†

\* Of touching and wrapping up the body.

† Pompey has, in all appearance, and in all considerations of his character, had less justice done him by historians, than any other man of his time. His popular humanity, his military and political skill, his prudence, (which he sometimes unfortunately gave up,) his natural bravery and generosity, his conjugal virtues, which (though sometimes impeached) were both naturally and morally great; his cause, which was certainly, in its original interests, the cause of Rome; all these circumstances entitled him to a more distinguished and more respectable character than any of his historians have thought proper to afford him.

## ALEXANDER.

*Flourished 355 years before Christ.*

IT is allowed as certain, that Alexander was a descendant of Hercules by Caranus,\* and of Æacus by Neoptolemus. His father Philip is said to have been initiated, when very young, along with Olympias, in the mysteries at Samothrace; and having conceived an affection for her, he obtained her in marriage of her brother Arymbas, to whom he applied, because she was left an orphan. The night before the marriage, she dreamed that a thunderbolt fell upon her head, which kindled a great fire, and that the flame extended itself far and wide before it disappeared.

Alexander† was born on the sixth of Hecatombæon‡ (July,) which the Macedonians call *Lous*, the same day that the temple of Diana at Ephesus was burnt; upon which Hegesias the Magnesian has uttered a conceit frigid enough to have extinguished the flames: "It is no wonder," said he, "that the temple of Diana was burnt, when she was at a distance employed in bringing Alexander into the world." All the *magi*, who were then at Ephesus, looked upon the fire as a sign which betokened a much greater misfortune: they ran about the town, beating their faces, and crying—"That day had brought forth the great scourge and destroyer of Asia."

Philip had just taken the city of Potidæa,§ and three messengers arrived the same day with extraordinary tidings. The first informed him that Parmenio had gained a great battle against the Illyrians; the second, that his race horse had won the prize at the Olympic games; and the third, that Olympias was brought to bed

\* Caranus, the sixteenth in descent from Hercules, made himself master of Macedonia in the year before Christ 1794; and Alexander the Great was the twenty-second in descent from Caranus; so that from Hercules to Alexander there were thirty-eight generations. The descent by his mother's side is not so clear, there being many degrees wanting in it. It is sufficient to know that Olympias was the daughter of Neoptolemus, and sister to Arymbas.

† In the first year of the hundred and sixth Olympiad, before Christ 354.

‡ *Ælian (Var. Hist.)* l. ii. c. 25, says expressly, that Alexander was born and died on the sixth day of the month Thargelion. But supposing Plutarch right in placing his birth in the month Hecatombæon, yet not that month, but Boedromion, then answered to the Macedonian month *Lous*, as appears clearly from a letter of Philip's, still preserved in the orations of Demosthenes, (*in Orat. de Corona.*) In after times, indeed, the month *Lous* answered to Hecatombæon, which, without doubt, was the cause of Plutarch's mistake.

§ This is another mistake. Potidæa was taken two years before, viz. in the third year of the hundred and third Olympiad; for which we have again the authority of Demosthenes, who was Philip's contemporary, (*in Orat. cont. Leptinem.*) as well as Diodorus Siculus, l. xvi.



of Alexander. His joy, on that occasion was great, as might naturally be expected; and the soothsayers increased it by assuring him that his son, who was born in the midst of three victories, must of course prove invincible.

The statues of Alexander that most resembled him, were those of Lysippus, who alone had his permission to represent him in marble. The turn of his head, which leaned a little to one side, and the quickness of his eye, in which many of his friends and successors most affected to imitate him, were best hit off by that artist. Appelles painted him in the character of Jupiter armed with thunder, but did not succeed as to his complexion. He overcharged the colouring, and made his skin too brown; whereas he was fair, with a tinge of red in his face and upon his breast.

His continence showed itself at an early period. For though he was vigorous, or rather violent in his other pursuits, he was not easily moved by the pleasures of the body; and if he tasted them, it was with great moderation. But there was something superlatively great and sublime in his ambition, far above his years. It was not all sorts of honour that he courted, nor did he seek it in every track, like his father Philip, who was as proud of his eloquence as any sophist could be, and who had the vanity to record his victories in the Olympic chariot race in the impression of his coins. Alexander, on the other hand, when he was asked by some of the people about him—"Whether he would not run in the Olympic race?" (for he was swift at foot,) answered—"Yes, if I had kings for my antagonists." It appears that he had a perfect aversion to the whole exercise of wrestling;\* for, though he exhibited many other sorts of games and public diversions, in which he proposed prizes for tragic poets, for musicians who practised upon the flute and lyre, and for rhapsodists too; though he entertained the people with the hunting of all manner of wild beasts, and with fencing or fighting with the staff, yet he gave no encouragement to boxing or to the *Pancratium*.†

Ambassadors from Persia happened to arrive in the absence of his father Philip, and Alexander receiving them in his stead, gained upon them greatly by his politeness and solid sense. He asked them no childish or trifling question, but inquired the distances of places, and the roads through the upper provinces of Asia; he desired to be informed of the character of their king, in what manner he behaved to his enemies, and in what the strength and power of Persia consisted. The ambassadors were struck with admiration, and looked upon the celebrated shrewdness of Philip as nothing in comparison of the lofty and enterprising genius of his son. Accord-

\* Philopœmen, like him, had an aversion for wrestling, because all the exercises which fit a man to excel in it make him unfit for war.

† If it be asked how this shows that Alexander did not love wrestling, the answer is, the *Pancratium* was a mixture of boxing and wrestling.

ingly, whenever news was brought that Philip had taken some strong town, or won some great battle, the young man, instead of appearing delighted with it, used to say to his companions—"My father will go on conquering, till there be nothing extraordinary left for you and me to do." As neither pleasure nor riches, but valour and glory, were his great objects, he thought that, in proportion as the dominions he was to receive from his father grew greater, there would be less room for him to distinguish himself. Every new acquisition of territory he considered as a diminution of his scene of action; for he did not desire to inherit a kingdom that would bring him opulence, luxury, and pleasure, but one that would afford him wars, conflicts, and all the exercise of great ambition.

He had a number of tutors and preceptors. Leonidas, a relation of the queen's, and a man of great severity of manners, was at the head of them. He did not like the name of preceptor, though the employment was important and honourable: and, indeed, his dignity and alliance to the royal family gave him the title of the prince's governor. He who had both the name and business of preceptor, was Lysimachus, the Acarnanian, a man who had neither merit nor politeness, nor any thing to recommend him, but his calling himself Phœnix; Alexander, Achilles; and Philip, Peleus. This procured him some attention, and the second place about the prince's person.

When Philonicus, the Thessalian, offered the horse named Bucephalus in sale to Philip, at the price of thirteen talents,\* the king, with the prince and many others, went into the field to see some trial made of him. The horse appeared extremely vicious and unmanageable, and was so far from suffering himself to be mounted, that he would not bear to be spoken to, but turned fiercely upon all the grooms. Philip was displeas'd at their bringing him so wild and ungovernable a horse, and bade them take him away. But Alexander, who had observed him well, said, "What a horse are they losing, for want of skill and spirit to manage him!" Philip at first took no notice of this; but, upon the prince's often repeating the same expression, and showing great uneasiness he said, "Young man, you find fault with your elders, as if you knew more than they, or could manage the horse better,"—"And I certainly could," answered the prince. "If you should not be able to ride him, what forfeiture will you submit to for your rashness?" "I will pay the price of the horse."

Upon this all the company laughed; but the king and prince agreeing as to the forfeiture, Alexander ran to the horse, and laying

\* That is, 251*l.* 15*s.* sterling. This will appear a moderate price compared with what we find in Varro, (*De Re Rustic.* lib. iii. c. 2.) viz. that Q. Axius, a senator, gave four hundred thousand sesterces for an ass; and still more moderate when compared with the account of Tavernier, that some horses in Arabia were valued at a hundred thousand crowns.

hold on the bridle, turned him to the sun; for he had observed, it seems, that the shadow which fell before the horse, and continually moved as he moved, greatly disturbed him. While his fierceness and fury lasted, he kept speaking to him softly and stroking him, after which he gently let fall his mantle, leaped lightly upon his back, and got his seat very safe. Then, without pulling the reins too hard, or using either whip or spur, he set him a-going. As soon as he perceived his uneasiness abated, and that he wanted only to run, he put him in a full gallop, and pushed him on, both with the voice and spur.

Philip and all his court were in great distress for him at first, and a profound silence took place. But when the prince had turned him and brought him straight back, they all received him with loud acclamations, except his father, who wept for joy, and kissing him, said, "Seek another kingdom, my son, that may be worthy of thy abilities, for Macedonia is too small for thee."

Perceiving that he did not easily submit to authority, because he would not be forced to any thing, but that he might be led to his duty by the gentler hand of reason, he took the method of persuasion rather than of command. He saw that his education was a matter of too great importance to be trusted to the ordinary masters in music, and the common circle of sciences; and that his genius (to use the expression of Sophocles) required

The rudder's guidance, and the curb's restraint.

He therefore sent for Aristotle, the most celebrated and learned of all the philosophers, and the reward he gave him for forming his son, was not only honourable, but remarkable for its propriety. He had formerly dismantled the city of Stagira, where that philosopher was born, and now he rebuilt it, and re-established the inhabitants, who had either fled or been reduced to slavery.\* He also prepared a lawn, called Mieza, for their studies and literary conversations, where they still show us Aristotle's stone seats and shady walks.

Alexander gained from him not only moral and political knowledge, but was also instructed in those more secret and profound branches of science which they call Acroamatic and Epopic, and which they did not communicate to every common scholar.† For when Alexander was in Asia, and received information that Aristotle had published some books in which those points were discussed, he wrote him a letter in behalf of philosophy, in which he blamed the course he had taken. The following is a copy of it :

\* Pliny the elder and Valerius Maximus tell us, that Stagira was rebuilt by Alexander, and this when Aristotle was very old.

† The scholars in general were instructed only in the *exoteric* doctrines. Vide Aul. Gell. lib. xx. chap. 5.

“Alexander to Aristotle, prosperity. You did wrong in publishing the Acroamatic parts of science.\* In what shall we differ from others, if the sublimer knowledge which we gained from you be made common to all the world? For my part, I had rather excel the bulk of mankind in the superior parts of learning, than in the extent of power and dominion. Farewell.”

Aristotle, in compliment to this ambition of the king, and by way of excuse, made answer, that those points were published and not published. In fact, his book of metaphysics is written in such a manner that no one can learn that branch of science from it, much less teach it others; it serves only to refresh the memories of those who have been taught by a master.

He loved polite learning too, and his natural thirst of knowledge made him a man of extensive reading. The Iliad he thought, as well as called, a portable treasure of military knowledge, and he had a copy corrected by Aristotle, which is called the casket copy.†

Onesicritus informs us, that he used to lay it under his pillow with his sword. As he could not find many other books in the upper provinces of Asia, he wrote to Harpalus for a supply, who sent him the works of Philistus, most of the tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Æschylus, and the Dithyrambics of Telestus‡ and Philoxenus.

Aristotle was the man he admired in his younger years, and, as he said himself, he had no less affection for him than for his father. “From the one he derived the blessing of life, from the other the blessing of a good life.” But afterwards he looked upon him with an eye of suspicion. He never, indeed, did the philosopher any harm; but the testimonies of his regard being neither so extraordinary nor so endearing as before, he discovered something of a coldness. However, his love of philosophy, which he was either born with, or at least conceived at an early period, never quitted his soul; as appears from the honours he paid Anaxarchus, the fifty talents he sent Xenocrates,§ and his attentions to Dandamis and Calanus.

When Philip went upon his expedition against Byzantium, Al-

\* Doctrines which were taught by private communication, and delivered *viva voce*.

† He kept it in a rich casket found among the spoils of Darius. A correct copy of this edition, revised by Aristotle, Callisthenes, and Anaxarchus, was published after the death of Alexander. “Darius,” said Alexander, “used to keep ointments in this casket; but I, who have no time to anoint myself, will convert it to a nobler use.”

‡ Telestus was poet of some reputation, and a monument was erected to his memory by Aristratus, the Sicyonian tyrant. Protopogenes was sent for to paint this monument, and not arriving within the limited time, was in danger of the tyrant’s displeasure, but the celerity and excellence of his execution saved him. Philoxenus was his scholar. Philistus was an historian of often cited by Plutarch.

§ The philosopher took but a small part of this money, and sent the rest back; telling the giver he had more occasion for it himself, because he had more people to maintain.

Alexander was only sixteen years of age, yet he was left regent of Macedonia, and keeper of the seal.\* The Medari rebelling during his regency, he attacked and overthrew them, took their city, expelled the barbarians, planted there a colony of people collected from various parts, and gave it the name of Alexandropolis. He fought in the battle of Chæronea against the Greeks, and is said to have been the first man that broke the sacred band of Thebans.

This early display of great talents made Philip very fond of his son, so that it was with pleasure he heard the Macedonians call Alexander king, and him only general. But the troubles which his new marriage and his amours caused in his family, and the bickerings among the women, dividing the whole kingdom into two parties, involved him in many quarrels with his son, all which were heightened by Olympias, who, being a woman of a jealous and vindictive temper, inspired Alexander with unfavourable sentiments of his father. The misunderstanding broke out into a flame on the following occasion. Philip fell in love with a young lady named Cleopatra, at an unseasonable time of life and married her. When they were celebrating the nuptials, her uncle Attalus, intoxicated with liquor, desired the Macedonians to entreat the gods, that this marriage of Philip and Cleopatra might produce a lawful heir to the crown. Alexander, provoked at this, said, "What, then, dost thou take me for a bastard?" at the same time he threw his cup at his head. Hereupon Philip rose up and drew his sword, but, fortunately for them both, his passion and the wine he had drank made him stumble and he fell. Alexander, taking an insolent advantage of this circumstance, said—"Men of Macedon, see there the man who was preparing to pass from Europe into Asia! he is not able to pass from one table to another without falling." After this insult, he carried off Olympias, and placed her in Epirus. Illyricum was the country he pitched upon for his own retreat.

In the mean time Demaratus, who had engagements of hospitality with the royal family of Macedon, and who, on that account, could speak his mind freely, came to pay Philip a visit. After the first civilities, Philip asked him, "What sort of agreement subsisted among the Greeks?" Demaratus answered, "There is, doubtless, much propriety in your inquiring after the harmony of Greece, who have filled your own house with so much discord and disorder." This reproof brought Philip to himself, and through the the mediation of Demaratus, he prevailed with Alexander to return.

But another event soon disturbed their repose. Pexodorus, the

\* We know of no such people as the Medari; but a people called Mædi there was in Thrace, who, as Livy tells us, (l. xxxi.) used to make inroads into Macedonia.

Persian governor of Caria, being desirous to draw Philip into a league offensive and defensive, by means of an alliance between their families, offered his eldest daughter in marriage to Aridæus, the son of Philip, and sent Aristocritas into Macedonia to treat about it. Alexander's friends and his mother now infused new notions into him again, though perfectly groundless, that, by so noble a match, and the support consequent upon it, Philip designed the crown for Aridæus.

Alexander, in the uneasiness these suspicions gave him, sent one Thessalus, a player, into Caria, to desire the grandee to pass by Aridæus, who was of spurious birth, and deficient in point of understanding, and to take the lawful heir to the crown into his alliance. Pexodorus was infinitely more pleased with this proposal. But Philip no sooner had intelligence of it than he went to Alexander's apartment, taking with him Philotas, the son of Parmenio, one of his most intimate friends and companions, and, in his presence, reproached him with his degeneracy and meanness of spirit, in thinking of being son-in-law to a man of Caria, one of the slaves of a barbarian king. At the same time he wrote to the Corinthians,\* insisting that they should send Thessalus to him in chains. Harpalus and Nearchus, Phrigius and Ptolemy, some of the other companions of the prince, he banished; but Alexander afterwards recalled them, and treated them with great distinction.

Some time after the Carian negotiation, Pausanias being abused by order of Attalus and Cleopatra, and not having justice done him for the outrage, killed Philip, who refused that justice. Olympias was thought to have been principally concerned in exciting the young man to that act of revenge, but Alexander did not pass uncensured. It must be acknowledged, however, that he caused diligent search to be made after the persons concerned in the assassination, and took care to have them punished; and he expressed his indignation at Olympias's cruel treatment of Cleopatra in his absence.

He was only twenty years old when he succeeded to the crown, and he found the kingdom torn in pieces by dangerous parties and implacable animosities. The barbarous nations, even those that bordered upon Macedonia, could not brook subjection, and they longed for their natural kings.

Philip had subdued Greece by his victorious arms, but not having had time to accustom her to the yoke, he had thrown matters into confusion, rather than produced any firm settlement, and he left the whole in a tumultuous state. The young king's Macedonian counsellors, alarmed at the troubles which threatened him, advised him to give up Greece entirely, or at least to make no at-

\* Thessalus, upon his return from Asia, must have retired to Corinth; for the Corinthians had nothing to do in Caria.

tempts upon it with the sword ; and to recall the wavering barbarians in a mild manner to their duty, by applying healing measures to the beginning of the revolt. Alexander, on the contrary, was of opinion that the only way to security and a thorough establishment of his affairs, was to proceed with spirit and magnanimity ; for he was persuaded, that if he appeared to abate of his dignity in the least article, he would be universally insulted. He therefore quieted the commotions and put a stop to the rising wars among the barbarians, by marching with the utmost expedition as far as the Danube, where fought a great battle with Syrmus, king of the Triballi, and defeated him.

Some time after this, having intelligence that the Thebans had revolted, and that the Athenians had adopted the same sentiments, he resolved to show them he was no longer a boy, and advanced immediately through the pass of Thermopylæ. "Demosthenes," said he, "called me a boy when I was in Illyricum, but I will show him before the walls of Athens that I am a man."

When he made his appearance before Thebes, he was willing to give the inhabitants time to change their sentiments. He only demanded Phœnix and Prothytes, the first promoters of the revolt, and proclaimed an amnesty to all the rest. But the Thebans, in their turn, demanded that he should deliver up to them Philotas and Antipater, and invited, by sound of trumpet, all men to join them, who chose to assist in recovering the liberty of Greece. Alexander then gave the reins to the Macedonians, and the war began with great fury. The Thebans, who had the combat to maintain against forces vastly superior in number, behaved with a courage and ardour far above their strength. But when the Macedonian garrison fell down from the Cadmea, and charged them in the rear, they were surrounded on all sides, and most of them cut in pieces. The city was taken, plundered and levelled with the ground.

Alexander expected that the rest of Greece, astonished and intimidated by so dreadful a punishment of the Thebans, would submit in silence. Yet he found a more plausible pretence for his severity ; giving out that his late proceedings were intended to gratify his allies, being adopted in pursuance of complaints made against Thebes by the people of Phocis and Platæa. He exempted the priests, all that the Macedonians were bound to by the ties of hospitality, the posterity of Pindar, and such as had opposed the revolt ; the rest he sold for slaves, to the number of thirty thousand. There were about six thousand killed in the battle. The calamities which that wretched city suffered were various and horrible. A party of Thracians demolished the house of Timoclea, a woman of quality and honour. The soldiers carried off the booty ; and the captain, after having violated the lady, asked her whether

she had not some gold and silver concealed. She said she had ; and taking him alone into the garden, showed him a well, into which she told him, she had thrown every thing of value when the city was taken. The officer stooped down to examine the well ; upon which she pushed him in, and then despatched him with stones. The Thracians coming up, seized and bound her hands, and carried her before Alexander, who immediately perceived by her look and gait, and the fearless manner in which she followed that savage crew, that she was a woman of quality and superior sentiments. The king demanded, who she was ? she answered—" I am the sister of Theagenes, who, in capacity of general, fought Philip for the liberty of Greece, and fell in the battle of Chæronea." Alexander, admiring her answer, and the bold action she had performed, commanded her to be set at liberty, and her children with her.

As for the Athenians, he forgave them, though they expressed great concern at the misfortune of Thebes. For, though they were upon the point of celebrating the feast of the great mysteries, they omitted it on account of the mourning that took place, and received such of the Thebans as escaped the general wreck, with all imaginable kindness, into their city. But whether his fury, like that of a lion, was satiated with blood, or whether he had a mind to efface a most cruel and barbarous action by an act of clemency, he not only overlooked the complaints he had against them, but desired them to look well to their affairs, because if any thing happened to him, Athens would give law to Greece.

A general assembly of the Greeks being held at the Isthmus of Corinth, they came to a resolution to send their quotas with Alexander against the Persians, and he was unanimously elected captain-general. Many statesmen and philosophers came to congratulate him on the occasion ; and he hoped that Diogenes of Sinope, who then lived at Corinth, would be of the number. Finding, however, that he made but little account of Alexander, and that he preferred the enjoyment of his leisure in a part of the suburbs called Cranium, he went to see him. Diogenes happened to be lying in the sun ; and at the approach of so many people, he raised himself up a little, and fixed his eyes upon Alexander. The king addressed him in an obliging manner, and asked him, " If there was any thing he could serve him in ?"—" Only stand a little out of my sunshine," said Diogenes. Alexander, we are told, was struck with such surprise at finding himself so little regarded, and saw something so great in that carelessness, that while his courtiers were ridiculing the philosopher as a monster, he said, " If I were not Alexander I should wish to be Diogenes."

He chose to consult the oracle about the event of the war, and for that purpose went to Delphi. He happened to arrive there on



one of the days called inauspicious, upon which the law permitted no man to put his question. At first he sent to the prophetess, to entreat her to do her office; but finding she refused to comply, and alleged the law in her excuse, he went himself, and drew her by force into the temple. Then, as if conquered by his violence, she said, "My son, thou art invincible." Alexander hearing this, said, "He wanted no other answer, for he had the very oracle he desired."

As to the number of his troops, those that put it at the least, say, he carried over thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse: and they who put it at the most, tell us, his army consisted of thirty-four thousand foot, and four thousand horse. The money provided for their subsistence and pay, according to Aristobulus, was only seventy talents. Duris says, he had no more than would maintain them one month; but Onesicritus affirms, that he borrowed two hundred talents for that purpose.

However, though his provision was so small, he chose, at his embarkation, to inquire into the circumstances of his friends; and to one he gave a farm, to another, a village; to this the revenue of a borough, and to that of a post.

As soon as he landed, he went up to Ilium, where he sacrificed to Minerva, and offered libations to the heroes. He also anointed the pillar upon Achilles's tomb with oil, and ran round it with his friends, naked, according to the custom that obtains; after which he put a crown upon it, declaring, "He thought that hero extremely happy, in having found a faithful friend while he lived, and after his death an excellent herald to set forth his praise." As he went about the city to look upon the curiosities, he was asked, whether he chose to see Paris's lyre? "I set but little value," said he, "upon the lyre of Paris; but it would give me pleasure to see that of Achilles, to which he sung the glorious actions of the brave."\*

In the mean time, Darius's generals had assembled a great army, and taken post upon the banks of the Granicus; so that Alexander was under the necessity of fighting there, to open the gates of Asia. Many of his officers were apprehensive of the depth of the river, and the rough and uneven banks on the other side; and some thought a proper regard should be paid to a traditionary usage with respect to the time. For the kings of Macedon never used to march out to war in the month *Daiustus*. Alexander cured them of this piece of superstition, by ordering that month to be called *the second Artemisius*. And when Parmenio objected to his

\* This alludes to that passage in the ninth book of the Iliad,—

"Amus'd at ease the godlike man they found,  
Pleas'd with the solemn harp's harmonious sound;  
With these he sooths his angry soul, and sings  
Th' immortal deeds of heroes and of kings."

Pope.

attempting a passage so late in the day, he said, "The Hellespont would blush, if, after having passed it, he should be afraid of the Granicus." At the same time he threw himself into the stream with thirteen troops of horse; and as he advanced in the face of the enemy's arrows, in spite of the steep banks which were lined with cavalry well armed, and of the rapidity of the river, which often bore him down or covered him with its waves, his motions seemed rather the effects of madness than sound sense. He held on, however, till, by great and surprising efforts, he gained the opposite banks, which the mud made extremely slippery and dangerous. When he was there, he was forced to stand an engagement with the enemy, hand to hand, and with great confusion on his part, because they attacked his men as fast as they came over, before he had time to form them. For the Persian troops charging with loud shouts, and with horse against horse, made good use of their spears, and, when those were broken, of their swords.

Numbers pressed hard on Alexander, because he was easy to be distinguished both by his buckler and by his crest, on each side of which was a large and beautiful plume of white feathers. His cuirass was pierced by a javelin at the joint. But he escaped unhurt. After this, Rhœsaces and Spithridates, two officers of great distinction, attacked him at once. He avoided Spithridates with great address, and received Rhœsaces with such a stroke of his spear upon his breastplate, that it broke in pieces. Then he drew his sword to despatch him, but his adversary still maintained the combat. Mean time, Spithridates came up on one side of him, and raising himself up on his horse, gave him a blow with his battle-axe, which cut off his crest, with one side of his plume. Nay, the force of it was such, that the helmet could hardly resist it; it even penetrated to his hair. Spithridates was going to repeat his stroke, when Clitus prevented him, by running him through the body with his spear. At the same time Alexander brought Rhœsaces to the ground with his sword.

While the cavalry were fighting with so much fury, the Macedonian phalanx passed the river, and then the infantry likewise engaged. The enemy made no great or long resistance, but soon turned their backs and fled, all but the Grecian emissaries, who making a stand upon an eminence, desired Alexander to give his word of honour that they should be spared. But that prince, influenced rather by his passion than his reason, instead of giving them quarter, advanced to attack them, and was so warmly received, that he had his horse killed under him. It was not, however, the famous Bucephalus. In this dispute he had more of his men killed and wounded, than in all the rest of the battle; for here they had to do with experienced soldiers, who fought with a courage heightened by despair.

The barbarians, we are told, lost in this battle twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; whereas Alexander had no more than thirty-four men killed,\* nine of which were the infantry. To do honour to their memory, he erected a statue to each of them in brass, the workmanship of Lysippus. And that the Greeks might have their share in the glory of the day, he sent them presents out of the spoil: to the Athenians, in particular, he sent three hundred bucklers. Upon the rest of the spoils he put this pompous inscription:—"Won by Alexander, the son of Philip, and the Greeks, (excepting the Lacedæmonians,) of the Barbarians in Asia." The greatest part of the plate, and other things of that kind which he took from the Persians, he sent to his mother.

This battle made a great and immediate change in the face of Alexander's affairs, insomuch that Sardis, the principal ornament of the Persian empire on the maritime side, made its submission. All the other cities followed its example, except Halicarnassus and Miletus: these he took by storm, and subdued all the adjacent country. After this he remained some time in suspense as to the course he should take. At one time he was for going, with great expedition, to risk all upon the fate of one battle with Darius; at another he was for first reducing all the maritime provinces: that when he had exercised and strengthened himself by those intermediate acquisitions, he might then march against that prince.

He had staid some time at Phaselis; and having found in the market-place a statue of Theodectus, who was of that place, but then dead, he went out one evening when he had drunk freely at supper, in masquerade, and covered it with garlands. Thus, in an hour of festivity, he paid an agreeable compliment to the memory of a man with whom he had formerly had a connection, by means of Aristotle and philosophy.

After this he subdued such of the Pisidians as had revolted, and conquered Phrygia. Upon taking Gordium, which is said to have been the seat of the ancient Midas, he found the famed chariot, fastened with cords, made of the bark of the cornel tree, and was informed of a tradition, firmly believed among the barbarians, "That the Fates had decreed the empire of the world to the man who should untie the knot." Most historians say it was twisted so many private ways, and the ends so artfully concealed within, that Alexander, finding he could not untie it, cut it asunder with his sword, and so made many ends instead of two. But Aristobulus affirms that he easily untied it, by taking out the pin which fastened the yoke to the beam, and then drawing out the yoke itself.

His next acquisitions were Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, and

\* Arriano (47) says, there were about twenty five of the king's friends killed, and of the persons of less note, sixty horse and thirty foot. Q. Curtius informs us, it was only the twenty-five friends who had statues. They were erected at Dia, a city of Macedonia, from whence Q. Metellus long after carried them to Rome.

there news was brought him of the death of Memnon,\* who was the most respectable officer Darius had in the maritime parts of his kingdom, and likely to have given the invader the most trouble. This confirmed him in his resolution of marching into the upper provinces of Asia.

By this time Darius had taken his departure from Susa, full of confidence in his numbers, for his army consisted of no less than six hundred thousand combatants. He was likewise more encouraged by Alexander's long stay in Cilicia, which he looked upon as the effect of his fear. But the real cause of his stay was sickness, which some attribute to his great fatigues, and others to his bathing in the river Cydnus, whose water is extremely cold. His physicians durst not give him medicines, because they thought themselves not so certain of the cure, as of the danger they must incur in the application: for they feared the Macedonians, if they did not succeed, would suspect them of some bad practice. Philip, the Arcanian, saw how desperate the king's case was, as well as the rest; but, beside the confidence he had in his friendship, he thought it the highest ingratitude, when his master was in so much danger, not to risk something with him, in exhausting all his art for his relief. He therefore attempted the cure, and found no difficulty in persuading the king to wait with patience till his medicine was prepared, or to take it when ready; so desirous was he of a speedy recovery, in order to prosecute the war.

In the mean time Parmenio sent him a letter from the camp, advising him "to beware of Philip, whom, he said, Darius had prevailed upon, by presents of infinite value, and the promise of his daughter in marriage, to take him off by poison." As soon as Alexander had read the letter, he put it under his pillow, without shewing it to any of his friends. The time being come, Philip, with the king's friends, entered the chamber, having the cup which contained the medicine in his hand. The king received it freely and without the least marks of suspicion, and at the same time put the letter into his hands. It was a striking situation, and more interesting than any scene in a tragedy; the one reading while the other was drinking. They looked upon each other, but with a very

\* Upon the death of Memnon, who had begun with great success to reduce the Greek islands, and was on the point of invading Eubœa, Darius was at a loss whom to employ. While he was in this suspense, Charidemus, an Athenian, who had served with great reputation under Philip of Macedon, but was now very zealous for the Persian interest, attempted to set the king and his ministers right:—"While you, sir," said he to Darius, "are safe, the empire can never be in great danger. Let me, therefore, exhort you never to expose your person, but to make choice of some able general to march against your enemy. One hundred thousand men will be more than sufficient, provided a third of them be mercenaries, to compel him to abandon this enterprise: and if you will honour me with the command, I will be accountable for the success of what I advise." Darius was ready to accede to the proposal; but the Persian grandees, through envy, accused Charidemus of a treasonable design, and effected his ruin. Darius repented in a few days, but it was then too late. That able counsellor and general was condemned and executed.—*Diod. Sic. l. xvii. Q. Curt. l. iiii.*

different air. The king with an open and unembarrassed countenance, expressed his regard for Philip, and the confidence he had in his honour; Philip's look shewed his indignation at the calumny. One while he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, protesting his fidelity; another while he threw himself down by the bedside, entreating his master to be of good courage and trust to his care.

The medicine, indeed, was so strong, and overpowered his spirits in such a manner, that at first he was speechless, and discovered scarce any sign of sense or life. But afterwards he was soon relieved by his faithful physician, and recovered so well that he was able to show himself to the Macedonians, whose distress did not abate till he came personally before them.

There was in the army of Darius a Macedonian fugitive, named Amyntas, who knew perfectly well the disposition of Alexander. This man, perceiving that Darius prepared to march through the straits in quest of Alexander, begged of him to remain where he was, and take the advantage of receiving an enemy, so much inferior to him in number, upon large and spacious plains. Darius answered, "He was afraid in that case the enemy would fly without coming to an action, and Alexander escape him." "If that is all your fear," replied the Macedonian, "let it give you no farther uneasiness; for he will come and seek you, and is already on his march." However, his representations had no effect: Darius set out for Cilicia; and Alexander was making for Syria in quest of him. But happening to miss each other in the night, they both turned back; and Alexander rejoicing in his good fortune, hastened to meet Darius in the Straits, while Darius endeavoured to disengage himself, and recover his former camp. For by this time he was sensible of his error in throwing himself into ground hemmed in by the sea on one side, and the mountains on the other, and intersected by the river Pinaris; so that it was impracticable for cavalry, and his infantry could only act in small and broken parties, while at the same time, this situation was extremely convenient for the enemy's inferior numbers.

Thus fortune befriended Alexander as to the scene of action; but the skilful disposition of his forces contributed still more to his gaining the victory. As his army was very small in comparison of that of Darius, he took care to draw it up so as to prevent its being surrounded, by stretching out his right wing farther than the enemy's left. In that wing he acted in person, and fighting in the foremost ranks, put the barbarians to flight. He was wounded, however, in the thigh.

The victory was a very signal one; for he killed above a hundred and ten thousand of the enemy.\* Nothing was wanting to complete

\* Diodorus says a hundred and thirty thousand.

it but the taking of Darius; and that prince escaped narrowly, having got the start of his pursuers only for four or five furlongs. Alexander took his chariot and his bow, and returned with them to his Macedonians. He found them loading themselves with the plunder of the enemy's camp, which was rich and various; though Darius, to make his troops fitter for action, had left most of the baggage in Damascus. The Macedonians had reserved for their master the tent of Darius, in which he found officers of the household magnificently clothed, rich furniture, and great quantities of gold and silver.

As soon as he had put off his armour, he went to the bath, saying to those about him,—“Let us go and refresh ourselves after the fatigues of the field, in the bath of Darius.” “Nay, rather,” said one of his friends, “in the bath of Alexander, for the goods of the conquered are, and should be called the conqueror's.” When he had taken a view of the basins, vials, boxes, and other vases, curiously wrought in gold, smelled the fragrant odours of essences, and seen the splendid furniture of spacious apartments, he turned to his friends and said, “This, then, it seems, it was to be a king.”\*

As he was sitting down to table, an account was brought him, that among the prisoners were the mother and wife of Darius, and two unmarried daughters; and that upon seeing his chariot and bow, they broke out into great lamentations, concluding that he was dead. Alexander, after some pause, during which he was rather commiserating their misfortunes, than rejoicing in his own success, sent Leonatus to assure them, “That Darius was not dead; that they had nothing to fear from Alexander, for his dispute with Darius was only for empire; and that they should find themselves provided for in the same manner as when Darius was in his greatest prosperity.” If this message to the captive princesses was gracious and humane, his actions were still more so. He allowed them to do the funeral honours to what Persians they pleased, and for that purpose furnished them out of the spoils with robes, and all the other decorations that were customary. They had as many domestics, and were served in all respects in as honourable a manner as before; indeed, their appointments were greater. But there was another part of his behaviour to them still more noble and princely. Though they were now captives, he considered that they were ladies, not only of high rank, but of great modesty and virtue, and took care that they should not hear an indecent word, nor have the least cause to suspect any danger to their honour. Nay, as if they had been in a holy temple, or asylum of virgins, rather than in an enemy's camp, they lived unseen and unapproached in the most sacred privacy.

\* As if he had said,—“Could a king place his happiness in such enjoyments as these?” For Alexander was not, till long after this, corrupted by the Persian luxury.

It is said, the wife of Darius was one of the most beautiful women, as Darius was one of the tallest and handsomest men in the world, and that their daughters much resembled them. But Alexander, no doubt, thought it more glorious and worthy of a king to conquer himself, than to subdue his enemies, and therefore never approached one of them. As for the other female captives, though they were tall and beautiful, Alexander took no further notice of them than to say, by way of jest, "What eye-sores these Persian women are!"

He was also very temperate in eating. Of this there are many proofs; and we have a remarkable one in what he said to Ada, whom he called his mother, and had made queen of Caria.\* Ada, to express her affectionate regards, sent him every day a number of excellent dishes and a handsome desert; and at last she sent him some of her best cooks and bakers. But he said, "He had no need of them; for he had been supplied with better cooks by his tutor Leonidas; a march before day to dress his dinner, and a light dinner to prepare his supper." He added, that "the same Leonidas used to examine the chests and wardrobes in which his bedding and clothes were put, lest something of luxury and superfluity should be introduced there by his mother."

Nor was he so much addicted to wine as he was thought to be. It was supposed so, because he passed much of his time at table; but that time was spent rather in talking than drinking; every cup introducing some long discourse. Besides, he never made these long meals but when he had abundance of leisure upon his hands. When business called, he was not to be detained by wine, or sleep, or pleasure, or honourable love, or the most entertaining spectacle, though the motions of other generals have been retarded by some of these things. His life sufficiently confirms this assertion; for, though very short, he performed in it innumerable great actions.

On his days of leisure, as soon as he was risen he sacrificed to the gods; after which he took his dinner sitting. The rest of the day he spent in hunting or deciding the differences among his troops, or in reading and writing. If he was upon a march that did not require haste, he would exercise himself in shooting and darting the javelin, or in mounting and alighting from a chariot in full speed. Sometimes also he diverted himself with fowling and fox-hunting, as we find by his journals.

On his return to his quarters, when he went to be refreshed with the bath and with oil, he inquired of the stewards of his kitchen, whether they had prepared every thing in a handsome manner for

\* This princess, after the death of her eldest brother Mausolus, and his consort Artemisia, who died without children, succeeded to the throne with her brother Hicteus, to whom she had been married. Hicteus dying before her, Pexodorus, her third brother, dethroned her, and after his death, his son-in-law, Orontes, seized the crown. But Alexander restored her to the possession of her dominions.

supper. It was not till late in the evening, and when night was come on, that he took his meal, and then he eat in a recumbent posture. He was very attentive to his guests at table, that they might be served equally, and none neglected. His entertainments, as we have already observed, lasted many hours; but they were lengthened out rather by conversation than drinking. His conversation, in many respects, was more agreeable than that of most princes, for he was not deficient in the graces of society. His only fault was his retaining so much of the soldier, as to indulge a troublesome vanity. He would not only boast of his own actions, but suffered himself to be cajoled by flatterers to an amazing degree.

As to delicacies, he had so little regard for them, that when the choicest fruit and fish were brought him from distant countries and seas, he would send some to each of his friends, and he very often left none for himself. Yet there was always a magnificence at his table, and the expence rose with his fortune, till it came to ten thousand drachmas for one entertainment. There it stood: and he did not suffer those that invited him to exceed that sum.

It appeared to Alexander a matter of great importance, before he went farther, to gain the maritime powers. Upon application, the kings of Cyprus and Phœnicia made their submission: only Tyre held out. He besieged that city seven months, during which time he erected vast mounts of earth, plied it with his engines, and invested it on the side next to the sea with two hundred galleys.

About the middle of the siege, he made an excursion against the Arabians who dwelt about Antilibanus. There he ran a great risk of his life on account of his preceptor Lysimachus, who insisted on attending him; being, as he alleged, neither older nor less valiant than Phœnix. But when they came to the hills, and quitted their horses, to march up on foot, the rest of the party got far before Alexander and Lysimachus. Night came on, and, as the enemy was at no great distance, the king would not leave his preceptor borne down with fatigue and the weight of years. Therefore, while he was encouraging and helping him forward, he was insensibly separated from his troops, and had a dark and very cold night to pass in an exposed and dismal situation. In this perplexity, he observed at a distance a number of scattered fires which the enemy had lighted: and depending upon his swiftness and activity, as well as accustomed to extricate the Macedonians out of every difficulty, by taking a share in the labour and danger, he ran to the next fire. After having killed two of the barbarians that sat watching it, he seized a lighted brand, and hastened with it to his party, who soon kindled a great fire. The sight of this so intimidated the enemy, that many of them fled, and those who ventured to attack him, were repulsed with considerable loss.



From thence he marched into Syria, and laid siege to Gaza, the capital of that country. Having taken the city, he sent most of the spoils to Olympias and Cleopatra and other of his friends. His tutor Leonidas was not forgotten; and the present he made him had something particular in it. It consisted of five hundred talents weight of frankincense,\* and an hundred of myrrh, and was sent upon the recollection of the hopes he had conceived when a boy. It seems Leonidas one day had observed Alexander at a sacrifice throwing incense into the fire by handfuls: upon which he said, "Alexander, when you have conquered the country where spices grow, you may be thus liberal of your incense; but, in the mean time, use what you have more sparingly." He therefore wrote thus: "I have sent you frankincense and myrrh in abundance, that you may be no longer a churl to the gods."

A casket being one day brought him, which appeared one of the most curious and valuable things among the treasures and the whole equipage of Darius, he asked his friends what they thought most worthy to be put in it? Different things were proposed, but he said, "The Iliad most deserved such a case." This particular is mentioned by several writers of credit. And if what the Alexandrians say, upon the faith of Heraclides, be true, Homer was no bad auxiliary or useless counsellor in the course of the war. They tell us, that when Alexander had conquered Egypt, and determined to build there a city, which was to be peopled with Greeks, and called after his own name, by the advice of his architects he had marked out a piece of ground, and was preparing to lay the foundation; but a wonderful dream made him to fix upon another situation. He thought a person with grey hair, and a very venerable aspect, approached him, and repeated the following lines:

High o'er a gulfy sea the Pharian isle  
 Fronts the deep roar of disemboing Nile.

Alexander, upon this, immediately left his bed, and went to Pharos, which at that time was an island lying a little above the Canobic mouth of the Nile, but now is joined to the continent by a causeway. He no sooner cast his eyes upon the place, than he perceived the commodiousness of the situation. It is a tongue of land, not unlike an isthmus, whose breadth is proportionable to its length. On one side it has a great lake, and on the other the sea, which there forms a capacious harbour. This led him to declare, "That Homer, among his other admirable qualifications was an excellent architect, and he ordered a city to be planned suitable to the ground, and its appendant conveniences. For want of chalk

	<i>lb.</i>	<i>oz.</i>	<i>dwt.</i>	<i>gr.</i>
* The common Attic talent, in Troy weight, was	56	11	0	17½
This talent consisted of 60 <i>mina</i> ; but there was another Attic talent,				
by some said to consist of 80, by others of 100 <i>mina</i> . The <i>mina</i>				
was	0	11	7	16½
The talent of Alexandria was	104	0	19	14½
2R				27

they made use of flour, which answered well enough upon a black soil, and they drew a line with it about the semicircular bay. The arms of this semicircle were terminated by straight lines, so that the whole was in the form of a Macedonian cloak.

The execution of the plan he left to his architects, and went to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon. It was a long and laborious journey: and besides the fatigue, there were two great dangers attending it. The one was, that their water might fail, in a desert of many day's journey which afforded no supply; and the other, that they might be surprised by a violent south wind amidst the wastes of sand, as it happened long before to the army of Cambyses. The wind raised the sand, and rolled it in such waves, that it devoured full fifty thousand men. These difficulties were considered and represented to Alexander: but it was not easy to divert him from any of his purposes. Fortune had supported him in such a manner, that his resolutions were become invincibly strong; and his courage inspired him with such a spirit of adventure, that he thought it not enough to be victorious in the field, but he must conquer both time and place.

When he had passed the desert, and was arrived at the place, the minister of Ammon received him with salutations from the god, as from a father. And when he inquired, "Whether any of the assassins of his father had escaped him? the priest desired he would not express himself in that manner, "for his father was not a mortal." Then he asked, "Whether all the murderers of Philip were punished; and whether it was given the proponent to be the conqueror of the world?" Jupiter answered, "That he granted him that high distinction; and that the death of Philip was sufficiently avenged." Upon this, Alexander made his acknowledgments to the god by rich offerings, and loaded the priests with presents of great value. This is the account most historians give us of the affair of the oracle; but Alexander himself, in the letter he wrote to his mother on that occasion only says, "He received certain private answers from the oracle, which he would communicate to her, and her only, at his return."

He went to hear Psammo, an Egyptian philosopher, and the saying of his that pleased him most was, "That all men are governed by God, for, in every thing, that which rules and governs is divine." But Alexander's own maxim was more agreeable to sound philosophy: he said, "God is the common father of men, but more particularly of the good and virtuous."

When among the barbarians, indeed, he affected a lofty port, such as might suit a man perfectly convinced of his divine original; but it was in a small degree, and with great caution, that he assumed any thing of divinity among the Greeks. We must except, however, that he wrote to the Athenians concerning Samos, "It

was not I who gave you that free and famous city, but your then Lord, who was called my father," meaning Philip.\* Yet long after this, when he was wounded with an arrow, and experienced great torture from it, he said, my friends, this is blood, and not the ichor,

"Which blest immortals shed."

At his return from Egypt to Phœnicia, he honoured the gods with sacrifices and solemn processions; on which occasion the people were entertained with music and dancing, and tragedies were presented in the greatest perfection, not only in respect of the magnificence of the scenery, but the spirit of emulation in those who exhibited them. In Athens persons are chosen by lot out of the tribes to conduct those exhibitions; but in this case the princes of Cyprus vied with each other with incredible ardour; particularly Nicocreon king of Salamis, and Pasistrates king of Soli. They chose the most celebrated actors that could be found; Pasistrates risked the victory upon Athenodorus, and Nicocreon upon Thessalus. Alexander interested himself particularly in behalf of the latter; but did not discover his attachment, till Athenodorus was declared victor by all the suffrages. Then, as he left the theatre, he said, "I commend the judges for what they have done; but I would have given half my kingdom rather than have seen Thessalus conquered."

It was about this time that he received a letter from Darius, in which that prince proposed, on condition of a pacification and future friendship, to pay him ten thousand talents in ransom of the prisoners, to cede to him all the countries on this side the Euphrates, and to give him his daughter in marriage. Upon his communicating these proposals to his friends, Parmenio said, "If I were Alexander, I would accept them."—"So would I," said Alexander, † "If I were Parmenio." The answer he gave Darius was, "That if he would come to him, he should find the best of treatment: if not, he must go and seek him."

In consequence of this declaration he began his march; but he repented that he had set out so soon, when he received information that the wife of Darius was dead. That princess died in childbed; and the concern of Alexander was great, because he lost an opportunity of exercising his clemency. All he could do was to return, and bury her with the utmost magnificence.

Alexander having subdued all on this side the Euphrates, began his march against Darius, who had taken the field with a million of men. During this march, one of his friends mentioned to him, as a matter that might divert him, that the servants of the army

\* He knew the Athenians were sunk into such meanness, that they would readily admit his pretensions to divinity. So afterwards they deified Demetrius.

† Longinus takes notice of this as an instance, that it is natural for men of genius, even in their common discourse, to let fall something great and sublime.

had divided themselves into two bands, and that each had chosen a chief, one of whom they called Alexander, and the other Darius. They began to skirmish with clods, and afterwards fought with their fists; and, at last, heated with a desire of victory, many of them came to stones and sticks, insomuch that they could hardly be parted. The king, upon this report, ordered the two chiefs to fight in single combat, and armed Alexander with his own hands, while Philotas did the same for Darius. The whole army stood and looked on, considering the event of this combat as a presage of the issue of the war. The two champions fought with great fury; but he who bore the name of Alexander proved victorious. He was rewarded with a present of twelve villages, and allowed to wear a Persian robe, as Eratotheres tells the story.

The great battle with Darius was not fought at Arbela,\* as most historians will have it; but at Gaugamela, which, in the Persian tongue, is said to signify *the house of the camel*;† so called, because one of the ancient kings having escaped his enemies by the swiftness of his camel, placed her there, and appointed the revenue of certain villages for her maintenance.

In the month of September there happened an eclipse of the moon; about the beginning of the festivals of the great mysteries at Athens. The eleventh night after that eclipse, the two armies being in view of each other, Darius kept his men under arms, and took a general review of his troops by torch-light. Meantime Alexander suffered his Macedonians to repose themselves, and with his soothsayer Aristander performed some private ceremonies before his tent, and offered sacrifices to Fear.‡ The oldest of his friends, and Parmenio in particular, when they beheld the plain between Niphates and the Gordæan mountains all illuminated with the torches of the barbarians, and heard the tumultuous and appalling noise from their camp, like the bellowing of an immense sea, were astonished at their numbers, and observed among themselves how arduous an enterprise it would be to meet such a torrent of war in open day. They waited upon the king, therefore, when he had finished the sacrifice, and advised him to attack the enemy in the night, when darkness would hide what was most dreadful in the combat. Upon this he gave them that celebrated answer,—*I will not steal a victory.*

It is true, this answer has been thought by some to savour of the vanity of a young man who derided the most obvious danger: yet others have thought it not only well calculated to encourage his

\* But as Gaugamela was only a village, and Arbela, a considerable town, stood near it, the Macedonians chose to distinguish the battle by the name of the latter.

† Darius, the son of Hystaspes, crossed the deserts of Scythia upon that camel.

‡ Fear was not without her altars: Theseus sacrificed to her, as we have seen in his life: And Plutarch tells us, in the life of Agis and Cleomenes, that the Lacedæmonians built a temple to Fear, whom they honoured, not as a pernicious demon, but as the bond of all good government.

troops at that time, but polite enough in respect to the future ; because, if Darius happened to be beaten, it left him no handle to proceed to another trial, under pretence that night and darkness had been his adversaries, as he had before laid the blame upon the mountains, the narrow passes, and the sea. For in such a vast empire it could never be the want of arms or men that would bring Darius to give up the dispute ; but the ruin of his hopes and spirits, in consequence of the loss of a battle, where he had the advantage of numbers and of day-light.

When his friends were gone, Alexander retired to rest in his tent, and he is said to have slept that night much sounder than usual ; insomuch that when his officers came to attend him the next day, they could not but express their surprise at it, while they were obliged themselves to give out orders to the troops to take their morning refreshment. After this, as the case was urgent, Parmenio entered his apartment, and standing by the bed, called him two or three times by name. When he awaked, that officer asked him, —“ Why he slept like a man that had already conquered, and not rather like one who had the greatest battle the world ever heard of to fight ?” Alexander smiled at the question, and said, —“ In what light can you look upon us but as conquerors, when we have not now to traverse desolate countries in pursuit of Darius, and he no longer declines the combat ?” It was not, however, only before the battle, but in the face of danger, that Alexander showed his intrepidity and excellent judgment ; for the battle was some time doubtful. The left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was almost broken by the impetuosity with which the Bactrian cavalry charged ; and Mazæus had, moreover, detached a party of horse, with orders to wheel round and attack the corps that was left to guard the Macedonian baggage. Parmenio, greatly disturbed at these circumstances, sent messengers to acquaint Alexander, that his camp and baggage would be taken if he did not immediately despatch a strong reinforcement from the front to the rear. The moment that account was brought him, he was giving the right wing, which he commanded in person, the signal to charge. He stopped, however, to tell the messenger, —“ Parmenio must have lost his senses, and in this disorder must have forgot, that the conquerors are always masters of all that belonged to the enemy ; and the conquered need not give themselves any concern about their treasures or prisoners, nor have any thing to think of, but how to sell their lives dear, and die in the bed of honour.”

As soon as he had returned Parmenio this answer, he put on his helmet ; for in other points he came ready armed out of his tent. He had a short coat of the Sicilian fashion girt close about him, and over that a breast-plate of linen strongly quilted, which was found among the spoils at the battle of Issus. His helmet, the

workmanship of Theophilus, was of iron, but so well polished, that it shone like the brightest silver. To this was fixed a gorget of the same metal, set with precious stones. His sword, the weapon he generally used in battle, was a present from the king of the Citicians, and could not be excelled for lightness or for temper. But the belt which he wore in all engagements was more superb than the rest of his armour. It was given him by the Rhodians as a mark of their respect, and old Helicon had exerted all his art in it. In drawing up his army and in giving orders, as well as exercising and reviewing it, he spared Bucephalus on account of his age, and rode another horse; but he constantly charged upon him; and he had no sooner mounted him than the signal was always given.

The speech he made to the Thessalians and the other Greeks was of some length on this occasion. When he found that they, in their turn, strove to add to his confidence, and called out to him to lead them against the barbarians, he shifted his javelin to his left hand, and stretching his right hand towards heaven, according to Callisthenes, he entreated the gods, "to defend and invigorate the Greeks, if he really was the son of Jupiter."

Aristander the soothsayer, who rode by his side, in a white robe, and with a crown of gold upon his head, then pointed out an eagle flying over him, and directed his course against the enemy. The sight of this so animated the troops, that, after mutual exhortations to bravery, the cavalry charged at full speed, and the phalanx rushed on like a torrent. Before the first ranks were well engaged, the barbarians gave way, and Alexander pressed hard upon the fugitives, in order to penetrate into the midst of the host where Darius acted in person; for he beheld him at a distance, over the foremost ranks, amidst his royal squadron; besides that he was mounted upon a lofty chariot, Darius was easily distinguished by his size and beauty. A numerous body of select cavalry stood in close order about the chariot, and seemed well prepared to receive the enemy. But Alexander's approach seemed so terrible, as he drove the fugitives upon those who still maintained their ground, that they were seized with consternation, and the greatest part of them dispersed. A few of the best and bravest of them, indeed, met their death before the king's chariot, and falling in heaps one upon another, strove to stop the pursuit; for in the very pangs of death they clung to the Macedonians, and caught hold of their horses' legs as they stood upon the ground.

Darius had now the most dreadful dangers before his eyes. His own forces, that were placed in the front to defend him, were driven back upon him; the wheels of his chariot were, moreover, entangled among the dead bodies, so that it was almost impossible to turn it; and the horses plunging among heaps of the slain,

bounded up and down, and no longer obeyed the hands of the charioteer. In this extremity he quitted the chariot and his arms, and fled, as they tell us, upon a mare which had newly foaled. But in all probability he had not escaped so, if Parmenio had not again sent some horsemen to desire Alexander to come to his assistance, because great part of the enemy's forces still stood their ground, and kept a good countenance. Alexander, though vexed at being so stopped in his career, did not acquaint the troops about him with the purport of the message; but under pretence of being weary of such a carnage, and of its growing dark, sounded a retreat. However, as he was riding up to that part of his army which had been represented in danger, he was informed that the enemy were totally defeated and put to flight.

The battle having such an issue, the Persian empire appeared to be entirely destroyed, and Alexander was acknowledged king of all Asia. The first thing he did was to make his acknowledgments to the gods by magnificent sacrifices: and then to his friends, by rich gifts of houses, estates, and governments. As he was particularly ambitious of recommending himself to the Greeks, he signified by letter, that all tyrannies should be abolished, and that they should be governed by their own laws, under the auspices of freedom. To the Platæans in particular he wrote, that their city should be rebuilt, because their ancestors had made a present of their territory to the Greeks, in order that they might fight the cause of liberty upon their own lands. He sent also a part of the spoils to the Crotonians in Italy, in honour of the spirit and courage of their countryman Phaylus, a champion of the wrestling-ring, who, in the war with the Medes, when the rest of the Greeks in Italy sent no assistance to the Greeks their brethren, fitted out a ship at his own expence, and repaired to Salamis, to take a share in the common danger. Such a pleasure did Alexander take in every instance of virtue, and so faithful a guardian was he of the honour of all great actions!

Alexander having made himself master of Susa, found in the king's palace, forty thousand talents in coined money,\* and the royal furniture and other riches were of inexpressible value. Among other things, there was purple of Hermoine, worth five thousand talents, which, though it had been laid up a hundred and ninety years, retained its first freshness and beauty. It is said he found as much gold on his first entrance into Persia as he did at Susa, and that there was such a quantity of other treasures and rich movables, that it loaded ten thousand pair of mules and five thousand camels.†

At Persepolis he cast his eyes upon a great statue of Xerxes,

\* Q Curtius, who magnifies every thing, says fifty thousand.

† Diodorus says three thousand.

which had been thrown down from its pedestal by the crowd that suddenly rushed in, and lay neglected on the ground. Upon this he stopped, and addressed it as if it had been alive. "Shall we leave you," said he, "in this condition, on account of the war you made upon Greece, or rear you again, for the sake of your magnanimity and other virtues?" After he had stood a long time considering in silence which he should do, he passed by and left it as it was. To give his troops time to refresh themselves, he staid there four months, for it was winter.

When he was upon the point of marching against Darius, he made a great entertainment for his friends, at which they drank to a degree of intoxication; and the women had their share in it, for they came in masquerade to seek their lovers. The most celebrated among their women was Thais, a native of Attica, and mistress to Ptolemy, afterwards king of Egypt. When she had gained Alexander's attention by her flattery and humorous vein, she addressed him over her cups in a manner agreeable to the spirit of her country, but far above a person of her stamp. "I have undergone great fatigues," said she, "in wandering about Asia; but this day has brought me a compensation, by putting it in my power to insult the proud courts of the Persian kings. Ah! how much greater pleasure would it be to finish the carousal with burning the palace of Xerxes, who laid Athens in ashes, and to set fire to it myself in the sight of Alexander!" Then shall it be said in times to come, that the women of his train, have more signally avenged the cause of Greece upon the Persians, than all that the generals before him could do by sea or land."

This speech was received with the loudest plaudits and most tumultuary acclamations. All the company strove to persuade the king to comply with the proposal. At last, yielding to their instances, he leaped from his seat, and, with his garland on his head, and a flambeau in his hand, led the way: the rest followed with shouts of joy, and, dancing as they went, spread themselves round the palace. The Macedonians, who got intelligence of this frolic, ran up with lighted torches, and joined them with great pleasure; for they concluded, from his destroying the royal palace, that the king's thoughts were turned towards home, and that he did not design to fix his seat among the barbarians. Such is the account most of the writers give us of the motives of this transaction. There are not, however, wanting those who assert, that it was in consequence of cool reflection; but all agree that the king soon repented, and ordered the fire to be extinguished.

\* These domes were not reared solely for regal magnificence and security, but to aid the appetites of power and luxury, and to secrete the royal pleasures from those that toiled to gratify them. Thus, as this noble structure was possibly raised not only for vanity but for riot; so, probably, by vanity inflamed by riot, it fell;—a striking instance of the insignificancy of human labours, and the depravity of human nature.



As he was naturally munificent, that inclination increased with his extraordinary acquisitions; and he had also a gracious manner, which is the only thing which gives bounty an irresistible charm. With what a free hand he showered his gifts upon his friends, and those who attended upon his person, appears from one of the letters of Olympias. "You do well," said she, "in serving your friends, and it is right to act nobly: but by making them all equal to kings, in proportion as you put it in their power to make friends, you deprive yourself of that privilege." As for his mother, he made her many magnificent presents; but he would not suffer her busy genius to exert itself in state affairs, or in the least to controul the proceedings of government. She complained of this as a hardship, and he bore her ill-humour with great mildness. Antipater once wrote him a long letter full of heavy complaints against her; and when he had read it, he said, "Antipater knows not that one tear of a mother can blot out a thousand such complaints."

Finding that his great officers set no bounds to their luxury, that they were most extravagantly delicate in their diet, and profuse in other respects, he reprov'd their degeneracy with all the temper of a philosopher. After this, he constantly took the exercise of war or hunting, and exposed himself to dangers and fatigue with less precaution than ever; so that a Lacedæmonian ambassador, who attended him one day when he had killed a fierce lion, said, "Alexander, you have disputed the prize of royalty gloriously with the lion."

Thus Alexander hazarded his person, by way of exercise for himself, and example to others. But his friends, in the pride of wealth, were so devoted to luxury and ease, that they considered long marches and campaigns as a burden, and by degrees came to murmur and speak ill of the king. As he first bore their censures with great moderation, and used to say, "There was something noble in hearing himself ill spoken of while he was doing well."\* Indeed, in the least of the good offices he did his friends, there were great marks of affection and respect. We will give an instance or two of it. He wrote to Peucestas, who had been bitten by a bear in hunting, to complain, that he had given an account of the accident, by letters, to others of his friends, and not to him. "But now," says he, "let me know, however, how you do, and whether any of your company deserted you, that I may punish them, if such there were." When Hephæstion happened to be absent upon business, he acquainted him in one of his letters, that, as they were diverting themselves with hunting the ichneumon, † Craterus had

\* Voltaire says somewhere, that it is a noble thing to make ingrates. He seems to be indebted for this sentiment to Alexander.

† The Egyptian rat, called *ichneumon*, is of the size of a cat, with very rough hair, spotted with white, yellow, and ash colour: its nose like that of a hog, with which it digs up the earth. It has short black legs, and a tail like a fox. It lives on lizards,

the misfortune to be run through the thighs with Perdiccas's lance. When Peucestas recovered of a dangerous illness, he wrote a letter with his own hand to Alexippus, the physician, to thank him for his care. During the sickness of Craterus, the king had a dream, in consequence of which he offered sacrifices for his recovery, and ordered him to do the same. Upon Pausanias the physician's design to give Craterus a dose of hellebore, he wrote to him, expressing his great anxiety about it, and desiring him to be particularly cautious in the use of that medicine. He imprisoned Ephialtes and Cissus, who brought him the first news of the flight and treasonable practices of Harpalus, supposing their information false.

When he marched against Darius again, he expected another battle. But upon intelligence that Bessus had seized the person of that prince, he dismissed the Thessalians, and sent them home, after he had given them a gratuity of two thousand talents over and above their pay. The pursuit was long and laborious, for he rode three thousand three hundred furlongs in eleven days.\* As they often suffered more for want of water than by fatigue, many of the cavalry were unable to hold out. While they were upon the march, some Macedonians had filled their bottles at a river, and were bringing the water upon mules. These people seeing Alexander greatly distressed with thirst (for it was in the heat of the day,) immediately filled a helmet with water, and presented it to him. He asked them to whom they were carrying it? and they said, "Their sons: but if our prince does but live, we shall get other children if we lose them." Upon this, he took the helmet in his hands; but looking round, and seeing all the horsemen bending their heads, and fixing their eyes upon the water, he returned it without drinking. However, he praised the people that offered it, and said, "If I alone drink, these good men will be dispirited." The cavalry, who were witnesses to this act of temperance and magnanimity, cried out, "Let us march! We are neither weary nor thirsty, nor should we even think ourselves mortal, while under the conduct of such a king." At the same time they put spurs to their horses.

They had all the same affection to the cause, but only sixty were serpents, snails, &c. and is of great service in Egypt, by its natural instinct of hunting out and breaking the eggs of the crocodile, and thereby preventing too great an increase of that destructive creature. The naturalists also say, that it is so greedily after the crocodile's liver, that rolling itself up in mud, it slips down his throat, while he sleeps with his mouth open, and gnaws his way out again.—*Diod. Sic.* p. 32. 78.; *Plin.* l. viii. c. 24, 25.

The Egyptians worshipped the ichneumon for destroying the crocodiles. They worshipped the crocodile, too, probably as the Indians do the devil, that it might do them no hurt.

\* As this was no more than forty miles a-day, it is nothing when compared to Charles XII's march from Bender through Germany; nothing to the expedition of Hannibal along the African coast.

able to keep up with him till they reached the enemy's camp. There they rode over the gold and silver that lay scattered about, and passing by a number of carriages full of women and children, which were in motion, but without charioteers, they hastened to the leading squadron, not doubting that they should find Darius among them. At last, after much search, they found him extended on his chariot, and pierced with many darts. Though he was near his last moments, he had strength to ask for something to quench his thirst. A Macedonian named Polystratus, brought him some cold water, and when he had drank, he said "Friend, this fills up the measure of my misfortunes, to think I am not able to reward thee for this act of kindness. But Alexander will not let thee go without a recompense; and the gods will reward Alexander for his humanity to my mother, to my wife, and children. Teil him, I give him my hand, for I give it thee in his stead." So saying, he took the hand of Polystratus, and immediately expired. When Alexander came up, he showed his concern for that event by the strongest expressions, and covering the body with his own robe, ordered it should have all the honors of a royal funeral.

His next movement was into Hyrcania, which he entered with the flower of his army. There he took a view of the Caspian Sea. The barbarians here fell suddenly upon a party who were leading his horse Bucephalus, and took him. This provoked him so much that he sent a herald to threaten them, their wives and children, with utter extermination, if they did not restore the horse. But, upon their bringing him back, and surrendering to him their cities, he treated them with great clemency, and paid a considerable sum by way of ransom, to those that took the horse.

From thence he marched into Parthia, where, finding no employment for his arms, he first put on the robe of the barbarian kings: whether it was that he conformed a little to their customs, because he knew how much a similarity of manners tends to reconcile and gain men's hearts; or whether it was by way of experiment, to see if the Macedonians might be brought to pay him the greater deference, by accustoming them insensibly to the new barbaric attire and port which he assumed. This was a mortifying sight to the Macedonians; yet, as they admired his other virtues, they thought he might be suffered to please himself a little and enjoy his vanity. Some indulgence seemed due to a prince, who, beside his other hardships, had lately been wounded in the leg with an arrow, which shattered the bone in such a manner that splinters were taken out; who, another time, had such a violent blow from a stone upon the nape of his neck, that an alarming darkness covered his eyes, and continued for some time, and yet continued to expose his person without the least precaution. On the contrary, when he had passed the Orexartes, which he suppo-

sed to be the Tanais, he not only attacked the Scythians and routed them, but pursued them a hundred furlongs, in spite of what he suffered at that time from a flux.

After this, he accommodated himself more than ever to the manners of the Asiatics, and at the same time persuaded them to adopt some of the Macedonian fashions; for by a mixture of both, he thought an union might be promoted much better than by force, and his authority maintained when he was at a distance: for the same reason, he selected thirty thousand boys, and gave them masters to instruct them in the Grecian literature, as well as to train them to arms in the Macedonian manner.

As for his marriage with Roxana, it was entirely the effect of love. He saw her at an entertainment, and found her charms irresistible; nor was the match unsuitable to the situation of his affairs. The barbarians placed greater confidence in him on account of that alliance, and his chastity gained their affection: it delighted them to think, he would not approach the only woman he ever passionately loved, without the sanction of marriage.

Hephæstion and Craterus were his two favourites. The former praised the Persian fashions, and dressed as he did; the latter adhered to the customs of his own country. He therefore employed Hephæstion in his transactions with the barbarians, and Craterus to signify his pleasure to the Greeks and Macedonians. The one had more of his love, and the other more of his esteem. He was persuaded, indeed, and he often said, "Hephæstion loved Alexander, and Craterus the king." Hence arose private animosities, which did not fail to break out upon occasion. One day, in India, they drew their swords and came to blows. The friends of each were joining in the quarrel, when Alexander interposed. He told Hephæstion publicly, "He was a fool and a madman, not to be sensible, that without his master's favour he would be nothing." He gave Craterus also a severe reprimand in private, and after having brought them together again, and reconciled them, he swore by Jupiter Ammon and all the other gods, "That he loved them more than all the men in the world; but if he perceived them at variance again, he would put them both to death, or him at least who began the quarrel." This is said to have had such an effect upon them, that they never expressed any dislike to each other, even in jest, afterwards.

Among the Macedonians, Philotas, the son of Parmenio, had great authority; for he was not only valiant and indefatigable in the field, but, after Alexander, no man loved his friend more, or had a greater spirit of generosity. The loftiness of his port was altogether extravagant; not tempered with any natural graces, but formal and uncouth, it exposed him both to hatred and suspicion: insomuch that Parmenio one day said to him, "My son, be less."

He had long been represented in an invidious light to Alexander. In his cups he indulged his vanity, and let many indiscreet things escape him ; attributing all the great actions of the war to himself and to his father. As for Alexander, he called him a boy, who by their means enjoyed the title of conqueror. These things being reported to the king, he kept the matter private, and discovered no tokens of aversion. But Philotas having refused admittance to the person who gave information of the conspiracy of Limnus against the life of Alexander, he began to give way to his suspicions, and listen to innumerable accusations against Philotas, some of them very groundless. He was apprehended and put to the torture, in presence of the great officers of the court. After the execution of Philotas, he immediately sent orders into Media, that Parmenio should be put to death : a man who had a share in most of Philip's conquests, and who was the principal, if not the only one, of the old counsellors, who put Alexander the Great upon his expedition into Asia.

Soon after this happened the affair of Clitus, which, though very shocking, seems to have been a misfortune rather than a deliberate act. After they were warmed with drinking, somebody began to sing the verses of one Pranicus, or, as others will have it, of Pierio, written in ridicule of the Macedonian officers, who had lately been beaten by the barbarians. The elder part of the company were greatly offended at it, and condemned both the poet and the singer ; but Alexander, and those about him, listened with pleasure, and bade him go on. Clitus, who by this time had drunk too much, and was naturally rough and forward, could not bear their behaviour. He said, "It was not well done to make a jest, and that among barbarians and enemies, of Macedonians that were much better than the laughers, though they had met with a misfortune." Alexander made answer, "That Clitus was pleading his own cause, when he gave cowardice the soft name of misfortune." Then Clitus started up, and said, "Yet it was this cowardice that saved you, son of Jupiter as you are, when you were turning your back to the sword of Spithridates. It is by the blood of the Macedonians and these wounds that you are grown so great, that you disdain to acknowledge Philip for your father, and will needs pass yourself for the son of Jupiter Ammon."

Irritated at this insolence, Alexander replied, "It is in this villainous manner thou talkest of me in all companies, and stirrest up the Macedonians to mutiny ; but, dost thou think to enjoy it long ?" "And what do we enjoy now ?" said Clitus ; "What reward have we for all our toils ? Do we not envy those who did not live to see Macedonians bleed under Median rods, or sue to Persians for access to their king ?" While Clitus went on in this rash manner, and the king retorted upon him with equal bitterness, the old men

interposed, and endeavoured to allay the flame. Mean time Alexander turned to Xenodochus the Cardian, and Artemius the Colophonian, and said, "Do not the Greeks appear to you among the Macedonians, like demigods among so many wild beasts?" Clitus, far from giving up the dispute, called upon Alexander "To speak out what he had to say, or not to invite freemen to his table, who would declare their sentiments without reserve. But perhaps," continued he, "it were better to pass your life with barbarians and slaves, who will worship your Persian girdle and white robe without scruple.

Alexander, no longer able to restrain his anger, threw an apple at his face, and then looked about for his sword. But Aristophanes, one of his guards, had taken it away in time, and the company gathered about him, and entreated him to be quiet. Their remonstrances, however, were vain. He broke from them, and called out in the Macedonian language for his guards, which was the signal of a great tumult. At the same time he ordered the trumpeter to sound, and struck him with his fist, upon his discovering an unwillingness to obey. This man was afterwards held in great esteem, because he prevented the whole army from being alarmed.

As Clitus would not make the least submission, his friends, with much ado, forced him out of the room. But he soon returned by another door, repeating, in a bold and disrespectful tone, those verses from the *Andromache* of Euripides :

Are these your customs? Is it thus that Greece  
Rewards her combatants? Shall one man claim  
The trophies won by thousands?

Then Alexander snatched a spear from one of the guards, and meeting Clitus as he was putting by the curtain, ran him through the body. He fell immediately to the ground, and with a dismal groan expired.

Alexander's rage subsided in a moment; and seeing his friends standing in silent astonishment by him, he hastily drew the spear out of the dead body, and was applying it to his own throat, when his guards seized his hands, and carried him by force into his chamber; and when he had wasted himself with tears and lamentations, he lay in speechless grief, uttering only now and then a groan. His friends, alarmed at this melancholy silence, forced themselves into the room, and attempted to console him. As he seemed a little comforted, Callisthenes the philosopher, Aristotle's near relation, and Anaxarchus the Abderite, were called in.\* Callisthenes

\* Callisthenes was of the city of Olynthus, and had been recommended to Alexander by Aristotle, whose relation he was. He had too much of the spirit of liberty to be fit for a court. He did not show it, however, in this instance. Aristotle forewarned him, that if he went on to treat the king with the freedom which his spirits promoted, it would one day be fatal to him.

began in a soft and tender manner, endeavouring to relieve him without searching the wound. But Anaxarchus, who had a particular walk in philosophy, and looked upon his fellow-labourers in science with contempt, cried out, on entering the room, "Is this Alexander, upon whom the whole world have their eyes? Can it be he who lies extended on the ground, crying like a slave, in fear of the law and the tongues of men, to whom he should himself be a law and the measure of right and wrong? What did he conquer for but to rule and to command, not servilely to submit to the vain opinions of men: know you not," continued he, "that Jupiter is represented with Themis and Justice by his side, to show, that whatever is done by supreme power is right?" By this, and other discourses of the same kind, he alleviated the king's grief indeed, but made him more haughty and unjust. At the same time, he insinuated himself into his favour in so extraordinary a manner, that he could no longer bear the conversation of Callisthenes, who before was not very agreeable on account of his forbidding austerity.

When Alexander was upon the point of setting out for India, he saw his troops were so laden with spoils that they were unfit to march. Therefore, early in the morning that he was to take his departure, after the carriages were assembled, he first set fire to his own baggage and that of his friends; and then gave orders that the rest should be served in the same manner. The resolution appeared more difficult to take, than it was to execute. Few were displeased at it, and numbers received it with acclamations of joy. They freely gave part of their equipage to such as were in need, and burnt and destroyed whatever was superfluous. This greatly encouraged Alexander.

At the siege of Nysa,\* the Macedonians made some difficulty of advancing to the attack, on account of the depth of the river that washed its walls, till Alexander said, "What a wretch am I, that I did not learn to swim!" and was going to ford it with his shield in his hand. After the first assault, while the troops were refreshing themselves, ambassadors came with an offer to capitulate; and along with them were deputies from some other places. They were surprised to see him in armour without any pomp or ceremony; and their astonishment increased, when he bade the oldest of the ambassadors, named Acuphis, take the sophia that was brought for himself. Acuphis, struck with a benignity of reception so far beyond his hopes, asked what they must do to be admitted into his friendship? Alexander answered, "It must be on condition that they appoint you their governor, and send me a hundred of their

† Arrian calls it Nysa; so indeed does the Vulcob. MS. That historian places it near Mount Meris, and adds, that it was built by Dionysius or Bacchus. Hence it had the name of Dionysiopolis. It is now called Nerg.

best men for hostages." Acuphis smiled at this, and said, "I should govern better if you would take the worst instead of the best."

It is said, the dominions of Taxiles, in India, were as large as Egypt: they afforded excellent pasturage, and were the most fertile in all respects. As he was a man of great prudence, he waited on Alexander, and after the first compliments, thus addressed him: "What occasion is there for wars between you and me, if you are not come to take from us our water and other necessities of life: the only things that reasonable men will take up arms for? As to gold and silver, and other possessions, if I am richer than you, I am willing to oblige you with part; if I am poorer, I have no objection to sharing in your bounty." Charmed with his frankness, Alexander took his hand, and answered, "Think you, then, with all this civility, to escape without a conflict? You are much deceived, if you do. I will dispute it with you to the last; but it shall be in favours and benefits; for I will not have you exceed me in generosity." Therefore, after having received great presents from him, and made greater, he said to him one evening, "I drink to you, Taxiles, and as sure as you pledge me, you shall have a thousand talents." His friends were offended at his giving away such immense sums, but it made many of the barbarians look upon him with a kinder eye.

The most warlike of the Indians used to fight for pay. Upon this invasion they defended the cities that hired them, with great vigour, and Alexander suffered by them not a little. To one of the cities he granted an honourable capitulation, and yet seized the mercenaries, as they were upon their march homewards, and put them all to the sword. This is the only blot in his military conduct; all his other proceedings were agreeable to the laws of war, and worthy of a king.\*

The philosophers gave him no less trouble than the mercenaries, by endeavouring to fix a mark of infamy upon those princes that declared for him, and by exciting the free nations to take up arms; for which reason he hanged many of them.

As to his war with Porus, we have an account of it in his own letters. According to them, the river Hydaspes was between the two armies, and Porus drew up his elephants on the banks opposite the enemy, with their heads towards the stream, to guard it. Alexander caused a great noise and bustle to be made every day in his camp, that the barbarians being accustomed to it, might not be so ready to take the alarm. This done, he took the advantage

\* It was just and lawful, it seems, to go about harassing and destroying those nations that had never offended him, and upon which he had no claim, except that avowed by the northern barbarians, when they entered Italy, namely, that the weak must submit to the strong. Indeed, those barbarians were much honest men, for they had another and better plea—they went to seek bread.



of a dark and stormy night, with part of his infantry, and a select body of cavalry, to gain a little island in the river, at some distance from the Indians. When he was there, he and his troops were attacked with a most violent wind and rain, accompanied with dreadful thunder and lightning. But, notwithstanding this hurricane, in which he saw several of his men perish by the lightning, he advanced from the island to the opposite bank. The Hydaspes, swelled with the rain, by its violence and rapidity, made a breach on that side, which received water enough to form a bay, so that when he came to land, he found the bank extremely slippery, and the ground broken and undermined by the current. On this occasion he is said to have uttered that celebrated saying, "Will you believe, my Athenian friends, what dangers I undergo, to have you the heralds of my fame?" The last particular we have from Onesicritus: but Alexander himself only says, they quitted their boats, and armed as they were, waded up the breach breast high; and that when they were landed, he advanced with the horse twenty furlongs before the foot, concluding that if the enemy attacked him with their cavalry, he should be greatly their superior, and that if they made a movement with their infantry, his would come up time enough to receive them. Nor did he judge amiss. The enemy detached against him a thousand horse and sixty armed chariots, and he defeated them with ease. The chariots he took, and killed four hundred of the cavalry upon the spot. By this, Porus understood that Alexander himself had passed the river, and therefore brought up his whole army, except what appeared necessary to keep the rest of the Macedonians from making good their passage. Alexander, considering the force of the elephants, and the enemy's superior numbers, did not choose to engage them in front, but attacked the left wing himself, while Cœnus, according to his orders, fell upon the right. Both wings being broken, retired to the elephants in the centre, and rallied there. The combat then was of a more mixed kind; but maintained with such extraordinary obstinacy, that it was not decided till the eighth hour of the day.

When Porus was taken prisoner, Alexander asked him, "How he desired to be treated?" He answered, "Like a king." "And have you nothing else to request?" replied Alexander. "No," said he, "every thing is comprehended in the word king." Alexander not only restored him his own dominions immediately, which he was to govern as his lieutenant, but added very extensive territories to them. Another country, three times as large, he gave to Philip, one of his friends, who was also to act there as his lieutenant. In the battle with Porus, Bucephalus received several wounds, of which he died some time after. Alexander showed as much regret, as if he had lost a faithful friend and companion. He es-

teemed him, indeed, as such ; and built a city near the Hydaspes, in the place where he was buried, which he called after him, Bucephalia.

The combat with Porus abated the spirit of the Macedonians, and made them resolve to proceed no farther in India. It was with difficulty they had defeated an enemy who brought only twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse into the field ; and therefore they opposed Alexander with great firmness, when he insisted that they should pass the Ganges,\* which, they were informed, was thirty-two furlongs in breadth, and in depth an hundred fathom. The opposite shore too was covered with numbers of squadrons, battalions, and elephants. For the kings of the Gandarites and Præsiens were said to be waiting for them there, with eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eight thousand chariots, and six thousand elephants trained to war.

Alexander's grief and indignation at this refusal were such, that at first he shut himself up in his tent, and lay prostrate on the ground, declaring " that he did not thank the Macedonians in the least for what they done, if they would not pass the Ganges ; for he considered a retreat as no other than an acknowledgment that he was overcome." His friends omitted nothing that might comfort him ; and at last their remonstrances, together with the cries and tears of the soldiers, who were suppliants at his door, melted him, and prevailed on him to return. However, he first contrived many vain and sophistical things to serve the purposes of fame ; among which were arms much bigger than his men could use, and higher mangers, and heavier bits than his horses required, left scattered up and down.

Alexander, in his march from thence, formed a design to see the ocean ; for which purpose he caused a number of row-boats and rafts to be constructed, and upon them fell down the rivers at his leisure. Nor was this navigation unattended with hostilities. He made several descents by the way, and attacked the adjacent cities, which were all forced to submit to his victorious arms. However, he was very near being cut in pieces by the Malli, who are called the most warlike people in India. He had driven some of them from the wall with his missive weapons, and was the first who ascended it. But immediately after he was up, the scaling-ladder broke. Finding himself and his small company much galled by the darts of the barbarians from below, he poised himself, and leaped down into the midst of the enemy. By good fortune he fell upon his feet ; and the barbarians were so astonished at the flashing of his arms as he came down, that they thought they beheld lightning, or some supernatural splendour, issuing from his body.

\* The Ganges is the largest of all the rivers in the three continents, the Indus the second, the Nile the third, and the Danube the fourth.

At first, therefore, they drew back and dispersed. But when they had recollected themselves, and saw him attended by only two of his guards, they attacked him hand to hand, and wounded him through his armour with their swords and spears, notwithstanding the valour with which he fought. One of them standing farther off, drew an arrow with such strength, that it made its way through his cuirass and entered the ribs under the breast. Its force was so great, that he gave back and was brought upon his knees, and the barbarian ran up with his drawn scimitar to despatch him. Peucestas and Limnæus placed themselves before him, but the one was wounded and the other killed. Peucestas, who survived, was still making some resistance, when Alexander recovered himself, and laid the barbarian at his feet. The king, however, received new wounds, and at last had such a blow from a bludgeon upon his neck, that he was forced to support himself by the wall, and there stood with his face to the enemy. The Macedonians, who by this time had got in, gathered about him, and carried him off to his tent.

His senses were gone, and it was reported in the army that he was dead. When they had, with great difficulty, sawed off the shaft, which was of wood, and with equal trouble had taken off the cuirass, they proceeded to extract the head, which was three fingers broad and four long, and stuck fast in the bone. He fainted under the operation, and was very near expiring; but when the head was got out, he came to himself. Yet, after the danger was over, he continued weak, and a long time confined himself to a regular diet, attending solely to the cure of his wound. The Macedonians could not bear to be so long deprived of the sight of their king; they assembled in a tumultuous manner about his tent. When he perceived this, he put on his robe, and made his appearance; but as soon as he had sacrificed to the gods, he retired again. As he was on his way to the place of his destination, though carried in a litter by the water side, he subdued a large tract of land, and many respectable cities.

In the course of this expedition, he took ten of the *Gymnosophists*,\* who had been principally concerned in instigating Sabbas to revolt, and had brought numberless other troubles upon the Macedonians. As these ten were reckoned the most acute and concise in their answers, he put the most difficult questions to them that could be thought of, and at the same time declared, he would put the first person that answered wrong to death, and after him all the rest. The oldest man among them was to be judge.

† These philosophers, so called from their going naked, were divided into two sects, the Brachmani and the Germani. The Brachmani were most esteemed, because there was a consistency in their principles. Apuleius tells us, that not only the scholars, but the younger pupils, were assembled about dinner-time, and examined what good they had done that day; and such as could not point out some act of humanity, or useful pursuit that they had been engaged in, were not allowed any dinner.

He demanded of the first, "Which were most numerous, the living or the dead?" He answered, "The living; for the dead no longer exist."\*

The second was asked, "Whether the earth or the sea produced the largest animals?" He answered, "The earth, for the sea is part of it."

The third, "Which was the craftiest of all animals?" "That," said he, "with which man is not yet acquainted."†

The fourth, "What was his reason for persuading Sabbas to revoke?" "Because," said he, "I wished him either to live or die with honour."

The fifth had this question put to him, "Which do you think oldest, the day or the night?" He answered, "The day, by one day." As the king appeared surprised at this solution, the philosopher told him, "Abstruse questions must have abstruse answers."

Then addressing himself to the sixth, he demanded, "What are the best means for a man to make himself loved?" He answered, "If possessed of great power, do not make yourself feared."

The seventh he asked, "How a man might become a god?" He answered, "By doing what is impossible for man to do."

The eighth, "Which is strongest, life or death?" "Life," said he, "because it bears so many evils."

The last question that he put was, "How long is it good for man to live?" "As long," said the philosopher, "as he does not prefer death to life."

Then turning to the judge, he ordered him to give sentence. The old man said, "In my opinion, they have all answered one worse than another." "If this is thy judgment," said Alexander, "thou shalt die first." "No," replied the philosopher, "not except you choose to break your word: for you declared the man that answered worst should first suffer."

The king loaded them with presents, and dismissed them. After which he sent Onesicritus, a disciple of Diogenes, to the other Indian sages who were of most reputation, and lived a retired life, to desire them to come to him. Onesicritus tells us, Calanus treated him with great insolence and harshness, bidding him to strip himself naked, if he desired to hear any of his doctrine; "You should not hear me on any other condition," said he, "though you came from Jupiter himself."

Dandamis entered into no discourse with the messenger, but only asked, "Why Alexander had taken so long a journey?" Taxiles prevailed with Calanus to go to Alexander. His true name was Sphines; but because he addressed them with the word

\* They did not hold in the mortality, but the transmigration of the soul.

† This we suppose to mean man himself, as not being acquainted with himself.

*Cale*, which is the Indian form of salutation, the Greek called him Calanus. This philosopher presented Alexander with a good image of his empire. He laid a dry and shrivelled hide before him, and first trode upon the edges of it. This he did all round; and as he trode on one side, it started up on the other. At last, he fixed his feet on the middle, and then it lay still. By this emblem he shewed him, that he should fix his residence, and plant his principal force, in the heart of his empire, and not wander to the extremities.

Alexander spent seven months in falling down the rivers to the Ocean. When he arrived there, he embarked, and sailed to an island which he called Scilloustis,\* but others call it Psiltoucis. There he landed and sacrificed to the gods. He likewise considered the nature of the sea and of the coast, as far as it was accessible. And after having besought Heaven, "That no man might ever reach beyond the bounds of his expedition," he prepared to set out on his way back. He appointed Nearchus admiral, and Onesieritus chief pilot, and ordered his fleet to sail round, keeping India on the right. With the rest of his forces he returned by land, through the country of the Orites; in which he was reduced to such extremities, and lost such numbers of men, that he did not bring back from India above a fourth part of the army he entered it with, which was no less than a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse. After a march of sixty days, he arrived at Gedrosia. There he found provisions in abundance; for besides that the land is fertile in itself, the neighbouring princes and grandees supplied him. After he had given his army some time to refresh themselves, he marched in Carmania for seven days in a kind of Bacchanalian procession. His chariot, which was very magnificent, was drawn by eight horses. Upon it was placed a lofty platform, where he and his principal friends revelled day and night. This carriage was followed by many others, some covered with rich tapestry and purple hangings, and others shaded with branches of trees, fresh gathered and flourishing. In these were the rest of the king's friends and generals, crowned with flowers, and exhilarated with wine.

In this whole company there was not to be seen a buckler, a helmet, or spear; but instead of them, cups, flagons, and goblets. These the soldiers dipped in huge vessels of wine, and drank to each other, some as they marched along, and others seated at tables, which were placed at proper distances on the way. The whole country resounded with flutes, clarionets, and songs, and with the dances and riotous frolics of the women. This disorderly and dissolute march was closed, with all the licentious ribaldry of the Bacchanals, as if Bacchus himself had been present to carry on the debauch.

\* Arrian here calls it Cilluta. Here they first observed the ebbing and flowing of the sea, which surprised them not a little.

Nearchus joined him again here, and he was so much delighted with the account of his voyage, that he formed a design to sail in person from the Euphrates with a great fleet, circle the coast of Arabia and Africa, and enter the Mediterranean by the Pillars of Hercules. For this purpose he constructed, at Thapsacus, a number of vessels of all sorts, and collected mariners and pilots. But the report of the difficulties he had met with in his Indian expedition, and the supposition he would never return alive from the voyage he now meditated, excited his new subjects to revolt, and put his generals and governors of provinces upon displaying their injustice, insolence, and avarice. In short, the whole empire was in commotion, and ripe for rebellion. Olympias and Cleopatra, leaguings against Antipater, had seized his hereditary dominions, and divided them between them. Olympias took Epirus, and Cleopatra Macedonia. The tidings of which being brought to Alexander, he said, "His mother had considered right; for the Macedonians would never bear to be governed by a woman."

In consequence of this unsettled state of things, he sent Nearchus again to sea, having determined to carry the war into the maritime provinces. Mean time he marched in person to chastise his lieutenants for their misdemeanours. Oxyartes, one of the sons of Abulites, he killed with his own hand, by a stroke of his javelin. Abulites had laid in no provisions for him; he had only collected three thousand talents in money. Upon his presenting this, Alexander bade him offer it to his horses; and, as they did not touch it, he said, "Of what use will this provision now be to me?" and immediately ordered Abulites to be taken into custody.

The first thing he did after he entered Persia, was to give money to the matrons, according to the ancient custom of the kings, who, upon their return to their Persian dominions, from any excursion, used to give every woman a piece of gold. For this reason, several of them, we are told, made it a rule to return but seldom; and Ochus never did: he banished himself to save his money. Having found the tomb of Cyrus broke open, he put the author of that sacrilege to death, though a native of Pella, and a person of some distinction. His name was Polymachus. After he had read the epitaph, which was in the Persian language, he ordered it to be inscribed also in Greek. It was as follows: *O man! whosoever thou art, and whencesoever thou comest, (for come I know thou wilt,) I am Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire, envy me not the little earth that covers my body.* Alexander was much affected at these words, which placed before him in so strong a light the uncertainty and vicissitude of things.

When he arrived at Susa, he married his friends to Persian ladies. He set them an example, by taking Statira, the daughter of Darius, to wife, and then distributed among his principal officers

the virgins of highest quality. As for those Macedonians who had already married in Persia, he made a general entertainment in commemoration of their nuptials. It is said, that no less than nine thousand guests sat down, and yet he presented each with a golden cup for performing the libation. Every thing else was conducted with the utmost magnificence; he even paid off all their debts; inso-much that the whole expense amounted to nine thousand eight hundred and seventy talents.

The thirty thousand boys, whom he left under proper masters, were now grown so much, and made so handsome an appearance; and, what was of more importance, had gained such an activity and address in their exercises, that he was greatly delighted with them. But it was matter of uneasiness to the Macedonians; they were apprehensive that the king would have less regard for them. Therefore, when he gave the invalids their route to the sea, in order to their return, the whole army considered it as an injurious and oppressive measure: "He has availed himself," said they, "beyond all reason, of their services, and now he sends them back with disgrace, and turns them upon the hands of their country and their parents, in very different condition from that in which he received them. Why does he not dismiss us all? Why does he not reckon all the Macedonians incapable of service, now he has got this body of young dancers? Let him go with them and conquer the world?"

Alexander, incensed at this mutinous behaviour, loaded them with reproaches; and ordering them off, took Persians for his guards, and filled up other offices with them. When they saw their king with these new attendants, and themselves rejected and spurned with dishonour, they were greatly humbled. They lamented their fate to each other, and were almost frantic with jealousy and anger. At last they repaired to the king's tent, without arms, in one thin garment only; and with tears and lamentations delivered themselves up to his vengeance; desiring he would treat them as ungrateful men deserved.

He was softened with their complaints, but would not appear to hearken to them. They stood two days and nights, bemoaning themselves in this manner, and calling for their dear master. The third day he came out to them; and when he saw their forlorn condition, he wept a long time. After a gentle rebuke for their misbehaviour, he condescended to converse with them in a freer manner; and such as were unfit for service he sent home with magnificent presents. At the same time, he signified his pleasure to Antipater, that at all public diversions they should have the most honourable seats in the theatres, and wear chaplets of flowers there: and that the children of those who had lost their lives in his service, should have their fathers' pay continued to them.

When he came to Ecbatana in Media, and had despatched the

most urgent affairs, he employed himself again in the celebration of games and other public solemnities. But unfortunately Hephæstion fell sick of a fever in the midst of this festivity, and died a few days after. Alexander's grief on this occasion exceeded all bounds. He immediately ordered the horses and mules to be shorn, that they might have their share in the mourning, and with the same view pulled down the battlements of the neighbouring cities. Glaucus, Hephæstion's physician, he crucified. He forbade the flute and all other music in his camp for a long time. He intended to lay out ten thousand talents upon his tomb and the monumental ornaments, which in workmanship, as well as design, should exceed the expense, great as it was.

As he was advancing towards Babylon, Nearchus, who was returned from his expedition on the ocean, and come up the Euphrates, declared he had been applied to by some Chaldæans, who were strongly of opinion that Alexander should not enter Babylon. But he slighted the warning and continued his march. Upon his approach to the walls, he saw a great number of crows fighting, some of which fell down dead at his feet. Soon after this, being informed that Apollodorus, governor of Babylon, had sacrificed, in order to consult the gods concerning him, he sent for Pythagoras the diviner; and, as he did not deny the fact, asked him how the entrails of the victim appeared. Pythagoras answered, the liver was without a head. "A terrible presage, indeed!" said Alexander. He let Pythagoras go with impunity: but by this time he was sorry he had not listened to Nearchus. He lived mostly in his pavilion without the walls, and diverted himself with sailing up and down the Euphrates. For there had happened several other ill omens that much disturbed him. One of the largest and handsomest lions that were kept in Babylon, was attacked and kicked to death by an ass. One day he stripped for the refreshment of oil, and to play at ball; after the diversion was over, the young men who played with him, going to fetch his clothes, beheld a man sitting in profound silence on his throne, dressed in the royal robes, with the diadem upon his head. They demanded who he was, and it was a long time before he would answer. At last, coming to himself, he said, "My name is Dionysius, and I am a native of Messene. Upon a criminal process against me, I left the place and embarked for Babylon. There I have been kept a long time in chains. But this day the god Serapis appeared to me, and broke my chains; after which he conducted me hither, and ordered me to put on this robe and diadem, and sit here in silence."

After the man had thus explained himself, Alexander, by the advice of his soothsayers, put him to death. But the anguish of his mind increased: on one hand, he almost despaired of the succours of Heaven, and on the other distrusted his friends. He was most



afraid of Antipater and his sons; one of which, named Iolaus,\* was his cupbearer; the other, named Cassander, was lately arrived from Macedonia; and happening to see some barbarians prostrate themselves before the king, like a man accustomed only to the Grecian manners, and a stranger to such a sight, he burst out into a loud laugh. Alexander enraged at the affront, seized him by the hair, and with both hands dashed his head against the wall. Cassander afterwards attempted to vindicate his father against his accusers: which greatly irritated the king.

When Alexander had once given himself up to superstition, his mind was so preyed upon by vain fears and anxieties that he turned the least incident which was any thing strange and out of the way, into a sign or a prodigy. The court swarmed with sacrificers, purifiers, and prognosticators; they were all to be seen exercising their talents there. So true it is, that, though the disbelief of religion, and contempt of things divine, is a great evil; yet superstition is a greater. For as water gains upon low grounds, so superstition prevails over a dejected mind, and fills it with fear and folly. This was entirely Alexander's case. However, upon the receipt of some oracles concerning Hephæstion, he gave a truce to his sorrows, and employed himself in festive sacrifices and entertainments.

One day, after he had given Nearchus a sumptuous treat, he went, according to custom, to refresh himself in the bath, in order to retire to rest. But in the mean time Medius came and invited him to take part in a carousal, and he could not deny him. There he drank all that night and the next day, till at last he found a fever coming upon him. It did not however seize him as he was drinking the cup of Hercules, nor did he find a sudden pain in his back, as if it had been pierced with a spear. These are circumstances invented by writers, who thought the catastrophe of so noble a tragedy should be something affecting and extraordinary. Aristobulus tells us, that in the rage of his fever, and the violence of his thirst, he took a draught of wine, which threw him into a frenzy, and that he died the thirteenth of the month *Dæsius*, *June*.

But in his journals the account of his sickness is as follows: "On the eighteenth of the month *Dæsius*, finding the fever on him, he lay in his bath-room. The next day, after he had bathed, he removed into his own chamber and played many hours with Medius at dice. In the evening he bathed again, and after sacrificing to the gods, he ate his supper. In the night the fever returned. The twentieth he also bathed, and, after the customary sacrifice, sat in the bath-room and diverted himself with hearing Nearchus give an account of his voyage, and all that was most observable with respect to the ocean. The twenty-first was spent in the same

\* Arrian and Curtius call him *Iollas*. Plutarch calls him *Iolas* below.

manner. The fever increased, and he had a very bad night. The twenty-second the fever was violent. He ordered his bed to be removed and placed by the great bath. There he talked to his generals about the vacancies in his army, and desired they might be filled up with experienced officers. The twenty-fourth he was much worse. He chose, however, to be carried, to assist at the sacrifice. He likewise gave orders that the principal officers of the army should wait within the court, and the officers keep watch all night without. The twenty-fifth, he was removed to his palace on the other side of the river, where he slept a little, but the fever did not abate ; and when his generals entered the room he was speechless. He continued so the day following. The Macedonians by this time thinking he was dead, came to the gates with great clamour, and threatened the great officers in such a manner that they were forced to admit them, and suffer them all to pass unarmed by the bedside. The twenty-seventh, Python and Seleucus were sent to the temple of Serapis, to inquire whether they should carry Alexander thither ; and the deity ordered that they should not remove him. The twenty-eighth, in the evening, he died." The particulars are taken almost word for word from his diary.

Roxana was now pregnant, and therefore had great attention paid her by the Macedonians. But being extremely jealous of Statira, she murdered both her and her sister, and threw their bodies into a well, which she filled up with earth. Perdiccas was her accomplice in this murder. Indeed, he had now the principal power, which he exercised in the name of Aridæus, the son of Philip, whom he treated rather as a screen than as a king.

## JULIUS CÆSAR.

*Flourished 40 years before Christ.*

WHEN Sylla had made himself master of Rome, he endeavoured to bring Cæsar to repudiate Cornelia, daughter to Cinna, one of the late tyrants, and finding he could not effect it either by hopes or fears, he confiscated her dowry.

Indeed, Cæsar, as a relation to Marius, was naturally an enemy to Sylla. Old Marius had married Julia, Cæsar's aunt, and therefore young Marius, the son he had by her, was Cæsar's cousin-german. At first, Sylla, amidst the vast number of proscriptions that engaged his attention, overlooked this enemy. The dictator afterwards thought of having him taken off; and when some said there was no need to put such a boy to death, he answered—"Their sagacity was small, if they did not, in that boy, see many Mariuses."

This saying being reported to Cæsar, he concealed himself a long time, wandering up and down in the country of the Sabines. At last, he escaped by sea, and sailed to Bithynia, where he sought protection of Nicomedes, the king. His stay with him, however, was not long. He re-embarked, and was taken, near the isle of Pharmacusa, by pirates, who were masters of that sea, and blocked up all the passages with a number of galleys and other vessels. They asked him only twenty talents for his ransom. He laughed at their demand, as the consequence of their not knowing him, and promised them fifty talents. To raise the money, he despatched his people to different cities, and in the mean time, remained, with only one friend and two attendants, among these Cilicians, who considered murder as a trifle. Cæsar, however, held them in great contempt, and used to send, whenever he went to sleep, and order them to keep silence. Thus he lived among them thirty-eight days, as if they had been his guards rather than his keepers. Perfectly fearless and secure, he joined in their diversions, and took his exercises among them. He wrote poems and orations, and rehearsed them to these pirates: and when they expressed no admiration, he called them dunces and barbarians. Nay, he often threatened to crucify them. They were delighted with these freedoms, which they imputed to his frank and facetious vein. But as soon as the money was brought from Miletus, and he had recovered his liberty, he manned some vessels in the port of Miletus, in order to attack these corsairs. He found them still lying at anchor by the island, took most of them, togeth-

er with the money, and imprisoned them at Pergamus. After which he applied to Junius, who then commanded in Asia, because to him, as prætor, it belonged to punish them. Junius, having an eye upon the money, which was a considerable sum, demurred about the matter; and Cæsar, perceiving his intention, returned to Pergamus, and crucified all the prisoners; as he had often threatened to do at Pharmacusa, when they took him to be in jest.

When the power of Sylla came to be upon the decline, Cæsar's friends pressed him to return to Rome. But first he went to Rhodes to study under Apollonius, the son of Molo,\* who taught rhetoric there with great reputation, and was a man of irreproachable manners. Cicero also was one of his scholars. Cæsar is said to have had happy talents from nature for a public speaker, and he did not want an ambition to cultivate them: so that undoubtedly he was the second orator in Rome; and he might have been the first, had he not rather chosen pre-eminence in arms.

Indeed, the eloquence he showed at Rome in defending persons impeached, gained him considerable interest, and his engaging address and conversation carried the hearts of the people. For he had a condescension not to be expected from so young a man. At the same time, the magnificence of his expense, gradually increased his power, and brought him into the administration. Those who envied him imagined that his resources would soon fail, and therefore, at first, made light of his popularity, considerable as it was. But when it was grown to such a height that it was scarce possible to demolish it, and had a plain tendency to ruin the constitution, they found out, when it was too late, that no beginnings of things, however small, are to be neglected; because continuance makes them great; and the very contempt they are held in, gives them opportunity to gain that strength which cannot be resisted.

Cicero seems to be the first who suspected something formidable from the flattering calm of Cæsar's political conduct, and saw deep and dangerous designs under the smiles of his benignity. "I perceive," said the orator, "an inclination for tyranny in all he projects and executes; but, on the other hand, when I see him adjusting his hair with so much exactness, and scratching his head with one finger, I can hardly think that such a man can conceive so vast and so fatal a design as the destruction of the Roman commonwealth."

The first proof he had of the affection of the people, was when he obtained a tribuneship in the army, before his competitor, Caius Popilius. The second was more remarkable: it was on oc-

\* It should be Apollonius Molo, not Apollonius the son of Molo. According to Suetonius, Cæsar had studied under him at Rome before this adventure of the prætorship.

casion of his pronouncing from the rostrum the funeral oration of his aunt Julia, the wife of Marius, in which he failed not to do justice to her virtue. At the same time, he had the hardness to produce the image of Marius, which had not been seen before during Sylla's administration; Marius and all his adherents having been declared enemies to the state. Upon this, some began to raise a clamour against Cæsar; but they were soon silenced by the acclamations and plaudits of the people, expressing their admiration of his courage in bringing the honours of Marius again to light, after so long a suppression, and raising them, as it were, from the shades below.

It had long been the custom in Rome, for the aged women to have funeral panegyrics, but not the young. Cæsar first broke through it, by pronouncing one for his own wife, who died in her prime. This contributed to fix him in the affections of the people: they sympathized with him, and considered him as a man of great good-nature, and one who had the social duties at heart.

After the funeral of his wife, he went out quæstor into Spain, with Antistius Vete, the prætor, whom he honoured all his life after; and when he came to be prætor himself, he acknowledged the favour by taking Vete's son for his quæstor. When that commission was expired, he took Pompeia to his third wife; having a daughter by his first wife Cornelia, whom he afterwards married to Pompey the Great.

Many people who observed his prodigious expense, thought he was purchasing a short and transient honour very dear; but, in fact, he was gaining the greatest things he could aspire to, at a small price. He is said to have been a thousand three hundred talents in debt before he got any public employment.

When he had the superintendance of the Appian Road, he laid out a great deal of his own money; and when ædile he not only exhibited three hundred and twenty pair of gladiators, but in the other diversions of the theatre, in the processions and public tables, he far outshone the most ambitious that had gone before him. These things attached the people to him so strongly, that every one sought for new honours and employments, to recompense his generosity.

There were two factions in the state; that of Sylla, which was the strongest, and that of Marius, which was in a broken and low condition. Cæsar's study was to raise and revive the latter. In pursuance of which intention, when his exhibitions, as ædile, were in the highest reputation, he caused new images of Marius to be privately made, together with a representation of his victories adorned with trophies, and one night placed them in the capitol. Some exclaimed, that Cæsar plainly affected the tyranny, by openly producing those honours which the laws had condemned to dark-

ness and oblivion. On the other hand, the partisans of Marius, encouraging each other, ran to the capitol in vast numbers, and made it echo with their plaudits. The senate was assembled on the occasion, and Lutatius Catulus, a man of the greatest reputation in Rome, rose and accused Cæsar. Cæsar, however, defended his cause so well, that the senate decided in his favour.

About this time died Metellus, the principal pontiff. The office was solicited by Isauricus and Catulus, two of the most illustrious men in Rome, and of the greatest interest in the senate. Nevertheless, Cæsar did not give place to them, but presented himself to the people as a candidate. The pretensions and prospects of the competitors seemed almost equal, and Catulus, more uneasy than the others under the uncertainty of success, on account of his superior dignity, sent privately to Cæsar, and offered him large sums, on condition that he would desist from his high pursuit. But he answered, "He would rather borrow larger sums to carry his election."

When the day of election came, Cæsar's mother attending him to the door, with her eyes bathed in tears, he embraced her and said, "My dear mother, you will see me this day either chief pontiff or an exile." There never was any thing more strongly contested; the suffrages, however, gave it for Cæsar. The senate, and others of the principal citizens, were greatly alarmed at this success; they apprehended that he would now push the people into all manner of licentiousness and misrule. Therefore, Piso and Catulus blamed Cicero much for sparing Cæsar, when Catiline's conspiracy gave him an opportunity to take him off.

When Cicero, as consul, took the sense of the senators as to the punishment that should be inflicted upon the conspirators; they all voted for death, till it came to Cæsar's turn, who represented, "That it seemed neither agreeable to justice, nor to the customs of their country, to put men of their birth and dignity to death, without an open trial, except in cases of extreme necessity. But that they should rather be kept in prison, in any of the cities of Italy that Cicero might pitch upon, till Catiline was subdued; and then the senate might take cognizance of the crimes of each conspirator in full peace, and at their leisure." As there appeared something humane in this opinion, and it was powerfully enforced by the orator, those who gave their voices afterwards, and even many who had declared for the other side of the question, came into it. But Cato and Catulus carried it for death. Cato, in a severe speech against the opinion of Cæsar, scrupled not to declare his suspicions of him; and this, with other arguments, had so much weight, that the conspirators were delivered to the executioner.

Cato, fearing an insurrection of the indigent populace, who were foremost in all seditions, and who had fixed their hopes upon Cæsar,

persuaded the senate to order a distribution of bread-corn among them every month. This expedient certainly obviated the present danger, by seasonably reducing the power of Cæsar, who was now prætor elect, and more formidable on that account. Cæsar's prætorship, however, was not productive of any trouble to the commonwealth; and the government of Spain was allotted him after its termination. But his circumstances were so indifferent, and his creditors so clamorous and troublesome when he was preparing for his departure, that he was forced to apply to Crassus, the richest man in Rome, who stood in need of Cæsar's warmth and vigour to keep up the balance against Pompey. Crassus, therefore, took upon him to answer the most inexorable of his creditors, and engaged for eight hundred and thirty talents; which procured him liberty to set out for his province.

It is said, that when he came to a little town, in passing the Alps, his friends, by way of mirth, took occasion to say, "Can there here be any disputes for offices, any contentions for precedency, or such envy and ambition as we see among the great?" To which Cæsar answered, with great seriousness, "I assure you, I had rather be the first man here, than the second man in Rome."

In like manner we are told, that when he was in Spain, he bestowed some leisure hours on reading part of the history of Alexander, and was so much affected with it, that he sat pensive a long time, and at last burst into tears. As his friends were wondering what might be the reason, he said, "Do you think I have not sufficient cause for concern, when Alexander, at my age, reigned over so many conquered countries, and I have not one glorious achievement to boast?"

From this principle it was, that immediately upon his arrival in Spain, he applied to business with great diligence, and having added ten new-raised cohorts to the twenty he received there, he marched against the Callæcians and Lusitanians, defeated them, and penetrated to the ocean, reducing nations by the way that had not felt the Roman yoke. His conduct in peace was not inferior to that in war; he restored harmony among the cities, and removed the occasions of quarrel between debtors and creditors; for he ordered that the creditor should have two-thirds of the debtor's income, and the debtor the remaining third, till the whole was paid. By these means he left the province with great reputation, though he had filled his own coffers, and enriched his soldiers with booty, who upon one of his victories, saluted him *Imperator*.

At his return to Rome, he found himself under a troublesome dilemma; those who solicit a triumph being obliged to remain without the walls, and such as sue for the consulship, to make their personal appearance in Rome. Cæsar determined to give up the triumph, and solicit the consulship.

As soon as he had entered the city, he went to work upon an expedient which deceived all the world except Cato. It was the reconciling of Pompey and Crassus, two of the most powerful men in Rome. By making them friends, Cæsar secured the interest of both to himself; and while he seemed to be only doing an office of humanity, he was undermining the constitution. For it was not the disagreement between Cæsar and Pompey that produced the civil wars, but rather their union; they first combined to ruin the authority of the senate, and when that was effected, they parted to pursue each his own designs.

Cæsar walked to the place of election between Crassus and Pompey; and, under the auspices of their friendship, was declared consul, with distinguished honour, having Calpurnius Bibulus given him for his colleague. He had no sooner entered upon his office, than he proposed laws not so suitable to a consul, as to a seditious tribune; I mean the bills for a division of lands and a distribution of corn, which were entirely calculated to please the plebeians. As the virtuous and patriotic part of the senate opposed them, he was furnished with the pretext he had long wanted: he protested, with great warmth, "That they threw him into the arms of the people against his will, and that the rigorous and disgraceful opposition of the senate, laid him under the disagreeable necessity of seeking protection from the commons." Accordingly he did immediately apply to them.

Cæsar was willing to avail himself still farther of Pompey's interest. His daughter Julia was betrothed to Servilius Cæpio: but, notwithstanding that engagement, he gave her to Pompey: and told Servilius he should have Pompey's daughter, whose hand was not properly at liberty, for she was promised to Faustus, the son of Sylla. Soon after this, Cæsar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso, and procured the consulship for Piso for the year ensuing. Meanwhile Cato exclaimed loudly against these proceedings, and called both gods and men to witness, how insupportable it was, that the first dignities of the state should be prostituted by marriages, and that this traffic of women should gain them what governments and forces they pleased. As for Bibulus, Cæsar's colleague, when he found his opposition to their new laws entirely unsuccessful, and that his life, as well as Cato's, was often endangered in the public assemblies, he shut himself up in his own house during the remainder of the year.

Immediately after this marriage, Pompey filled the *Forum* with armed men, and got the laws enacted, which Cæsar had proposed merely to ingratiate himself with the people. At the same time, the government of Gaul, both on this and the other side the Alps, was decreed to Cæsar for five years; to which was added *Illyricum*, with four legions.



The most disgraceful step that Cæsar took in his whole consulship, was the getting Clodius elected tribune of the people; the same who had attempted to dishonour his bed, and had profaned the mysterious rites of the Good Goddess. He pitched upon him to ruin Cicero; nor would he set out for his government, before he had embroiled them, and procured Cicero's banishment. For all these transactions preceded his wars in Gaul. The wars he conducted there, and the many glorious campaigns in which he reduced that country, represent him as another man; we begin, as it were, with a new life, and have to follow him in a quite different track. As a warrior and a general, we behold him not in the least inferior to the greatest and most admired commanders the world ever produced. For whether we compare him with the Fabii, the Scipios and Metelli, with the generals of his own time, or those who flourished a little before him, with Sylla, Marius, the two Luculli, or with Pompey himself, whose fame, in every military excellence, reached the skies, Cæsar's achievements bear away the palm. One he surpassed in the difficulty of the scene of action, another in the extent of the countries he subdued; this, in the number and strength of the enemies he overcame; that, in the savage manners and treacherous disposition of the people he humanized; one, in mildness and clemency to his prisoners; another, in bounty and munificence to his troops; and all, in the number of battles that he won, and enemies that he killed. For in less than ten years' war in Gaul, he took eight hundred cities by assault, conquered three hundred nations, and fought pitched battles at different times, with three millions of men, one million of which he cut in pieces, and made another million prisoners.

Such, moreover, was the affection of his soldiers, and their attachment to his person, that they who, under other commanders, were nothing above the common rate of men, became invincible where Cæsar's glory was concerned, and met the most dreadful dangers with a courage that nothing could resist.

This courage, and this great ambition, were cultivated and cherished, in the first place, by the generous manner in which Cæsar rewarded his troops, and the honours which he paid them. His whole conduct showed, that he did not accumulate riches, to minister to luxury, or to serve any pleasures of his own, but that he laid them up in a common bank, as prizes, to be obtained by distinguished valour, and that he considered himself no farther rich, than as he was in a condition to do justice to the merit of his soldiers. Another thing that contributed to make them invincible, was their seeing Cæsar always take his share in danger, and never desire any exemption from labour and fatigue.

As for his exposing his person to danger, they were not sur-

prised at it, because they knew his passion for glory ; but they they were astonished at his patience under toil, so far, in all appearance, above his bodily powers. For he was of a slender make, fair, of a delicate constitution, and subject to violent headaches and epileptic fits. He had the first attack of the falling sickness at Corduba. He did not, however, make these disorders a pretence for indulging himself. On the contrary, he sought in war a remedy for his infirmities, endeavouring to strengthen his constitution by long marches, by simple diet, by seldom coming under cover. Thus he contended with his distemper, and fortified himself against its attacks.

When he slept, it was commonly, upon a march, either in a chariot or a litter, that rest might be no hinderance to business. In the day-time he visited the castles, cities, and fortified camps, with a servant at his side, whom he employed, on such occasions, to write for him, and with a soldier behind who carried his sword. By these means he travelled so fast, and with so little interruption, as to reach the Rhone in eight days after his first setting out for those parts from Rome.

Of his indifference, with respect to diet, they give us this remarkable proof. Happening to sup with Valerius Leo, a friend of his, at Milan, there was sweet ointment poured upon the asparagus, instead of oil. Cæsar ate of it freely notwithstanding, and afterwards rebuked his friends for expressing their dislike of it. "It was enough," said he, "to forbear eating, if it was disagreeable to you. He who finds fault with any rusticity, is himself a rustic."

One day, as he was upon an excursion, a violent storm forced him to seek shelter in a poor man's hut, where there was only one room, and that scarce big enough for a man to sleep in. Turning, therefore, to his friends, he said, "Honours for the great, and necessaries for the infirm," and immediately gave up the room to Oppius, while himself and the rest of the company slept under a shed at the door.

His first expedition in Gaul was against the Helvetians and the Tigurini : who, after having burnt twelve of their own towns, and four hundred villages, put themselves under march, in order to penetrate into Italy, through that part of Gaul which was subject to the Romans, as the Cambri and Teutones would have done before them. The Helvetians suddenly attacked Cæsar, as he was upon the march to a confederate town.

It cost him a long and severe conflict to drive their army out of the field ; but he found the greatest difficulty when he came to their rampart of carriages : for not only the men made a most obstinate stand there, but the very women and children fought till they were cut in pieces.

To this great action he added a greater. He collected the barbarians who had escaped out of the battle, to the number of a hundred thousand, and upwards, and obliged them to re-settle the country they had relinquished, and to rebuild the cities they had burnt.

His second war was in defence of the Gauls against the Germans, whom he pursued to the Rhine. The king of the Germans reached the river time enough to get over with a few troops. The number of killed is said to have amounted to eighty thousand.

After he had thus terminated the war, he left his army in winter quarters in the country of the Sequani, and repaired to Gaul on this side the Po, which was part of his province, in order to have an eye upon the transactions in Rome. During his stay there, he carried on a variety of state intrigues. Great numbers came from Rome to pay their respects to him, and he sent them all away satisfied; some laden with presents, and others happy in hope. In the same manner throughout all his wars, without Pompey's observing it, he was conquering his enemies by the arms of the Roman citizens, and gaining the citizens by the money of his enemies.

As soon as he had intelligence that the Belgæ, who were the most powerful people in Gaul, and whose territories made up a third part of the whole country, had revolted and assembled a great army, he marched to that quarter with incredible expedition, and killed such numbers, that lakes and rivers were filled with the dead, and bridges were formed of their bodies.

From thence he led his army against the Nervii, who live among thick woods. After they had secured their families and most valuable goods, in the best manner they could, in the heart of a large forest, at a great distance from the enemy, they marched, to the number of sixty thousand, and fell upon Cæsar, as he was fortifying his camp, and had not the least notion of so sudden an attack.\* They first routed his cavalry, and then surrounded the twelfth and seventh legions, and killed all the officers. Had not Cæsar snatched a buckler from one of his own men, forced his way through the

\* As this attack was unexpected, Cæsar had, in a manner, every thing to do at the same instant. The banner was to be erected, the charge sounded, the soldiers at a distance recalled, the army drawn up, and the signal given. In this surprise he ran from place to place, exhorting his men to attend to their former valour; and having drawn them up in the best manner he could, caused the signal to be given. The legionaries made a vigorous resistance: but as the enemy seemed determined either to conquer or die, the success was different in different places. In the left wing the ninth and the tenth legions did wonders, drove the Atrebatæ into a neighbouring river, and made a great slaughter of them. In another place, the eighth and eleventh legions repulsed the Vermandui, and drove them before them. But in the right wing, the seventh and twelfth legions suffered extremely. They were entirely surrounded by the Nervii, all the centurions of the fourth cohort being slain, and most of the other officers wounded. In this extremity, Cæsar snatched a buckler from one of the private men, put himself at the head of his broken wing, and being joined by the two legions which he had left to guard the baggage, fell upon the Nervii, already fatigued, with fresh vigour, and made a dreadful havock of them.

combatants before him, and rushed upon the barbarians; or had not the tenth legion, seeing his danger, run from the heights where they were posted, and mowed down the enemies' ranks, in all probability not one Roman would have survived the battle. But though, encouraged by this bold act of Cæsar, they fought with a spirit above their strength, they were not able to make the Nervii turn their backs. Those brave men maintained their ground, and were hewed to pieces on the spot. It is said, that out of sixty thousand not above five hundred were saved, and out of four hundred Nervian senators not above three.

Upon the news of this great victory, the senate of Rome decreed that sacrifices should be offered, and all manner of festivities kept up, for fifteen days together, which was a longer term of rejoicing than had ever been known before. Indeed the danger appeared very great, on account of so many nations rising at once; and as Cæsar was the man who surmounted it, the affection the people had for him made the rejoicing more brilliant. After he had settled the affairs of Gaul, on the other side of the Alps, he crossed them again, and wintered near the Po, in order to maintain his interest in Rome; where the candidates for the great offices of state were supplied with money out of his funds to corrupt the people, and, after they had carried their election, did every thing to extend his power.

Cæsar, at his return to his army in Gaul, found another furious war lighted up in the country; the Usipetes and the Teucteri, two great German nations, having crossed the Rhine to make conquests. Of the invaders four hundred thousand were killed. The few who escaped, repassed the river, and were sheltered by a people of Germany called Sicambri. Cæsar laid hold on this pretence against that people, but his motive was an avidity of fame, to be the first Roman that ever crossed the Rhine in an hostile manner. In pursuance of his design, he threw a bridge over it. Having laid waste the enemy's country with fire, and confirmed the better-disposed Germans in the interest of Rome, he returned into Gaul.

After conquering Gaul, he undertook an expedition into Britain, which discovered the most daring spirit of enterprise: for he was the first who entered the Western Ocean with a fleet, and embarking his troops on the Atlantic, carried war into an island whose very existence had been doubted. Some writers had represented it so incredibly large, that others contested its being, and considered both the name and the thing as a fiction. Yet Cæsar attempted to conquer it, and to extend the Roman empire beyond the bounds of the habitable world. He sailed thither twice from the opposite coast in Gaul, and fought many battles, by which the Britons suffered more than the Romans gained; for there was nothing worth

taking from a people who were so poor, and lived in so much wretchedness.\* He did not, however, terminate the war in the manner he could have wished: he only received hostages of the king, and appointed the tribute the island was to pay, and then returned to Gaul.

There he received letters, by which his friends in Rome informed him of the death of his daughter, the wife of Pompey. This was a great affliction both to Pompey and Cæsar. Their friends, too, were very sensibly concerned to see that alliance dissolved which kept up the peace and harmony of the state, otherwise in a very unsettled condition. The people took the body of Julia, and carried it, notwithstanding the prohibition of the tribunes, to the *Campus Martius*, where it was interred.

As Cæsar's army was now very large,† he was forced to divide it for the convenience of winter quarters; after which he took the road to Italy according to custom. But he had not been long gone, before the Gauls rising again, traversed the country with considerable armies, fell upon the Roman quarters with great fury, and insulted their intrenchments. The most numerous and the strongest body of the insurgents was under Ambiroix, who attacked Cotta and Titurius in their camp, and cut them off with their whole party. After which he besieged the legion under the command of Q. Cicero, with sixty thousand men: and though the spirit of those brave Romans made a resistance above their strength, they were very near being taken, for they were all wounded.

Cæsar, who was at a great distance, at last getting intelligence of their danger, returned with all expedition; and having collected a body of men, which did not exceed seven thousand, hastened to the relief of Cicero. The Gauls, who were not ignorant of his motions, raised the siege, and went to meet him; for they despised the smallness of his force, and were confident of victory. Cæsar, to deceive them, made a feint as if he fled, till he came to a place convenient for a small army to engage a great one, and there he fortified his camp. He gave his men strict orders not to fight, but to throw up a strong rampart, and to barricade their gates in the securest manner; contriving by all these manœuvres to increase the enemy's contempt of him. It succeeded as he wished; the Gauls came up with great insolence and disorder to attack his trenches. Then Cæsar making a sudden sally, defeated and destroyed the greatest part of them. This success laid the spirit of revolt in those parts; and for farther security he remained all the

\* It does not appear that there was much corn in Britain in Cæsar's time; for the inhabitants, he says, lived chiefly on milk and flesh: *Lacte et carne vivunt.*

† This army consisted of eight legions, and as there was almost a famine in the country, the consequence of excessive drought, Cæsar was obliged to separate his troops for their better subsistence. He was, therefore, under the necessity of fixing the quarters at such a distance, which would otherwise have been impolitic. He tells us, (lib. v.) that all the legions, except one, which was in a quiet country, were posted within the compass of a hundred miles.

winter in Gaul, visiting all the quarters, and keeping a sharp eye upon every motion towards war. Besides, he received a reinforcement of three legions in the room of those he had lost; two of which were lent him by Pompey, and one lately raised in Cisalpine Gaul.

After this, the seeds of hostilities, which had long before been privately scattered in the more distant parts of the country by the chiefs of the more warlike nations, shot up into one of the greatest and most dangerous wars that was ever seen in Gaul. It was then the most severe season in the year; the rivers were covered with ice, the forests with snow, and the fields overflowed: the roads lay concealed in snow or in floods disembogued by the lakes and rivers; so that it seemed impossible for Cæsar to march, or to pursue any other operations against them.

The chief direction of the war was given to Vercingetorix, whose father the Gauls had put to death, for attempting at monarchy. Vercingetorix having divided his forces into several parts, and given them in charge to his lieutenants, had the country at command as far as the Arar. His intention was to raise all Gaul against Cæsar, now when his enemies were rising against him at Rome.

Cæsar, who knew perfectly how to avail himself of every advantage in war, particularly of time, was no sooner informed of this great defection, than he set out to chastise its authors; and by the rapidity of his march, in spite of all the difficulties of a severe winter, he showed the barbarians that his troops could neither be conquered nor resisted; for where a courier could scarce have been supposed to come in many days, Cæsar was seen with his whole army, ravaging the country, destroying the castles, storming the cities, and receiving the submission of such as repented. Thus he went on, till the Ædui also revolted, who had styled themselves brothers to the Romans, and had been treated with particular regard. Their joining the insurgents spread uneasiness and dismay through Cæsar's army. He, therefore, decamped in all haste; but the enemy followed him in prodigious numbers, and surrounded him. Cæsar, without being in the least disconcerted, sustained the conflict, and after a long and bloody action, in which the Germans were particularly serviceable to him, gave them a total defeat. Most of those who escaped out of the battle, retired into Alesia with their king. Cæsar immediately invested the town, though it appeared impregnable, as well on account of the height of the walls, as the number of troops there was to defend it. During the siege he found himself exposed to a great danger from without. All the bravest men in Gaul assembled from every quarter, and came armed to the relief of the place, to the number of three hundred thousand; and there were not less than seventy thousand comba-

tants within the walls. Thus shut up between two armies, he was forced to draw two lines of circumvallation, the interior one against the town, and that without against the troops that came to its succour; for, could the two armies have joined, he had been absolutely lost. This dangerous action of Alesia contributed to Cæsar's renown on many accounts. Indeed, he exerted a more adventurous courage and greater generalship, than on any other occasion. But what seems very astonishing, is, that he could engage and conquer so many myriads without, and keep the action a secret to the troops in the town.\* It is still more wonderful that the Romans, who were left before the walls, should not know it, till the victory was announced by the cries of the men in Alesia, and the lamentations of the women, who saw the Romans on each side of the town bringing to their camp a number of shields adorned with gold and silver, helmets stained with blood, drinking vessels, and tents of Gaulish fashion. Thus did this vast multitude vanish and disappear like a phantom, or a dream, the greatest part being killed on the spot.

The besieged at last surrendered. Their general, Vercingetorix, armed himself and equipped his horse in the most magnificent manner, and then sallied out at the gate. After he had taken some circuits about Cæsar as he sat upon the tribunal, he dismounted, put off his armour, and placed himself at Cæsar's feet, where he remained in profound silence, till Cæsar ordered a guard to take him away, and keep him for his triumph.

Cæsar had been some time resolved to ruin Pompey, and Pompey to destroy Cæsar; for Crassus, who alone could have taken up the conqueror, being killed in the Parthian war, there remained nothing for Cæsar to do, to make himself the greatest of mankind, but to annihilate him that was so; nor for Pompey to prevent it, but to take off the man he feared. It is true, it was no long time that Pompey had entertained any fear of him; he had rather looked upon him with contempt, imagining he could as easily pull him down as he had set him up: whereas Cæsar, from the first, designing to ruin his rivals, had retired at a distance, like a champion, for exercise. By long service and great achievements in the wars of Gaul, he had so improved his army, and his own reputation too, that he was considered as on a footing with Pompey; and he found pretences for carrying his enterprise into execution, in the times of the misgovernment at Rome. These were partly furnished by Pompey himself; and indeed all ranks of men were so corrupted, that tables were publicly set out, upon which the candidates for offices were professedly ready to pay the people the price of their votes; and the people came not only to give their voice for the man who had bought them, but with all manner of offensive weapons to fight

\* Cæsar says, that those in the town had a distinct view of the battle.

for him. Hence it often happened, that they did not part without polluting the tribunal with blood and murder, and the city was a perpetual scene of anarchy. In this dismal situation of things, in these storms of epidemic madness, wise men thought it would be happy if they ended in nothing worse than monarchy. Nay, there were many who scrupled not to declare publicly, that monarchy was the only cure for the desperate disorders of the state, and that the physician ought to be pitched upon, who would apply that remedy with the gentlest hand; by which they hinted at Pompey.

Pompey, in all his discourse, pretended to decline the honour of a dictatorship, though at the same time every step he took was directed that way. Cato, understanding his drift, persuaded the senate to declare him sole consul; that, satisfied with a kind of monarchy more agreeable to law, he might not adopt any violent measures to make himself dictator. The senate not only agreed to this, but continued to him his governments of Spain and Africa, the administration of which he committed to his lieutenants; keeping armies there, for whose maintenance he was allowed a thousand talents a year out of the public treasury.

Upon this, Cæsar applied, by his friends, for another consulship, and for the continuance of his commission in Gaul, answerable to that of Pompey. As Pompey was at first silent, Marcellus and Lentulus, who hated Cæsar on other accounts, opposed it with great violence, omitting nothing, whether right or wrong, that might reflect dishonour upon him: for they disfranchised the inhabitants of Novocomum in Gaul, which had lately been erected into a colony by Cæsar; and Marcellus, then consul, caused one of their senators, who was come with some complaints to Rome, to be beaten with rods, and telling him, "The marks on his back were so many additional proofs that he was not a Roman citizen," bade him go show them to Cæsar.

But, after the consulship of Marcellus, Cæsar opened the treasures he had amassed in Gaul, to all that were concerned in the administration, and satisfied their utmost wishes. Pompey, now alarmed at the increase of Cæsar's faction, openly exerted his own interest, and that of his friends, to procure an order for a successor to Cæsar in Gaul. He also sent to demand the troops he had lent him for his wars in that county, and Cæsar returned them with a gratuity of two hundred and fifty drachmas to each man.

Those who conducted these troops back, spread reports among the people which were neither favourable nor fair with respect to Cæsar, and which ruined Pompey with vain hopes. They asserted that Pompey had the hearts of all Cæsar's army, and that if envy and a corrupt administration hindered him from gaining what he desired at Rome, the forces in Gaul would declare for him immediately upon their entering Italy; so obnoxious was Cæsar become,



by hurrying them perpetually from one expedition to another, and by the suspicions which they had of his aiming at absolute power. Pompey was so elated with these assurances, that he neglected to levy troops, as if he had nothing to fear, and opposed the enemy only with speeches and decrees, which Cæsar made no account of.

Cæsar's requisitions had a great appearance of justice and honour. He proposed to lay down his arms, on condition Pompey would do the same, and that they should both, as private citizens, leave it to their country to reward their services. For to deprive him of his commission and troops, and continue Pompey's, was to give absolute power to the one, to which the other was unjustly accused of aspiring. Curio, who made these propositions to the people in behalf of Cæsar, was received with the loudest plaudits; and there were some who even threw chaplets of flowers upon him, as they would upon a champion victorious in the ring.

Antony, one of the tribunes of the people, then produced a letter from Cæsar to the same purport, and caused it to be read, notwithstanding the opposition it met with from the consuls. Hereupon, Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, proposed in the senate, that if Cæsar did not lay down his arms by such a day, he should be declared an enemy to the state; and the consuls putting it to the question, "Whether Pompey should dismiss his forces?" and again, "Whether Cæsar should disband his?" few of the members were for the first, and almost all for the second.\* After which Antony put the question, "Whether both should lay down their commissions?" and all with one voice answered in the affirmative. But the violent rage of Scipio, and the clamours of the consul Lentulus, who cried out, that "Not decrees, but arms, should be employed against a public robber," made the senate break up; and on account of the unhappy dissension, all ranks of people put on black, as in a time of public mourning.

Soon after this, other letters arrived from Cæsar with more moderate proposals. Pompey was on the point of acceding to a compromise, when Lentulus, the consul, rejecting it with disdain, treated Antony and Curio with great indignity, and drove them out of the senate-house. Thus he furnished Cæsar with the most plausible argument imaginable, and he failed not to make use of it to exasperate his troops, by showing them persons of distinction, and magistrates, obliged to fly in hired carriages, and in the habit of slaves; † for their fears had made them leave Rome in that disguise.

Cæsar had not then with him above three hundred horse and five thousand foot. The rest of his forces were left on the other

\* Dio says, there was not a man for the first question, whereas the whole house was for the second, except Cælius and Curio. Nor is this to be wondered at; Pompey was then at the gates of Rome with his army.

† Cassius Longinus went with them in the same disguise.

side of the Alps, and he had sent them orders to join him. But he saw the beginning of his enterprise, and the attack that he meditated did not require any great numbers: his enemies were rather to be struck with consternation by the boldness and expedition with which he began his operations; for an unexpected movement would be more likely to make an impression upon them than great preparations afterwards. He, therefore, ordered his lieutenants and other officers to take their swords without any other armour, and make themselves masters of Ariminum, a great city in Gaul, but to take all possible care that no blood should be shed or disturbance raised. Hortensius was at the head of this party. As for himself, he spent the day at the public show of gladiators, and a little before evening bathed, and then went into the apartment where he entertained company. When it was growing dark, he left the company, after having desired them to make merry till his return, which they would not have long to wait for. To some of his friends he had given previous notice to follow him, not altogether, but by different ways. Then taking a hired carriage, he set out a different way from that which led to Ariminum, and turned into that road afterwards.

When he arrived at the banks of the Rubicon, which divides Cisalpine Gaul from the rest of Italy, his reflections became more interesting in proportion as the danger drew near. Staggered by the greatness of his attempt, he stopped to weigh with himself its inconveniences; and as he stood revolving in silence the arguments on both sides, he many times changed his opinion. After which he deliberated upon it with such of his friends as were by, among whom was Asinius Pollio; enumerating the calamities which the passage of that river would bring upon the world, and the reflections that might be made upon it by posterity. At last, upon some sudden impulse, bidding adieu to his reasonings, and plunging into the abyss of futurity, in the words of those who embark in doubtful and arduous enterprizes, he cried out, "The die is cast!" and immediately passed the river. He travelled so fast the rest of the way, that he reached Ariminum before day-light, and took it.

After the taking of Ariminum, as if war had opened wide its gates both by sea and land, and Cæsar, by going beyond the bounds of his province, had infringed the laws of his country; not individuals were seen, as on other occasions, wandering in distraction about Italy, but whole cities broken up, and seeking refuge by flight. Most of the tumultuous tide flowed into Rome, and it was so filled with the hasty conflux of the circling people, that amidst the violent agitations it would hardly either obey the magistrate, or listen to the voice of reason, but was in the utmost danger of falling by its own violence. Pompey himself, who was already

confounded at the turn things had taken, was still more disturbed by a variety of censures on his conduct. He, however, at that time, was not inferior in numbers to Cæsar, but his partisans would not suffer him to proceed according to his own opinion. By false reports and groundless terrors, as if the enemy were at the gates, and had carried all before him, they forced him along with the general torrent. He had it decreed, therefore, that things were in a tumultuous state, and nothing to be expected but hostilities, and then left Rome, having first ordered the senate, and every man to follow, who preferred his country and liberty to the rod of a tyrant. The consuls fled with him, and most of the senators joined in the flight.

Cæsar would have followed him immediately, but he wanted ships. He therefore returned to Rome, with the glory of having reduced Italy without spilling a drop of blood. Finding the city in a more settled condition than he expected, and many senators there, he addressed them in a mild and gracious manner, and desired them to send deputies to Pompey to offer honourable terms of peace. But not one of them would take upon him the commission: whether it was that they were afraid of Pompey, whom they had deserted, or whether they thought Cæsar not in earnest in the proposal, and that he only made it to save appearances.

Cæsar's first movement was to Spain, whence he was resolved to drive Afranius and Varro, Pompey's lieutenants, and after having made himself master of their troops and provinces, to march against Pompey, without leaving any enemy behind him. In the course of this expedition, his life was often in danger from ambuscades, and his army had to combat with famine; yet he continued his operations against the enemy, either by pursuit, or offering them battle, or forming lines of circumvallation about them, till he forced their camp, and added their troops to his own. The officers made their escape, and retired to Pompey.

Upon his return to Rome, his father-in-law, Piso, pressed him to send deputies to Pompey to treat of an accommodation; but Isauricus, to make his court to Cæsar, opposed it.

The senate declared him dictator, and while he held that office, he recalled the exiles; he restored to their honours the children of those who had suffered under Sylla; and relieved debtors by cancelling part of the usury. These, and a few more, were his acts during his dictatorship, which he laid down in eleven days. After this, he caused himself to be declared consul with Servilius Isauricus, and then went to prosecute the war. He marched so fast to Brundisium, that all his troops could not keep up with him. However, he embarked with only six hundred select horse and five legions; and crossing the Ionian, made himself master of Oricum and Apollonia, and sent back his ships to Brundisium to bring

over the forces that were left behind.\* Finding that these troops delayed to join him, he undertook a most astonishing enterprise. Though the sea was covered with the enemy's fleets, he resolved to embark in a vessel of twelve oars, without acquainting any person with his intention, and sail to Brundisium. In the night, therefore, he took the habit of a slave, and throwing himself into the vessel like a man of no account, sat there in silence. They fell down the river Anias for the sea, where the entrance is generally easy, because the land-wind rising in the morning, used to beat off the waves of the sea and smooth the mouth of the river. But unluckily that night a strong sea-wind sprang up, which overpowered that from the land; so that by the rage of the sea and the counter-action of the stream, the river became extremely rough, the waves dashed against each other with a tumultuous noise, and formed such dangerous eddies, that the pilot despaired of making good his passage, and ordered the mariners to turn back. Cæsar perceiving this, rose up, and showing himself to the pilot, who was greatly astonished at the sight of him, said, "Go forward, my friend, and fear nothing; thou carriest Cæsar and his fortune." The mariners then forgot the storm, and plying their oars with the utmost vigour and alacrity, endeavoured to overcome the resistance of the waves. But such was their violence at the mouth of the river, and the water flowed so fast into the vessel, that Cæsar at last, though with great reluctance, permitted the pilot to turn back. Upon his return to his camp, the soldiers met him in crowds, pouring out their complaints, and expressing the greatest concern that he did not assure himself of conquering with them only, but, in distrust of their support, gave himself so much uneasiness, and exposed his person to so much danger on account of the absent.

Soon after, Antony arrived from Brundisium with the troops; † Cæsar, then in the highest spirits, offered battle to Pompey, who was encamped in an advantageous manner, and abundantly supplied with provisions both from sea and land; whereas Cæsar at first had no great plenty, and afterwards was in extreme want. There were frequently skirmishes about Pompey's entrenchments, ‡

\* He sent them back under the conduct of Galenus. That officer losing the opportunity of the wind, fell in with Bibulus, who took thirty of his ships and burnt them all, together with their pilots and mariners, in order to intimidate the rest.

† Antony and Calenus embarked on board the vessels which had escaped Bibulus, eight hundred horse and four legions; that is, three old ones, and one that had been newly raised; and when they were landed, Antony sent back the ships for the rest of the forces.

‡ Cæsar observed an old camp which he had occupied in the place where Pompey was enclosed, and afterwards abandoned. Upon his quitting it, Pompey had taken possession of it, and left a legion to guard it. This post Cæsar attempted to reduce, and it was in this attempt that he suffered so much loss. He lost nine hundred and sixty foot, four hundred horse, among whom there were several Roman knights, five tribunes, and thirty-two centurions. We mentioned, just now, that Pompey was enclosed, as in fact he was on the land side, by a line of circumvallation drawn by Cæsar.

and Cæsar had the advantage in them all, except one, in which his party was forced to fly with such precipitation, that he was in danger of having his camp taken. Pompey headed the attack in person, and not a man could stand before him. He drove them upon their own lines into the utmost confusion, and filled their trenches with the dead.

Cæsar ran to meet them, and would have rallied the fugitives, but it was not in his power. He laid hold on the ensign-staves to stop them, and some left them in his hands, and others threw them upon the ground, insomuch that no less than thirty-two standards were taken. Cæsar himself was very near losing his life; for having laid hold of a tall and strong man, to stop him and make him face about, the soldier, in his terror and confusion, lifted up his sword to strike him; but Cæsar's armour-bearer prevented it by a blow which cut off his arm.

Cæsar saw his affairs that day in so bad a posture, that, after Pompey, either through too much caution, or the caprice of fortune, instead of giving the finishing stroke to so great an action, stopped as soon as he had shut up the enemy within their entrenchments, and sounded a retreat, he said to his friends, as he withdrew, "This day victory would have declared for the enemy, if they had had a general who knew how to conquer." He sought repose in his tent: but it proved the most melancholy night of his life, for he gave himself up to endless reflections on his own misconduct in the war. He considered how wrong it was, when the wide countries and rich cities of Macedonia and Thessaly were before him, to confine himself to so narrow a scene of action, and sit still by the sea, while the enemy's fleets had the superiority, and in a place where he suffered the inconveniences of a siege from the want of provisions, rather than besiege the enemy by his arms. Thus agitated and distressed by the perplexities and difficulties of his situation, he resolved to decamp, and march against Scipio in Macedonia; concluding, that he should either draw Pompey after him, and force him to fight where he could not receive supplies as he had done from the sea; or else that he should easily crush Scipio, if he found him unsupported.

Pompey's troops and officers were greatly elated at this retreat of Cæsar; they considered it as a flight and an acknowledgment that he was beaten, and therefore wanted to pursue. But Pompey himself was unwilling to hazard a battle of such consequence. He was well provided with every thing requisite for waiting the advantages of time, and for that reason chose, by protracting the war, to wear out the little vigour the enemy had left. The most valuable of Cæsar's troops had, indeed, an experience and courage which were irresistible in the field; but age had made them unfit for long marches, for throwing up intrenchments, for attacking

walls, and passing whole nights under arms. They were too unwieldy to endure much fatigue, and their inclination for labour lessened with their strength. Besides, there was said to be a contagious distemper among them, which arose from their strange and bad diet; and Cæsar wanted both money and provisions, so that it seemed as if he must shortly fall of himself.

These were Pompey's reasons for declining a battle; but not a man, except Cato, was of his opinion; and he, only, because he was willing to spare the blood of his countrymen; for when he saw the bodies of the enemy, who fell in the late action, to the number of a thousand, lie dead upon the field, he covered his face, and retired weeping. All the rest censured Pompey for not deciding the affair immediately with the sword.

Piqued at these reproaches, Pompey, against his own judgment, marched after Cæsar, who proceeded on his route with great difficulty; for on account of his late loss, all looked upon him with contempt, and refused to supply him with provisions. When the two armies were encamped opposite each other on the plains of Pharsalia, Pompey returned to his old opinion. But the cavalry testified the greatest impatience for a battle. Nor were the numbers of infantry equal; for Pompey had forty-five thousand, and Cæsar only twenty-two thousand. Cæsar called his soldiers together, and told them, "That Cornificus was well advanced on his way with two more legions, and that he had fifteen cohorts under the command of Calenus, in the environs of Megara and Athens." He then asked them, "Whether they chose to wait for those troops or to risk a battle without them?" They answered aloud, "Let us not wait; but do you find out some stratagem to bring the enemy, as soon as possible, to an action."

The night before the battle, as he walked the rounds about midnight, there appeared a luminous phenomenon in the air, like a torch, which, as it passed over his camp, flamed out with great brightness, and seemed to fall in that of Pompey. And in the morning, when the guards were relieved, a tumult was observed in the enemy's camp, not unlike a panic terror. Cæsar, however, so little expected an action that day, that he had ordered his troops to decamp and march to Scotusa.\*

But, as they were striking their tents, his scouts rode up, and told him the enemy were coming to give him battle. Happy in the news, he made his prayer to the gods, and then drew up his army, which he divided into three bodies. Donitius Calvinus was to command the centre, Antony the left wing, and himself the right, where he intended to charge at the head of the tenth legion. Struck with the number and magnificent appearance of the enemy's

\* Cæsar hoped, by his frequent decampings, to provide better for his troops, and perhaps, gain a favourable opportunity of fighting

cavalry, who were posted over against him, he ordered six cohorts privately to advance from the rear. These he placed behind the right wing, and gave them instructions what to do when the enemy's horse came to charge.

When the signal was ready to be given, Pompey ordered his infantry to stand in close order, and wait the enemy's attack, till they were near enough to be reached by the javelin. Cæsar blamed this conduct. He said Pompey was not aware what weight the swift and fierce advance to the first charge gives to every blow, nor how the courage of each soldier is inflamed by the rapid motion of the whole.\*

He was now going to put his troops in motion, when he saw a trusty and experienced centurion encouraging his men to distinguish themselves that day. Cæsar called him by his name, and said—"What cheer, Caius Crassinus? How think you do we stand?" "Cæsar," said the veteran, in a bold accent, and stretching out his hand, "The victory is ours. It will be a glorious one; and this day I shall have your praise, either alive or dead." So saying, he ran in upon the enemy, at the head of his company, which consisted of a hundred and twenty men. He did great execution among the first ranks, and was pressing on with equal fierceness, when one of his antagonists pushed his sword with such force into his mouth, that the point came out at the nape of his neck.

While the infantry were thus warmly engaged in the centre, the cavalry advanced from Pompey's left wing with great confidence, and extended their squadron to surround Cæsar's right wing. But before they could begin the attack, the six cohorts which Cæsar had placed behind, came up boldly to receive them. They did not, according to custom, attempt to annoy the enemy at a distance with their javelins, nor strike at the legs and thighs when they came nearer, but aimed at their eyes, and wounded them in the face, agreeably to the orders they had received. For Cæsar hoped that these young cavaliers, who had not been used to wars and wounds, and who set a great value upon their beauty, would avoid, above all things, a stroke in that part, and immediately give way, as well on account of the present danger, as the future deformity. The event answered his expectation. They could not bear the spears pointed against their faces, or the steel gleaming upon their eyes, but turned away their faces and covered them with their hands. This caused such confusion, that at last they fled in the most infamous manner, and ruined the whole cause.

When Cæsar entered the camp, and saw what numbers of the

\* Cæsar was so confident of success, that he ordered his entrenchments to be filled up, assuring his troops that they would be masters of the enemy's camp before night.

enemy lay dead, and those they were then despatching, he said, with a sigh, "This they would have; to this cruel necessity they reduced me: for, had Cæsar dismissed his troops, after so many great and successful wars, he would have been condemned as a criminal."

Cæsar granted the whole nation of Thessaly their liberty, for the sake of the victory he had gained there, and then went in pursuit of Pompey. He bestowed the same privilege on the Cnidian, in compliment to Theopompus, to whom we are indebted for a collection of fables; and he discharged the inhabitants of Asia from a third part of their imposts.

Upon his arrival at Alexandria, he found Pompey assassinated; and when Theodotus presented the head to him, he turned from the sight with great abhorrence. The signet of that general was the only thing he took, and on taking it he wept. As often as any of Pompey's friends and companions were taken by Ptolemy, wandering about the country, and brought to Cæsar, he loaded them with favours, and took them into his own service. He wrote to his friends at Rome, "That the chief enjoyment he had of his victory was, in saving every day one or other of his fellow citizens, who had borne arms against him."

As for his Egyptian war, some assert that it was undertaken without necessity, and that his passion for Cleopatra engaged him in a quarrel which proved both prejudicial to his reputation and dangerous to his person. Others accuse the king's ministers, particularly the eunuch Photinus, who had the greatest influence at court, and who, having taken off Pompey, and removed Cleopatra, privately meditated an attempt against Cæsar. Hence, it is said, that Cæsar began to pass the night in entertainments among his friends, for the greater security of his person. The behaviour, indeed, of this eunuch in public, all he said and did with respect to Cæsar, was intolerably insolent and invidious. The corn he supplied his soldiers with, was old and musty, and he told them "They ought to be satisfied with it, since they lived at other people's cost." He caused only wooden and earthen vessels to be served up at the king's table, on pretence that Cæsar had taken all the gold and silver ones for debt. For the father of the reigning prince owed Cæsar seventeen million five hundred thousand drachmas. Cæsar had formerly remitted to his children the rest, but thought fit to demand the ten millions at this time, for the maintenance of his army. Photinus, instead of paying the money, advised him to go and finish the great affairs he had upon his hands, after which he should have his money with thanks. But Cæsar told him "He had no need of Egyptian counsellors," and privately sent for Cleopatra out of the country.

This princess, taking only one friend, Apollodorus, the Silician,



with her, got into a small boat, and in the dusk of the evening made for the palace. As she saw it difficult to enter it undiscovered, she rolled herself up in a carpet: Apollodorus tied her up at full length, like a bale of goods, and carried her in at the gates to Cæsar. This stratagem of hers, which was a strong proof of her wit and ingenuity, is said to have first opened her way to Cæsar's heart; and the conquest advanced so fast by the charms of her conversation, that he took upon him to reconcile her brother to her, and insisted that she should reign with him.

An entertainment was given on account of this reconciliation, and all met to rejoice on the occasion; when a servant of Cæsar's, a timorous and suspicious man, who was his barber, led by his natural caution to inquire into every thing, and to listen every where about the palace, found that Achilles the general, and Photinus the eunuch, were plotting against Cæsar's life. Cæsar being informed of their design, planted his guards about the hall, and killed Photinus. But Achilles escaped to the army, and involved Cæsar in a very difficult and dangerous war; for, with a few troops he had to make head against a great city and a powerful army. At last, the king joining the insurgents, Cæsar attacked and defeated him. Great numbers of Egyptians were slain, and the king was heard of no more. This gave Cæsar an opportunity to establish Cleopatra queen of Egypt. Soon after, she had a son by him, whom the Alexandrians called Cæsario.

He then departed for Syria, and from thence marched into Asia Minor, against Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, whom he defeated in a great battle near Zera, which deprived him of the kingdom of Pontus, as well as ruined his whole army. In the account he gave Amintius, one of his friends in Rome, of the rapidity and despatch with which he gained this victory, he made use only of three words: "I came, I saw, I conquered."

After this extraordinary success he returned to Italy, and arrived at Rome as the year of his second dictatorship, an office that had never been annual before, was on the point of expiring. He was declared consul for the year ensuing.

Cato and Scipio, after the battle of Pharsalia, had escaped into Africa, where they raised a respectable army, with the assistance of king Juba. Cæsar now resolved to carry the war into their quarters, and, in order to do it, first crossed over to Sicily, though it was about the time of the winter solstice. To prevent his officers from entertaining any hopes of having the expedition delayed, he pitched his own tent almost within the wash of the sea; and a favourable wind springing up, he re-embarked\* with three thousand

\* He embarked six legions and two thousand horse; but the number mentioned by Plutarch was all that he landed at first, many of the ships having been separated by a storm.

foot and a small body of horse. After he had landed them safely and privately on the African coast, he set sail again in quest of the remaining part of his troops, whose numbers were more considerable, and for whom he was under great concern. He found them, however, on their way at sea, and conducted them all to his African camp.

One day, when Cæsar's cavalry had nothing else to do, they diverted themselves with an African, who danced and played upon the flute with great perfection. They had left their horses to the care of boys, and sat attending to the entertainment with great delight, when the enemy, coming upon them at once, killed part and entered the camp with others, who fled with great precipitation. Had not Cæsar himself and Asinius Pollio come to their assistance and stopped their flight the war would have been at an end that hour. In another engagement, the enemy had the advantage again, on which occasion it was, that Cæsar took an ensign who was running away, by the neck, and making him face about, said "Look this way for the enemy."

Scipio, flushed with these successful preludes, was desirous to come to a decisive action. Therefore, leaving Afranius and Juba in their respective camps, which were at no great distance, he went in person to the camp above the lake, in the neighbourhood of Thapsus, to raise a fortification for a place of arms and an occasional retreat. While Scipio was constructing his walls and ramparts, Cæsar, with incredible despatch, made his way through a country almost impracticable, by reason of its woods and difficult passes, and coming suddenly upon him, attacked one part of his army in the rear, another in the front, and put the whole to flight. Then, making the best use of his opportunity, and of the favour of fortune, with one tide of success he took the camp of Afranius, and destroyed that of the Numidians; Juba, their king, being glad to save himself by flight. Thus, in a small part of one day, he made himself master of three camps, and killed fifty thousand of the enemy, while he sustained a loss only of fifty men.

Many persons of consular and prætorian dignity escaped out of the battle. Some of them being afterwards taken despatched themselves, and a number were put to death by Cæsar. Having a strong desire to take Cato alive, the conqueror hastened to Utica,\* which Cato had charge of, and for that reason was not in the battle. But by the way he was informed that he had killed himself, and his uneasiness at the news was very visible. As his officers

\* Before Cæsar left Utica, he gave orders for the rebuilding of Carthage, as he did soon after his return to Italy for the rebuilding of Corinth; so that these two cities were destroyed in the same year, and in the same year raised out of their ruins, in which they had lain about a hundred years. Two years after, they were both re-peopled with Roman colonies.

were wondering what might be the cause of that uneasiness, he cried out, "Cato, I envy thee thy death, since thou enviedst me the glory of giving thee thy life."

Cæsar, after his return from Africa to Rome, spoke in high terms of his victory to the people. He told them he had subdued a country so extensive, that it would bring yearly into the public stores two hundred thousand Attic measures of wheat, and three million pounds of oil. After this, he led up his several triumphs over Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. In the title of the latter, mention was not made of Scipio, but of Juba only. Juba, the son of that prince, then very young, walked in the procession. It proved a happy captivity for him; for of a barbarous and unlettered Numidian, he became a historian worthy to be numbered among the most learned of Greece. The triumph was followed by large donations to the soldiers, and feasts and public diversions to the people.

Being elected consul the fourth time, he marched into Spain, against the sons of Pompey, who, though young, had assembled a numerous army, and showed a courage worthy the command they had undertaken. The great battle which put a period to that war was fought under the walls of Munda. Cæsar at first saw his men so hard pressed, and making so feeble a resistance, that he ran through the ranks, amidst the swords and spears, crying, "Are you not ashamed to deliver your general into the hands of boys?" The great and vigorous efforts this reproach produced, at last made the enemy turn their backs, and there were more than thirty thousand of them slain, whereas Cæsar lost only a thousand, but those were some of the best men he had. As he retired after the battle, he told his friends, "He had often fought for victory, but that was the first time he had fought for his life." The younger of Pompey's sons made his escape: the other was taken by Didius a few days after, who brought his head to Cæsar.

This was the last of his wars; and his triumph on account of it gave the Romans more pain than any other step he had taken. He did not now mount the car for having conquered foreign generals, or barbarian kings, but for ruining the children and destroying the race of one of the greatest men Rome had ever produced, though he proved at last unfortunate. All the world condemned his triumphing in the calamities of his country, and rejoicing in things which nothing could excuse, either before the gods or men, but extreme necessity. And it was the more obvious to condemn it, because, after this, he had never sent any messenger or letter to acquaint the public with any victory he had gained in the civil wars, but was rather ashamed of such advantages. The Romans, however, bowing to his power, and submitting to the bridle, because they saw no other respite from intestine wars and miseries, but the

taking one man for their master, created him dictator for life. This was a complete tyranny, for to absolute power they added perpetuity.

Cicero was the first who proposed that the senate should confer great honours upon Cæsar, but honours within the measure of humanity. Those who followed, contending with each other who should make him the most extraordinary compliments, by the absurdity and extravagance of their decrees rendered him odious and unsupportable even to persons of candour. His enemies were supposed to vie with his flatterers in these sacrifices, that they might have the better pretence, and the more cause, to lift up their hands against him. This is probable enough, because in other respects, after the civil wars were brought to an end, his conduct was irreproachable: for he not only pardoned most of those who had appeared against him in the field, but on some of them he bestowed honours and preferments; on Brutus and Cassius for instance: for they were both prætors. The statues of Pompey had been thrown down by his partisans, but he did not suffer them to lie in that posture; he erected them again. On which occasion Cicero said, "That Cæsar, by rearing Pompey's statues, had established his own."

His friends pressed him to have a guard, and many offered to serve in that capacity, but he would not suffer it. For he said, "It was better to die once, than to live always in fear of death." He esteemed the affection of the people the most honourable and the safest guard, and therefore endeavoured to gain them by feasts and distributions of corn, as he did the soldiers by placing them in agreeable colonies.

The nobility he gained by promising them consulates and prætorships, or, if they were engaged, by giving them other places of honour and profit. To all he opened the prospects of hope; for he was desirous to reign over a willing people.

Cæsar had such talents for great attempts, and so vast an ambition, that the many actions he performed, by no means induced him to sit down and enjoy the glory he had acquired; they rather whetted his appetite for other conquests, produced new designs equally great, together with equal confidence of success, and inspired him with a passion for fresh renown, as if he had exhausted all the pleasures of the old. This passion was nothing but a contest with himself, (as eager as if it had been with another man,) to make his future achievements outshine the past. In this spirit he had formed a design, and was making preparations for war against the Parthians. After he had subdued them, he intended to traverse Hyrcania, and marching along by the Caspian Sea and Mount Caucasus, to enter Scythia; to carry his conquering arms through the countries adjoining to Germany, and through Germany itself: and

then to return by Gaul to Rome; thus finishing the circle of the Roman empire, as well as extending its bounds to the ocean on every side.

During the preparations for this expedition, he attempted to dig through the Isthmus of Corinth, and committed the care of that work to Anienus. He designed also to convey the Tiber by a deep channel direct from Rome to Circæi, and so into the sea near Taracina, for the convenience as well as security of merchants who traded to Rome. Another public-spirited work that he meditated, was to drain all the marshes by Nomentum\* and Setia, by which ground enough would be gained from the water to employ many thousands of hands in tillage. He proposed farther to raise banks on the shore nearest Rome, to prevent the sea from breaking in upon the land; to clear the Ostian shore of its secret and dangerous obstructions, and to build harbours fit to receive the many vessels that came in there. These things were designed, but did not take effect.

He completed, however, the regulation of the calendar, and corrected the erroneous computation of time,† agreeable to a plan which he had ingeniously contrived, and which proved of the greatest utility.

The principal thing that excited the public hatred, and at last caused his death, was his passion for the title of king. It was the first thing that gave offence to the multitude, and it afforded his inveterate enemies a very plausible plea. Those who wanted to procure him that honour, gave it out among the people, that it appeared from the Sibylline books, "The Romans could never conquer the Parthians, except they went to war under the conduct of a king." And one day, when Cæsar returned from Alba to Rome, some of his retainers ventured to salute him by that title. Observing that the people were troubled at this strange compliment, he put on an air of resentment, and said, "He was not called king, but Cæsar." Upon this, a deep silence ensued, and he passed on in no good humour.

Another time the senate having decreed him some extravagant honours, the consuls and prætors, attended by the whole body of patricians, went to inform him of what they had done. When they came, he did not rise to receive them, but kept his seat, as if they had been persons in a private station, and his answer to their address, was, "That there was more need to retrench his honours, than to enlarge them." This haughtiness gave pain not only to the

\* It appears from a passage in Suetonius, Vit. Cæs. c. 44, *Siccare Pomptinas paludes*, as well as from another in Strabo, *Ed. Par.* l. v. p. 231, C. D. that for *Nomentum* we should here read *Pomentium*.

† Through means of that erroneous computation, the Roman calendar had gained near three months in the time of Cæsar. Before this, endeavours had been used to correct the irregularity; but it never could be done with exactness.

senate, but the people, who thought the contempt of that body reflected dishonour upon the whole commonwealth; for all who could decently withdraw, went off greatly dejected.

Perceiving the false step he had taken, he retired immediately to his own house; and laying his neck bare, told his friends, "He was ready for the first hand that would strike." He then bethought himself of alleging his distemper as an excuse; and asserted, that those who are under its influence, are apt to find their faculties fail them, when they speak standing; a trembling giddiness coming upon them, which bereaves them of their senses. This, however, was not really the case; for it is said, he was desirous to rise to the senate; but Cornelius Balbus, one of his friends, or rather flatterers, held him, and had servility enough to say, "Will you not remember that you are Cæsar, and suffer them to pay their court to you as their superior."

A few days after, his statues were seen adorned with royal diadems; and Flavius and Marullus, two of the tribunes, went and tore them off. They also found out the persons who saluted Cæsar king, and committed them to prison. The people followed with cheerful acclamations and called them *Brutuses*, because Brutus was the man who expelled the kings, and put the government in the hands of the senate and people.

Upon this, many applied to Marcus Brutus, who, by the father's side, was supposed to be a descendant of that ancient Brutus, and whose mother was of the illustrious house of the Servilii. He was also nephew and son-in-law to Cato. No man was more inclined than he to lift his hand against monarchy, but he was withheld by the honours and favours he had received from Cæsar, who had not only given him his life after the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia, and pardoned many of his friends at his request, but continued to honour him with his confidence. That very year he had procured him the most honourable prætorship, and he had named him for the consulship four years after, in preference to Cassius, who was his competitor. On which occasion Cæsar is reported to have said, "Cassius assigns the strongest reasons, but I cannot refuse Brutus." Some impeached Brutus, after the conspiracy was formed; but, instead of listening to them, he laid his hand on his body, and said, "Brutus will wait for this skin:" intimating, that, though the virtue of Brutus rendered him worthy of empire, he would not be guilty of any ingratitude or baseness to obtain it. Those, however, who were desirous of a change, kept their eyes upon him only or principally at least; and as they durst not speak out plain, they put billets night after night in the tribunal and seat which he used as prætor, mostly in these terms, "Thou sleepest Brutus;" or "Thou art not Brutus."

Cassius, perceiving his friend's ambition a little stimulated by

these papers, began to ply him closer than before, and spur him on to the great enterprise; for he had a particular enmity against Cæsar. Cæsar, too, had some suspicion of him, and he even said one day to his friends, "What think you of Cassius? I do not like his pale looks."

We are told, there were strong signs and presages of the death of Cæsar. Many report, that a certain soothsayer forewarned him of a great danger which threatened him on the ides of March, and that when the day was come, as he was going to the senate-house, he called to the soothsayer, and said laughing, "The ides of March are come:" to which he answered softly, "Yes: but they are not gone." The evening before, he supped with Marcus Lepidus, and signed, according to custom, a number of letters, as he sat at table. While he was so employed, there arose a question, "What kind of death was the best?" and Cæsar answering before them all, cried out, "A sudden one." The same night, as he was in bed with his wife, the doors and windows of the room flew open at once. Disturbed both with the noise and the light, he observed, by moonshine, Calpurnia in a deep sleep, uttering broken words and inarticulate groans. She dreamed that she was weeping over him, as she held him, murdered, in her arms. Be that as it may, next morning she conjured Cæsar not to go out that day, if he could possibly avoid it, but to sojourn the senate, and, if he paid no regard to her dreams, to have recourse to some other species of divination, or to sacrifices, for information as to his fate. This gave him some suspicion and alarm; for he had never known, before, in Calpurnia, any thing of the weakness or superstition of her sex, though she was now so much affected.

He therefore offered a number of sacrifices, and as the diviners found no auspicious tokens in them, he sent Antony to dismiss the senate. In the mean time, Decius Brutus,\* surnamed Albinus, came in. He was a person in whom Cæsar placed such confidence, that he had appointed him his second heir, yet he was engaged in the conspiracy with the other Brutus and Cassius. This man, fearing that if Cæsar adjourned the senate to another day the affair might be discovered, laughed at the diviners, and told Cæsar he would be highly to blame, if, by such a slight, he gave the senate an occasion to complain against him. "For they were met," he said, "at his summons, and came prepared with one voice to honour him with the title of king in the provinces, and to grant that he should wear the diadem both by land and sea every where out of Italy. But if any one go and tell them, now they have taken their places, they must go home again, and return when Calpurnia happens to have better dreams, what room will your enemies have to

\* Plutarch finding a *D* prefixed to Brutus, took it for *Decius*, but his name was *Decimus Brutus*. See *Appian* and *Suetonius*.

launch out against you? Or who will hear your friends when they attempt to show, that this is not an open servitude on the one hand, and tyranny on the other? If you are absolutely persuaded that this is an unlucky day, it is certainly better to go yourself, and tell them you have strong reasons for putting off business till another time." So saying, he took Cæsar by the hand, and led him out.

He was not gone far from the door, when a slave, who belonged to some other person, attempted to get up to speak to him, but finding it impossible, by reason of the crowd that was about him, he made his way into the house, and putting himself into the hands of Calpurnia, desired her to keep him safe till Cæsar's return, because he had matters of great importance to communicate.

Artemidorus the Cnidian, who, by teaching the Greek eloquence, became acquainted with some of Brutus's friends, and had got intelligence of most of the transactions, approached Cæsar with a paper, explaining what he had to discover. Observing that he gave the papers, as fast as he received them, to his officers, he got up as close as possible, and said, "Cæsar, read this to yourself, and quickly; for it contains matters of great consequence, and of the last concern to you." He took it, and attempted several times to read it, but was always prevented by one application or other. He therefore kept that paper, and that only, in his own hand, when he entered the house.

In the place where the senate was that day assembled, and which proved the scene of that tragedy, there was a statue of Pompey, and it was an edifice which Pompey had consecrated for an ornament to his theatre. Even Cassius himself, though inclined to the doctrines of Epicurus, turned his eye to the statue of Pompey, and secretly invoked his aid, before the great attempt. Antony, who was a faithful friend to Cæsar, and a man of great strength, was held in discourse without by Brutus Albinus, who had contrived a long story to detain him.

When Cæsar entered the house, the senate rose to do him honour. Some of Brutus's accomplices came up behind his chair, and others before it, pretending to intercede, along with Metilius Cimbri,\* for the recal of his brother from exile. They continued their instances till he came to his seat. When he was seated, he gave them a positive denial; and as they continued their importunities with an air of compulsion, he grew angry. Cimber, then, with both hands, pulled his gown off his neck, which was the signal for the attack. Casca gave him the first blow. It was a stroke upon the neck with his sword, but the wound was not dangerous:

\* *Metilius* is plainly a corruption. Suetonius calls him *Cimber Tullius*. In Apian he is called *Antilius Cimber*, and there is a medal which bears that name; but that medal is believed to be spurious. Some call him *Metellus Cimber*; and others suppose we should read *M. Tullius Cimber*.



for in the beginning of so tremendous an enterprise he was probably in some disorder. Cæsar therefore turned upon him, and laid hold of his sword. At the same time they both cried out, the one in Latin, "Villain! Casca! what dost thou mean?" and the other in Greek, to his brother, "Brother, help!"

After such a beginning, those who knew nothing of the conspiracy were seized with consternation and horror, insomuch that they durst neither fly, nor assist, nor even utter a word. All the conspirators now drew their swords, and surrounded him in such a manner, that whatever way he turned, he saw nothing but steel gleaming in his face, and met nothing but wounds. Like some savage beast attacked by the hunters, he found every hand lifted against him, for they all agreed to have a share in the sacrifice and taste of his blood. Therefore Brutus himself gave him a stroke in the groin. Some say, he opposed the rest, and continued struggling and crying out, till he perceived the sword of Brutus; then he drew his robe over his face, and yielded to his fate. Either by accident, or pushed thither by the conspirators, he expired on the pedestal of Pompey's statue, and dyed it with his blood: so that Pompey seemed to preside over the work of vengeance, to tread his enemy under his feet, and to enjoy his agonies. Those agonies were great, for he received no less than three and twenty wounds. And many of the conspirators wounded each other, as they were aiming their blows at him.

Cæsar thus despatched, Brutus advanced to speak to the senate, and to assign his reasons for what he had done, but they could not bear to hear him; they fled out of the house, and filled the people with inexpressible horror and dismay. Some shut up their houses; others left their shops and counters. All were in motion: one was running to see the spectacle; another running back. Antony and Lepidus, Cæsar's principal friends, withdrew and hid themselves in other people's houses. Mean time Brutus and his confederates, yet warm from the slaughter, marched in a body with their bloody swords in their hands, from the senate-house to the capitol, not like men that fled, but with an air of gaiety and confidence, calling the people to liberty, and stopping to talk with every man of consequence whom they met. There were some who even joined them, and mingled with their train; desirous of appearing to have had a share in the action, and hoping for one in the glory. Of this number were Caius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther, who afterwards paid dear for their vanity; being put to death by Antony and young Cæsar. So that they gained not even the honour for which they lost their lives; for nobody believed that they had any part in the enterprise; and they were punished, not for the deed, but for the will.

Next day Brutus, and the rest of the conspirators, came down

from the capitol, and addressed the people, who attended to their discourse, without expressing either dislike or approbation of what was done. But by their silence it appeared that they pitied Cæsar at the same time that they revered Brutus. The senate passed a general amnesty; and to reconcile all parties, they decreed Cæsar divine honours, and confirmed all the acts of his dictatorship; while on Brutus and his friends they bestowed governments, and such honours as were suitable: so that it was generally imagined the commonwealth was firmly established again, and all brought into the best order.

But when, upon the opening of Cæsar's will, it was found that he had left every Roman citizen a considerable legacy, and they beheld the body, as it was carried through the *forum*, all mangled with wounds, the multitude could no longer be kept within bounds. They stopt the procession, and tearing up the benches, with the doors and tables, heaped them into a pile, and burnt the corpse there. Then snatching flaming brands from the pile, some ran to burn the houses of the assassins, while others raged the city, to find the conspirators themselves, and tear them in pieces; but they had taken such care to secure themselves, that they could not meet with one of them.

Cæsar died at the age of fifty-six, and did not survive Pompey above four years. His object was sovereign power and authority, which he pursued through innumerable dangers, and which by prodigious efforts he gained at last. But he reaped no other fruit from it, than an empty and invidious title. It is true, the divine power which conducted him through life, attended him after his death, as his avenger pursued and hunted out the assassins over sea and land, and rested not till there was not a man left, either of those who dipt their hands in his blood, or of those who gave their sanction to the deed.

## DEMOSTHENES.

*Flourished 360 years before Christ.*

WHOEVER it was, my Sossius, that wrote the encomium upon Alcibiades, for his victory in the chariot-race at the Olympic games, whether Euripides, (which is the common opinion,) or some other, he asserts, that "The first requisite to happiness is, that a man be born in a famous city." But as to real happiness, which consists principally in the disposition and habit of the mind, for my part, I think it would make no difference though a man should be born in an inconsiderable town, or of a mother who had no advantages either of size or beauty: for it is ridiculous to suppose that Julis, a small town in the isle of Ceos, which is itself not great, and Ægina,\* which an Athenian "wanted to take away, as an eye-sore to the Piræus," should give birth to good poets and players, and not be able to produce a man who might attain the virtues of justice, of contentment, and of magnanimity. Indeed, those arts, which are to gain the masters of them considerable profit or honour, may probably not flourish in mean and insignificant towns. But virtue, like a strong and hardy plant, will take root in any place, where it can find an ingenuous nature, and a mind that has no aversion to labour and discipline. Therefore, if our sentiments or conduct fall short of the point they ought to reach, we must not impute it to the obscurity of that place where we were born, but to our little selves.

These reflections, however, extend not to an author, who would write a history of events which happened in a foreign country, and cannot be come at in his own. As he has his materials to collect from a variety of books dispersed in different libraries, his first care should be to take up his residence in some populous town which has an ambition for literature. There he will meet with many curious and valuable books; and the particulars that are wanting in writers, he may, upon inquiry, be supplied with by those who have laid them up in the faithful repository of memory. This will prevent his work from being defective in any material point. As to myself, I live in a little town, and I choose to live there, lest it should become still less. When I was in Rome, and other parts of Italy, I had not leisure to study the Latin tongue, on account of the public commissions with which I was charged, and the number of people that came to be instructed by me in philosophy. It was not, therefore, till a late period in life, that I began to read the

\* The poet Simonides was of Ceos and Polus the actor was of Ægina.

Roman authors. The process may seem strange, and yet it is very true. I did not so much gain the knowledge of things by the words, as words by the knowledge I had of things. I shall only add, that to attain such a skill in the language, as to be master of the beauty and fluency of its expressions, with its figures, its harmony, and all the other graces of its structure, would, indeed, be an elegant and agreeable accomplishment. But the practice and pains it requires, are more than I have time for, and I must leave the ambition to excel in that walk to young men.

We intend now to give the Lives of Demosthenes and Cicero, and, from their actions and political conduct, we shall collect and compare their manners and dispositions; but, for the reason already assigned, we shall not pretend to examine their orations, or to determine which of them was the most agreeable speaker. For, as Ion says,

What's the gay dolphin when he quits the waves,  
And bounds upon the shore?

Cælius, a writer at all times much too presumptuous, paid little regard to that maxim of the poet's, when he so boldly attempted a comparison between Demosthenes and Cicero. But perhaps the precept, *Know thyself*, would not be considered as divine, if every man could easily reduce it to practice.

It seems to me that Demosthenes and Cicero were originally formed by nature in the same mould, so great is the resemblance in their disposition. The same ambition, the same love of liberty, appears in their whole administration, and the same timidity amidst wars and dangers. Nor did they less resemble each other in their fortunes. For I think it impossible to find two other orators, who raised themselves from obscure beginnings to such authority and power; who both opposed kings and tyrants; who both lost their daughters; were banished their country, and returned with honour; were forced to fly again; were taken by their enemies, and at last expired the same hour with the liberties of their country. So that, if nature and fortune, like two artificers, were to descend upon the scene, and dispute about their work, it would be difficult to decide whether the former had produced a greater resemblance in their dispositions, or the latter in the circumstances of their lives. We shall begin with the more ancient.

Demosthenes, the father of Demosthenes, was one of the principal citizens of Athens. Theopompus tells us, he was called the sword-cutler, because he employed a great number of slaves in that business. He had a large fortune left him by his father who died when he was only seven years of age; the whole being estimated at little less than fifteen talents. But he was greatly wronged

\* Cæcilius was a celebrated rhetorician, who lived in the time of Augustus. He wrote a *Treatise on the Sublime*, which is mentioned by Longinus.

by his guardians, who converted part to their own use, and suffered part to lie neglected. Nay, they were vile enough to defraud his tutors of their salaries. This was the chief reason that he had not those advantages of education, to which his quality entitled him. His mother did not choose that he should be put to hard and laborious exercises, on account of the weakness and delicacy of his frame; and his preceptors, being ill paid, did not press him to attend them.

His ambition to speak in public is said to have taken its rise on this occasion. The orator Callistratus was to plead in the cause which the city of Oropus\* had depending; and the expectation of the public was greatly raised both by the powers of the orator, which were then in the highest repute, and by the importance of the trial. Demosthenes hearing the governors and tutors agree among themselves to attend the trial, with much importunity prevailed on his master to take him to hear the pleadings. The master having some acquaintance with the officers who opened the court, got his young pupil a seat where he could hear the orators without being seen. Callistratus had great success, and his abilities were extremely admired. Demosthenes was fired with a spirit of emulation. When he saw with what distinction the orator was conducted home, and complimented by the people, he was struck still more with the power of that commanding eloquence, which could carry all before it. From this time, therefore, he bade adieu to the other studies and exercise in which boys are engaged, and applied himself with great assiduity to declaiming, in hopes of being one day numbered among the orators. Isæus was the man he made use of as his preceptor in eloquence, though Isocrates then taught it.

When his minority was expired, he called his guardians to account at law, and wrote orations against them. As they found many methods of chicane and delay, he had great opportunity, as Thucydides says, to exercise his talents for the bar.† It was not without much pains and some risk that he gained his cause; and, at last, it was but a very small part of his patrimony that he could recover. By this means, however, he acquired a proper assurance, and some experience; and having tasted the honour and power that go in the train of eloquence, he attempted to speak in the public debates, and take a share in the administration.

However, in his first address to the people, he was laughed at,

\* Oropus was a town on the banks of the Euripus, on the frontiers of Attica. The Thebans, though they had been relieved in their distress by Chabrias and the Athenians, forgot their former services, and took Oropus from them. Chabrias was suspected of treachery, and Callistratus, the orator, was retained to plead against him. Demosthenes mentions this in his orations against Phidias. At the time of this trial, he was about sixteen.

† He lost his father at the age of seven; and he was ten years in the hands of guardians. He, therefore, began to plead in his eighteenth year, which, as it was only in his own private affairs, was not forbidden by the laws.

and interrupted by their clamours : for the violence of his manner threw him into a confusion of periods, and a distortion of his argument. Besides, he had a weakness and a stammering in his voice, and a want of breath, which caused such a distraction in his discourse, that it was difficult for the audience to understand him. At last, upon his quitting the assembly, Eunomus the Thriasian, a man now extremely old, found him wandering in a dejected condition in the Piræus, and took upon him to set him right. "You," said he, "have a manner of speaking very like that of Pericles; and yet you lose yourself out of mere timidity and cowardice. You neither bear up against the tumults of a popular assembly, nor prepare your body by exercise for the labour of the rostrum, but suffer your parts to wither away in negligence and indolence."

Another time, we are told, when his speeches had been ill received, and he was going home with his head covered, and in great distress, Satyrus the player followed and went in with him. Demosthenes lamented to him, "That, though he was the most laborious of all the orators, and had almost sacrificed his health to that application, yet he could gain no favour with the people: but drunken seamen, and other unlettered persons, were heard; and kept the rostrum, while he was entirely disregarded."\* "You say true," answered Satyrus; "but I will soon provide a remedy, if you will repeat to me some speech in Euripides or Sophocles." When Demosthenes had done, Satyrus pronounced the same speech; and he did it with so much propriety of action, and so much in character, that it appeared to the orator quite a different passage. He now understood so well how much grace and dignity action adds to the best oration, that he thought it a small matter to premeditate and compose, though with the utmost care, if the pronunciation and propriety of gesture were not attended to. Upon this he built himself a subteraneous study, whither he repaired every day, to form his action, and exercise his voice; and he would often stay there for two or three months together; shaving one side of his head, that, if he should happen to be ever so desirous of going abroad, the shame of appearing in that condition might keep him in.

When he did go out upon a visit, or received one, he would take something that passed in conversation, some business or fact that was reported to him, for a subject to exercise himself upon. As soon as he had parted from his friends, he went to his study, where he repeated the matter in order as it passed, together with the arguments for and against it. The substance of the speeches which he heard, he committed to memory, and afterwards reduced

\* This was the privilege of all democratic states. Some think that by seamen, he means Demades, whose profession was that of a mariner.

them to regular sentences and periods,\* meditating a variety of corrections and new forms of expression, both for what others had said to him, and he had addressed to them. Hence it was concluded that he was not a man of much genius; and that all his eloquence was the effect of labour. A strong proof of this seemed to be, that he was seldom heard to speak any thing extempore, and though the people often called upon him by name, as he sat in the assembly, to speak to the point debated, he would not do it unless he came prepared. For this many of the orators ridiculed him; and Pytheas, in particular, told him, "That all his arguments smelled of the lamp." Demosthenes retorted sharply upon him. "Yes, indeed; but your lamp and mine, my friend, are not conscious to the same labours." To others he did not pretend to deny his previous application, but told them, "He neither wrote the whole of his orations, nor spoke without first committing part to writing." Another proof they give us of his want of confidence on any sudden occasion, is that when he happened to be put in disorder by the tumultuary behaviour of the people, Demades often rose up to support him in an extempore address; but he never did the same for Demades.

Wherefore, then, it may be said, did Æschines call him an orator of the most admirable assurance? How could he stand up alone and refute Python the Byzantian,† whose eloquence poured against the Athenians like a torrent? And when Lamachus the Myrrhenean‡ pronounced at the Olympic games an encomium which he had written upon Philip and Alexander; and in which he had asserted many severe and reproachful things against the Thebans and Olynthians, how could Demosthenes rise up and prove, by a ready deduction of facts, the many benefits for which Greece was indebted to the Thebans and Chalcidians, and the many evils that the flatterers of the Macedonians had brought upon their country? This, too, wrought such a change in the minds of the great audience, that the sophist, his antagonist, apprehending a tumult, stole out of the assembly.

\* Cicero did the same, as we find in his epistles to Atticus. These arguments he calls *Theses Politicæ*.

† This was one of the most glorious circumstances in the life of Demosthenes. The fate of his country, in a great measure, depended on his eloquence. After Platæa was lost, and Philip threatened to march against Athens, the Athenians applied for succours to the Bœotians. When the league was established, and the troops assembled at Chæronea, Philip sent ambassadors to the council of Bœotia, the chief of whom was Python, one of the ablest orators of his time. When he had inveighed with all the powers of eloquence against the Athenians and their cause, Demosthenes answered him, and carried the point in their favour. He was so elevated with this victory, that he mentions it in one of his orations in almost the same terms that Plutarch has used here.

‡ If we suppose this Lamachus to have been of Attica, the text should be altered from *Myrrhenean* to *Myrrhinusian*; for *Myrrhinus* was a borough of Attica. But there was a town called Myrrhine in Æolia, and another in Lemnos, and probably Lamachus was of one of these.

Upon the whole, it appears that Demosthenes did not take Pericles entirely for his model. He only adopted his action and delivery, and his prudent resolution not to make a practice of speaking from a sudden impulse, or on any occasion that might present itself; being persuaded, that it was to that conduct he owed his greatness. Yet, while he chose not often to trust the success of his powers to fortune, he did not absolutely neglect the reputation which may be acquired by speaking on a sudden occasion. Eratosthenes says, that, in his extemporaneous harangues, he often spoke as from a supernatural impulse; and Demetrius tell us, that, in an address to the people, like a man inspired, he once uttered this oath in verse,

By earth, by all her fountains, streams, and floods.

As for his personal defects, Demetrius the Phalerian gives us an account of the remedies he applied to them; and he says he had it from Demosthenes in his old age. The hesitation and stammering of his tongue he corrected by practising to speak with pebbles in his mouth; and he strengthened his voice by running or walking up-hill, and pronouncing some passage in an oration or a poem, during the difficulty of breath which that caused. He had, moreover, a looking-glass in his house, before which he used to declaim, and adjust all his motions.

It is said, that a man came to him one day, and desired him to be his advocate against a person from whom he had suffered by assault. "Not you, indeed," said Demosthenes, "you have suffered no such thing." "What!" said the man, raising his voice, "have I not received those blows?" "Ay, now," replied Demosthenes, "you do speak like a person that has been injured." So much, in his opinion, do the tone of voice and the action contribute to gain the speaker credit in what he affirms. His action pleased the commonalty much; but people of taste (among whom was Demetrius the Phalerian,) thought there was something in it low, inelegant, and unmanly. Hermippus acquaints us, that Æsian being asked his opinion of the ancient orators, and those of that time, said, "Whoever has heard the orators of former times must admire the decorum and dignity with which they spoke. Yet when we read the orations of Demosthenes, we must allow they have more art in the composition, and greater force. In his written orations, there was something extremely cutting and severe; but, in his sudden repartees, there was also something of humour.

He tells us himself, that he entered upon public business in the time of the Plocian war; and the same may be collected from his Philippics. For some of the last of them were delivered after that war was finished, and the former relate to the immediate transactions of it. It appears also, that he was two and thirty years old, when he was preparing his oration against Midias: and yet, at that



time he had attained no name or power in the administration. This, indeed, seems to be the reason of his dropping the prosecution for a sum of money. For,

— No prayer, no moving art,  
E'er bent that fierce, inexorable heart. *Pope.*

He was vindictive in his nature, and implacable in his resentments. He saw it a difficult thing, and out of the reach of his interest, to pull down a man so well supported on all sides, as Midias, by wealth and friends: and therefore he listened to the application in his behalf. Had he seen any hopes or possibility of crushing his enemy, I cannot think that three thousand *drachmas* could have disarmed his anger.

He had a glorious subject for his political ambition, to defend the cause of Greece against Philip. He defended it like a champion worthy of such a charge, and soon gained great reputation both for eloquence and for the bold truths which he spoke. He was admired in Greece, and courted by the king of Persia. Nay, Philip himself had a higher opinion of him than the other orators; and his enemies acknowledged that they had to contend with a great man.

Panætius, the philosopher, asserts, that most of his orations are written upon this principle, that virtue is to be chosen for her own sake only; that, for instance, *Of the Crown*, that against *Aristocrates*, that *For the Immunities*, and the *Philippics*. In all these orations, he does not exhort his countrymen to that which is most agreeable or easy, or advantageous; but points out honour and propriety as the first objects, and leaves the safety of the state as a matter of inferior consideration. So that, if, beside that noble ambition which animated his measures, and the generous turn of his addresses to the people, he had been blest with the courage that war demands, and had kept his hands clean of bribes, he would not have been numbered with such orators as Mirocles, Polyeuctus, and Hyperides, but have deserved to be placed in a higher sphere with Cimon, Thucydides, and Pericles. Though he bore up against the assaults of corruption from Philip and the Macedonians, yet he was taken by the gold of Susa and Ecbatana: so that he was much better qualified to recommend, than to imitate, the virtues of our ancestors. It must be acknowledged, however, that he excelled all the orators of his time, except Phocion, in his life and conversation. And we find in his orations, that he told the people the boldest truths, that he opposed their inclinations, and corrected their errors with the greatest spirit and freedom. When the Athenians were for having him manager of a certain impeachment, and insisted upon it in a tumultuary manner, he would not comply, but rose up and said, "My friends, I will be your counsellor, whether you will or no; but a false accuser I will not be, how much soever you wish it."

Demosthenes, through the whole course of his political conduct, left none of the actions of the king of Macedon undisparaged. Even in time of peace, he laid hold on every opportunity to raise suspicions against him among the Athenians, and to excite their resentment. Hence, Philip looked upon him as a person of the greatest importance in Athens; and when he went with nine other deputies to the court of that prince, after having given them all audience, he answered the speech of Demosthenes with greater care than the rest. As to other marks of honour and respect, Demosthenes had not an equal share in them; they were bestowed principally upon Æschines and Philocrates. They, therefore, praised Philip on all occasions; and, insisted, in particular, on his eloquence, his beauty, and even his being able to drink a great quantity of liquor. Demosthenes, who could not bear to hear him commended, turned these things off as trifles. "The first," he said, "was the property of a sophist, the second of a woman, and the third of a sponge; and not one of them could do any credit to a king."

Afterwards it appeared, that nothing was to be expected but war, for, on one hand, Philip knew not how to sit down in tranquillity; and, on the other, Demosthenes inflamed the Athenians. In this case, the first step the orator took, was to put the people upon sending an armament to Eubœa, which was brought under the yoke of Philip by its petty tyrants. Accordingly he drew up an edict, in pursuance of which they passed over to that peninsula, and drove out the Macedonians. His second operation was the sending succours to the Byzantians and Perinthians, with whom Philip was at war. He persuaded the people to drop their resentment, to forget the faults which both those nations had committed in the confederate war, and to send a body of troops to their assistance. They did so, and it saved them from ruin. After this he went ambassador to the states of Greece, and, by his animating address, brought them almost all to join in the league against Philip. Beside the troops of the several cities, they took an army of mercenaries, to the number of fifteen thousand foot, and two thousand horse, into pay, and readily contributed to the charge. Theophrastus tells us, that, when the allies desired their contributions might be settled, Crobilus, the orator answered, "That war could not be brought to any set diet."

So powerful were the efforts of the orator, that Philip immediately sent ambassadors to Athens to apply for peace; Greece recovered her spirits, whilst she stood waiting for the event; and not only the Athenian generals, but the governors of Bœotia were ready to execute the commands of Demosthenes. All the assemblies, as well those of Thebes, as those of Athens, were under his direction; he was equally beloved and powerful in both places: and, as Theo-

pompus shows, it was no more than his merit claimed. But the superior power of fortune, which seems to have been working a revolution, and drawing the liberties of Greece to a period, at that time opposed and baffled all the measures that could be taken.

Demosthenes is said to have had such confidence in the Grecian arms, and to have been so much elated with the courage and spirit of so many brave men calling for the enemy, that he would not suffer them to regard any oracles or prophecies. He told them, that he suspected the prophetess herself of *Philippizing*. He put the Thebans in mind of Epaminondas, and the Athenians of Pericles, how they reckoned such things as mere pretexts of cowardice, and pursued the plan which their reason had dictated. Thus far Demosthenes acquitted himself like a man of spirit and honour. But in the battle of Chæronea he performed nothing worthy of the glorious things he had spoken. He quitted his post; he threw away his arms; he fled in the most infamous manner; and was not ashamed to bely the inscription which he had put upon his shield in golden characters, TO GOOD FORTUNE.

Immediately after the victory, Philip, in the elation of his heart, committed a thousand excesses. He drank to intoxication, and danced over the dead, making a kind of song of the first part of the decree which Demosthenes had procured, and beating time to it—*Demosthenes, the Pænean, son of Demosthenes, has decreed*. But when he came to be sober again, and considered the dangers with which he had lately been surrounded, he trembled to think of the prodigious force and power of that orator, who had obliged him to put both empire and life on the cast of a day, on a few hours of that day.\*

The fame of Demosthenes reached the Persian court; and the king wrote letters to his lieutenants, commanding them to supply him with money, and to attend to him more than to any other man in Greece; because he best knew how to make a diversion in his favour, by raising fresh troubles, and finding employment for the Macedonian arms nearer home. This Alexander afterwards discovered by the letters of Demosthenes which he found at Sardis; and the papers of the Persian governors expressing the sums which had been given him.

When the Greeks had lost this great battle, those of the contrary faction attacked Demosthenes, and brought a variety of public accusations against him. The people, however, not only acquitted him, but treated him with the same respect as before, and called him to the helm again, as a person whom they knew to be a well-wisher to his country: so that, when the bones of those who fell at

\* Demades the orator contributed to bring him to the right use of his reason, when he told him with such distinguished magnanimity. "That fortune had placed him in the character of Agamemnon, but that he chose to play the part of Thersites."

Chæroneæ were brought home to be interred, they pitched upon Demosthenes to make the funeral oration. They were, therefore, so far from bearing their misfortune in a mean and ungenerous manner, that, by the great honour they did the counsellor, they showed they did not repent of having followed his advice.

Demosthenes accordingly made the oration. But, after this, he did not prefix his own name to his edicts, because he considered fortune as inauspicious to him; but sometimes that of one friend, sometimes that of another, till he recovered his spirits upon the death of Philip, for that prince did not long survive his victory at Chæroneæ.

Demosthenes had secret intelligence of the death of Philip; and, in order to prepossess the people with the hopes of some good success to come, he entered the assembly with a gay countenance, pretending he had seen a vision which announced something great for Athens. Soon after, messengers came with an account of Philip's death. The Athenians immediately offered sacrifices of acknowledgment to the gods for so happy an event, and voted a crown for Pausanias, who killed him. Demosthenes on this occasion, made his appearance in magnificent attire, and with a garland on his head, though it was only the seventh day after his daughter's death, as Æschines tells us, who, on that account, reproaches him as an unnatural father. But he must himself have been of an ungenerous and effeminate disposition, if he considered tears and lamentations as marks of a kind and affectionate parent, and condemned the man who bore such a loss with moderation. On the contrary, I commend Demosthenes, for leaving the tears and other instances of mourning, which his domestic misfortunes might claim, to the women, and going about such actions as he thought conducive to the welfare of his country: for I think a man of such firmness and other abilities as a statesman ought to possess, should always have the common concern in view, and look upon his private accidents or business as a consideration much inferior to the public.

Demosthenes now solicited the states of Greece again, and they entered once more into a league. The Thebans being furnished with arms by him, attacked the garrison in their citadel, and killed great numbers; and the Athenians prepared to join them in the war. Demosthenes mounted the *rostrum* almost every day; and he wrote to the king of Persia's lieutenants in Asia, to invite them to commence hostilities from that quarter against Alexander, whom he called a *boy*.

But when Alexander had settled the affairs of his own country, and marched into Bœotia with all his forces, the pride of the Athenians was humbled, and the spirit of Demosthenes died away. They deserted the Thebans; and that unhappy people had to stand

the whole fury of the war, in consequence of which they lost their city. The Athenians were in great trouble and confusion; and they could think of no better measure, than sending Demosthenes, and some others, ambassadors to Alexander. But Demosthenes dreading the anger of that monarch, turned back at Mount Cithæron, and relinquished his commission. Alexander immediately sent deputies to Athens, who, (according to Idomeneus and Duris,) demanded that they would deliver up ten of their orators. But the greatest part, and those the most reputable of the historians say, that he demanded only these eight, Demosthenes, Polyæctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Myrocles, Damon, Calisthenes, and Charidemus. On this occasion, Demosthenes addressed the people in the fable of the sheep, who were to give up their dogs to the wolves, before they would grant them peace: by which he insinuated, that he and the other orators were the guards of the people, as the dogs were of the flock: and that Alexander was the great wolf they had to treat with. And again: "As we see the merchants carrying about a small sample in a dish, by which they sell large quantities of wheat, so you, in us, without knowing it, deliver up the whole body of citizens."

The Athenians deliberated upon the point in full assembly; and Demades seeing them in great perplexity, offered to go alone to the king of Macedon, and intercede for the orators, on condition that each of them would give him five talents; whether it was that he depended upon the friendship that prince had for him, or whether he hoped to find him, like a lion, satiated with blood. He succeeded, however, in his application for the orators, and reconciled Alexander to the city.

When Alexander returned to Macedon, the reputation of Demades, and the other orators of his party, greatly increased; and that of Demosthenes gradually declined. It is true, he raised his head a little, when Agis, king of Sparta, took the field; but it soon fell again; for the Athenians refused to join him. Agis was killed in battle, and the Lacedæmonians were entirely routed.

About this time, the affair *concerning the crown*\* came again upon the carpet. The information was first laid under the archonship of Chæronidas; and the cause was not determined till ten years after, under Aristophon. It was the most celebrated cause that ever was pleaded, as well on account of the reputation of the orators, as the generous behaviour of the judges; for, though the prosecutors of Demosthenes were then in great power, as being entirely in the Macedonian interest, the judges would not give their voices against

\* Demosthenes rebuilt the walls of Athens at his own expense: for which the people, at the motion of Ctesiphon, decreed him a crown of gold. This excited the envy and jealousy of Æscines, who thereupon brought that famous impeachment against Demosthenes, which occasioned his inimitable oration *de Corona*.

him ; but acquitted him so honourably, that Æschines had not a fifth part of the suffrages.\* Æschines immediately quitted Athens, and spent the rest of his days in teaching rhetoric at Rhodes and in Ionia.

It was not long after this, that Harpalus came from Asia to Athens.† He had fled from the service of Alexander, both because he was conscious of having betrayed his trust, and because he dreaded his master, who now was become terrible to his best friends. As he applied to the people of Athens for shelter, and desired protection for his ships and treasures, most of the orators had an eye upon the gold, and supported his application with all their interest. Demosthenes at first advised them to order Harpalus off immediately, and to be particularly careful not to involve the city in war again, without any just or necessary cause.

Yet a few days after, when they were taking an account of the treasure, Harpalus perceiving that Demosthenes was much pleased with one of the king's cups, and stood admiring the workmanship and fashion, desired him to take it in his hand, and feel the weight of the gold. Demosthenes being surprised at the weight and asking Harpalus how much it might bring, he smiled, and said, "It will bring you twenty talents." And as soon as it was night, he sent him the cup with that sum : for Harpalus knew well how to distinguish a man's passion for gold, by his pleasure at the sight, and the keen looks he cast upon it. Demosthenes could not resist the temptation ; it made all the impression upon him that was expected : he received the money, like a garrison into his house, and went over to the interest of Harpalus. Next day, he came into the assembly with a quantity of wool and bandages about his neck ; and when the people called upon him to get up and speak, he made signs that he had lost his voice. Upon which some that were by, said, "It was no common hoarseness that he got in the night ; it was a hoarseness occasioned by swallowing gold and silver." Afterwards, when all the people were apprised of his taking the bribe, and he wanted to speak in his own defence, they would not suffer him, but raised a clamour, and expressed their indignation. At the same time, somebody stood up and said sneeringly, "Will you not listen to the man with the cup ?‡ The Athenians then immediately sent Harpalus off ; and, fearing they might be called to account

\* This was a very ignominious circumstance ; for if the accuser had not a fifth part of the suffrages, he was fined a thousand drachmas.

† Harpalus had the charge of Alexander's treasure in Babylon, and, flattering himself that he would never return from his Indian expedition, he gave in to all manner of crimes and excesses. At last, when he found that Alexander was really returning, and that he took a severe account of such people as himself, he thought proper to march off with 5,000 talents, and 6,000 men, into Attica.

‡ This alludes to a custom of the ancients at their feasts, wherein it was usual for the cup to pass from hand to hand ; and the person who held it sung a song, to which the rest gave attention.

for the money with which the orators had been corrupted, they made a strict inquiry after it, and searched all their houses.

At the same time, Demosthenes, seemingly with a design to prove his innocence, moved for an order, that the affair should be brought before the court of Areopagus, and all persons punished who should be found guilty of taking bribes. In consequence of which, he appeared before that court, and was one of the first that were convicted. Being sentenced to pay a fine of fifty talents, and to be imprisoned till it was paid, the disgrace of his conviction, and the weakness of his constitution, which could not bear close confinement, determined him to fly; and this he did, undiscovered by some, and assisted by others. It is said, that when he was not far from the city, he perceived some of his late adversaries following,\* and endeavoured to hide himself. But they called to him by name; and when they came nearer, desired him to take some necessary supplies of money, which they had brought with them for that purpose. They assured him, they had no other design in following; and exhorted him to take courage. But Demosthenes gave way to more violent expressions of grief than ever, and said, "What comfort can I have, when I leave enemies in this city more generous than it seems possible to find friends in any other?" He bore his exile in a very weak and effeminate manner. For the most part, he resided in Ægina or Trœzene; where, whenever he looked towards Attica, the tears fell from his eyes. In his expressions, there was nothing of a rational firmness; nothing answerable to the bold things he had said and done in his administration. When he left Athens, we are told, he lifted up his hands towards the citadel, and said, "O Minerva, goddess of those towers, whence is it that thou delightest in three such monsters as an owl, a dragon, and the people?" The young men who resorted to him for instruction, he advised by no means to meddle with affairs of state. He told them, "That, if two roads had been shown him at first, the one leading to the *rostrum* and the business of the assembly, and the other to certain destruction; and he could have foreseen the evils that awaited him in the political walk, the fears, the envy, the calumny and contention; he would have chosen that road which led to immediate death."

During the exile of Demosthenes, Alexander died.† The Greek cities once more combining upon that event, Leosthenes performed great things; and, among the rest, drew a line of circumvallation round Antipater, whom he had shut up in Damia. Pytheas, the orator, with Callimedon, surnamed Carabus, left Athens, and

\* It is recorded by Phocius, that Æschines, when he left Athens, was followed in like manner, and assisted by Demosthenes; and that when he offered him consolations, he made the same answer. Plutarch likewise mentions this circumstance in the Lives of the ten Orators.

† Olymp. cxiv. Demosthenes was then in his fifty-eighth year.

going over to Antipater, accompanied his ambassadors in their applications to the Greeks, and in persuading them not to desert the Macedonian cause, nor listen to the Athenians. On the other hand, Demosthenes joined the Athenian deputies, and exerted himself greatly with them, in exhorting the states to fall with united efforts upon the Macedonians, and drive them out of Greece. Phylarchus tells us, that in one of the cities of Arcadia, Pytheas and Demosthenes spoke with acrimony; the one in pleading for the Macedonians, and the other for the Greeks. Pytheas is reported to have said, "As some sickness is always supposed to be in the house into which ass's milk is brought, so the city which an Athenian embassy enters must necessarily be in a sick and decaying condition." Demosthenes turned the comparison against him, by saying, "As ass's milk never enters but for curing the sick, so the Athenians never appear but for remedying some disorder."

The people of Athens were so much pleased with this repartee, that they immediately voted for the recal of Demosthenes. A galley was sent to fetch him from Ægina, and when he came up from the Pyræus to Athens, the whole body of citizens went to meet and congratulate him on his return; insomuch that there was neither a magistrate nor priest left in the town. Demetrius of Magnesia acquaints us, that Demosthenes lifted up his hands towards heaven in thanks for that happy day. "Happier," said he, "is my return than that of Alcibiades. It was through compulsion that the Athenians restored him, but me they have recalled from a motive of kindness."

The fine, however, still remained due; for they could not extend their grace so far as to repeal his sentence. But they found out a method to evade the law, while they seemed to comply with it. It was the custom, in the sacrifices to Jupiter the Preserver, to pay the persons who prepared and adorned the altars. They, therefore, appointed Demosthenes to this charge, and ordered that he should have fifty talents for his trouble, which was the sum his fine amounted to.

But he did not long enjoy his return to his country. The affairs of Greece soon went to ruin. They lost the battle of Crano in the month of August, a Macedonian garrison entered Munychia in September, and Demosthenes lost his life in October.

It happened in the following manner: when news was brought that Antipater and Craterus were coming to Athens, Demosthenes, and those of his party, hastened to get out privately before their arrival. Hereupon the people, at the motion of Demades, condemned them to death. As they fled different ways, Antipater sent a company of soldiers about the country to seize them. Archias, surnamed Phugadotheras, or the Exile-hunter, who had been sometime a tragedian, was their captain. Being informed that



Demosthenes had taken sanctuary in the temple of Neptune at Calauria, he and his Thracian soldiers passed over to it row-boats. As soon as he was landed, he went to the orator, and endeavoured to persuade him to quit the temple, and go with him to Antipater; assuring him he had no hard measure to expect. But it happened that Demosthenes had seen a strange vision the night before. He thought he was contending with Archias, which could play the tragedian the best; that he succeeded in his action, had the audience on his side, and would certainly have obtained the prize had not Archias outdone him in the dresses and decorations in the theatre. Therefore, when Archias had addressed him with a great appearance of humanity, he fixed his eyes on him and said, without rising from his seat, "Neither your acting moved me formerly, nor do your promises move me now." Archias then began to threaten him, upon which he said, "Before you acted a part; now you speak as from the Macedonian tripod. Only wait a while, till I have sent my last orders to my family." So saying, he retired into the inner part of the temple; and, taking some paper, as if he meant to write, he put the pen in his mouth, and bit it a considerable time, as he used to do when thoughtful about his composition; after which he covered his head, and put it in a reclining posture. The soldiers who stood at the door, apprehending that he took these methods to put off the fatal stroke, laughed at him and called him a coward. Archias then approaching him, desired him to rise, and began to repeat his promises of making his peace with Antipater. Demosthenes, who by this time felt the operation of the poison he had taken strong upon him, uncovered his face, and looking upon Archias, "Now," said he, "you may act the part of Creon,\* in the play, as soon as you please, and cast out this carcase of mine unburied. For my part, O gracious Neptune, I quit thy temple with my breath within me. But Antipater and the Macedonians would not have scrupled to profane it with murder." By this time he could scarcely stand, and therefore desired them to support him; but in attempting to walk out, he fell by the altar and expired with a groan.

Aristo says he sucked the poison from a pen, as we have related it. One Pappus, whose memoirs were recovered by Hermippus, reports, that when he fell by the altar there was found on his paper the beginning of a letter—"Demosthenes to Antipater"—and nothing more. He adds, that people being surprised that he died so quickly, the Thracians who stood at the door, assured them that he took the poison in his hand out of a piece of cloth, and put it to his mouth. To them it had the appearance of gold. Upon inquiry made by Archias, a young maid who served Demosthenes

\* Alluding to that passage in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, where Creon forbids the body of Polyneices to be buried.

said he had long worn that piece of cloth by way of amulet. Eratosthenes tells us, that he kept the poison in the hollow of a bracelet button which he wore upon his arm. Many others have written upon the subject, but it is not necessary to give all their different accounts. We shall only add, that Democharis, a servant of Demosthenes, asserts, that he did not think his death owing to poison, but to the favour of the gods and a happy providence, which snatched him from the cruelty of the Macedonians, by a speedy and easy death.

It was not long before the people of Athens paid him the honours that were due to him, by erecting his statue in brass, and decreeing that the eldest of his family should be maintained in the Prytanæum, at the public charge. This celebrated inscription was put upon the pedestal of his statue :

Divine in speech, in judgment, too, divine,  
Had valour's wreath, Demosthenes, been thine,  
Fair Greece had still her freedom's ensign borne,  
And held the scourge of Macedon in scorn !

For no regard is to be paid to those who say that Demosthenes himself uttered these lines in Calauria, just before he took the poison.\*

\* This inscription, so far from doing Demosthenes honour, is the greatest disgrace that the Athenians could have fastened on his memory. It reproaches him with a weakness which, when the safety of his country was at stake, was such a deplorable want of virtue and manhood, as no parts or talents could atone for.

## CICERO.

*Flourished 60 years before Christ.*

THE account we have of Helvia, the mother of Cicero, is, that her family was noble\* and her character excellent. Of his father there is nothing said but in extremes. For some affirm that he was the son of a fuller, † and educated in that trade, while others deduce his origin from Attius Tullius, ‡ a prince who governed the Volsci with great reputation. Be that as it may, I think the first of the family that bore the name of Cicero, must have been an extraordinary man; and for that reason his posterity did not reject the appellation, but rather took it with pleasure, though it was a common subject of ridicule: for the Latins call a vetch *cicer*, and he had flat excrescence on the top of his nose in resemblance of a vetch, from which he got that surname. § As for the Cicero of whom we are writing, his friends advised him, on his first application to business, and soliciting one of the great offices of state, to lay aside or change that name. But he answered with great spirit, “That he would endeavour to make the name of Cicero more glorious than that of the Scauri and the Catuli.” When quæstor in Sicily, he consecrated in the temple, a vase or some other offering, in silver, upon which he inscribed his two first names, Marcus Tullius, and, punning upon the third, ordered the artificer to engrave a vetch. Such is the account we have of his name.

He was born on the third of January, || the day on which the magistrates now sacrifice and pay their devotions for the health of the emperor; and it is said that his mother was delivered of him without pain. It is also reported, that a spectre appeared to his nurse, and foretold that the child she had the happiness to attend, would one day prove a great benefit to the whole commonwealth of Rome. These things might have passed for idle dreams, had he not soon demonstrated the truth of the prediction. When he was of a proper age to go to school, his genius broke out with so much lustre, and he gained so distinguished a reputation among the boys,

\* Cinna was of this family.

† Dion tells us, that Q. Calenus was the author of this calumny. Cicero, in his books *de Legibus*, has said enough to show that both his father and grandfather were persons of property and of a liberal education.

‡ The same prince to whom Coriolanus retired four hundred years before.

§ Pliny's account of the origin of this name is more probable. He supposes that the person who first bore it was remarkable for the cultivation of vetches. So Fabius, Lentulus, and Piso, had their names from beans, tares and peas.

|| In the six hundred and forty seventh year of Rome: a hundred and four years before the Christian era. Pompey was born the same year.

that the fathers of some of them repaired to the schools to see Cicero, and to have specimens of his capacity for literature ; but the less civilized were angry with their sons, when they saw them take Cicero in the middle of them as they walked, and always give him the place of honour. He had that turn of genius and disposition which Plato would have a scholar and a philosopher to possess. He had both capacity and inclination to learn all the arts, nor was there any branch of science he despised ; yet he was most inclined to poetry ; and there is still extant a poem entitled *Pontius Glaucus*,\* which was written by him when a boy, in tetrameter verse. In process of time, when he had studied this art with greater application, he was looked upon as the best poet, as well as the greatest orator in Rome. His reputation for oratory still remains, notwithstanding the considerable changes that have since been made in the language ; but, as many ingenious poets have appeared since his time, his poetry has lost its credit, and is now neglected.†

When he had finished those studies through which boys commonly pass, he attended the lectures of Philo the academician, whom of all the scholars of Clitomachus the Romans most admired for his eloquence, and loved for his conduct. At the same he made great improvement in the knowledge of the law, under Mucius Scævola, an eminent lawyer, and president of the senate. He likewise got a taste of military knowledge under Sylla, in the Marsian war.‡ But afterwards, finding the commonwealth engaged in civil wars, which were likely to end in nothing but absolute monarchy, he withdrew to a philosophic and contemplative life ; conversing with men of letters from Greece, and making farther advances in science. This method of life he pursued till Sylla had made himself master, and there appeared to be some established government again.

About this time Sylla ordered the estate of one of the citizens to be sold at auction, in consequence of his being killed as a person proscribed. When it was struck off to Chrysogonus, Sylla's freedman, at the small sum of two thousand drachmæ, Roscius, the son and heir of the deceased, expressed his indignation, and declared that the estate was worth two hundred and fifty talents. Sylla,

\* This Glaucus was a famous fisherman, who, after eating of a certain herb, jumped into the sea, and became one of the gods of that element. Æschylus wrote a tragedy on the subject. Cicero's poem is lost.

† Plutarch was a very indifferent judge of Latin poetry, and his speaking with so much favour of Cicero's, contrary to the opinion of Juvenal and many others, is a strong proof of it. He translated Aratus into verse at the age of seventeen, and wrote a poem in praise of the actions of Marius, which, Scævola said, would live through innumerable ages. But he was out in his prophecy. It has long been dead. And the poem which he wrote in three books on his own consulship has shared the same fate.

‡ In the eighteenth year of his age.

enraged at having his conduct thus publicly called in question, brought an action against Roscius for the murder of his father, and appointed Chrysogonus to be the manager. In this distress, he applied to Cicero, and the friends of the young orator desired him to undertake the cause; thinking he could not have a more glorious opportunity to enter the lists of fame. Accordingly, he undertook his defence, succeeded, and gained great applause.\* But, fearing Sylla's resentment, he travelled into Greece, and gave out that the recovery of his health was the motive. Indeed, he was of a lean and slender habit, and his stomach was so weak that he was obliged to be very sparing in his diet, and not to eat till a late hour in the day. His voice had a variety of inflections, but was at the same time harsh and unformed; and, as in the vehemence and enthusiasm of speaking, he always rose into a loud key, there was reason to apprehend that it might injure his health.

When he came to Athens, he heard Antiochus the Ascalonite, and was charmed with the smoothness and grace of his elocution, though he did not approve his new doctrines in philosophy: for Antiochus had left the new Academy, as it is called, and the sect of Carneades, either from clear conviction, and from the strength of the evidence of sense, or else from a spirit of opposition to the schools of Clitomachus and Philo, and had adopted most of the doctrines of the Stoics. But Cicero loved the new Academy, and entered more and more into its opinions; having already taken his resolution, if he failed in his design of rising in the state, to retire from the forum and all political intrigues, to Athens, and spend his days in peace in the bosom of philosophy.

But not long after, he received the news of Sylla's death. His body by this time was strengthened by exercise, and brought to a good habit. His voice was formed; and at the same time that it was full and sonorous, had gained a sufficient sweetness, and was brought to a key which his constitution could bear. Besides, his friends at Rome solicited him by letters to return, and Antiochus exhorted him much to apply himself to public affairs. For which reason he exercised his rhetorical powers afresh, as the best engines for business, and called forth his political talents. In short he suffered not a day to pass without either declaiming, or attending the most celebrated orators. In the prosecution of this design, he sailed to Asia and the island of Rhodes. Amongst the rhetoricians of Asia, he availed himself of the instructions of Xenocles of Adramyttium, Dionysius of Magnesia, and Menippus of Caria. At Rhodes he studied under the rhetorician Apollonius Molo,† and the philosopher Posidonius. It is said, that Apollonius not understand-

\* In his twenty-seventh year.

† Not *Appollonius the son of Mola*, but *Appollonius Molo*. The same mistake is made by our author in the *Life of Cæsar*.

ing the Roman language, desired Cicero to declaim in Greek ; and he readily complied, because he thought by that means his faults might the better be corrected. When he had ended his declamation, the rest were astonished at his performance, and strove who should praise him most ; but Apollonius showed no signs of pleasure while he was speaking ; and when he had done, he sat a long while thoughtful and silent. At last, observing the uneasiness it gave his pupil, he said, " As for you, Cicero, I praise and admire you, but I am concerned for the fate of Greece. She had nothing left her but the glory of eloquence and erudition, and you are carrying that, too, to Rome."

Cicero now prepared to apply himself to public affairs with great hopes of success. As he was naturally ambitious, and spurred on besides by his father and his friends, he betook himself to the bar. Nor was it by slow and insensible degrees that he gained the palm of eloquence ; his fame shot forth at once, and he was distinguished above all the orators of Rome. Yet it is said that his action was naturally as defective as that of Demosthenes, and therefore he took all the advantage he could from the instruction of Roscius, who excelled in comedy, and of Æsop, whose talents lay in tragedy. In consequence of these helps, Cicero found his powers of persuasion not a little assisted by action and just pronunciation. But as for those orators who gave into a bawling manner, he laughed at them, and said, " Their weakness made them get up into clamour, as lame men get on horseback." His excellence at hitting off a jest or repartee, animated his pleadings, and therefore seemed not foreign to the business of the forum ; but by bringing it much into life, he offended numbers of people, and got the character of a malevolent man.

He was appointed quæstor at a time when there was a great scarcity of corn ; and having Sicily for his province, he gave the the people a great deal of trouble at first, by compelling them to send their corn to Rome. But afterwards when they came to experience his diligence, his justice and moderation, they honoured him more than any quæstor Rome had ever sent them. About that time a number of Romans of noble families, who lay under the charge of having violated the rules of discipline, and not behaved with sufficient courage in time of service, were sent back to the prætor of Sicily. Cicero undertook their defence, and acquitted himself of it with great ability and success. As he returned to Rome, much elated with these advantages, he tells us,\* he met with a pleasant adventure. As he was on the road through Campania, meeting with a person of some eminence, with whom he was acquainted, he asked him, " What they said and thought of his actions

\* In his oration for Plancus.

in Rome?" imagining that his name and the glory of his achievements had filled the whole city. His acquaintance answered, "Why, where have you been then, Cicero, all this time?"

This answer dispirited him extremely; for he found that the accounts of his conduct had been lost in Rome, as in an immense sea, and had made no remarkable addition to his reputation. By mature reflection upon this incident, he was brought to retrench his ambition, because he saw that contention for glory was an endless thing, and had neither measure nor bounds to terminate it. Nevertheless, his immoderate love of praise, and his passion for glory always remained with him, and often interrupted his best and wisest designs.

When he began to dedicate himself more earnestly to public business, he thought that, while mechanics know the name, the place, the use of every tool and instrument they take in their hands, though those things are inanimate, it would be absurd for a statesman, whose functions cannot be performed but by means of men, to be negligent in acquainting himself with the citizens. He, therefore made it his business to commit to memory not only their names, but the place of abode of those of greater note, what friends they made use of, and what neighbours were in their circle: so that whatever road in Italy Cicero travelled, he could easily point out the estates and houses of his friends.

Though his own estate was sufficient for his necessities, yet, as it was small, it seemed strange that he would take neither fee nor present for his services at the bar. This was most remarkable in the case of Verres. Verres had been prætor in Sicily, and committed numberless acts of injustice and oppression. The Sicilians prosecuted him, and Cicero gained the cause for them, not so much by pleading, as by forbearing to plead. The magistrates, in their partiality to Verres, put off the trial by several adjournments to the last day;\* and as Cicero knew there was not time for the advocates to be heard, and the matter determined in the usual method, he rose up, and said, "There was no occasion for pleadings." He therefore brought up the witnesses, and after their depositions were taken, insisted that the judges should give their decision immediately.

Yet we have an account of several humorous sayings of Cicero's in this cause. When an emancipated slave, Cæcilius by name, who was suspected of being a Jew, would have set aside the Sicilians, and taken the prosecution of Verres upon himself,† Cicero said,— "What has a Jew to do with swine's flesh?" For the Romans call

\* Not till the *last day*. Cicero brought it on a *few days* before Verres' friends were to come into office: but of the seven orations which were composed on the occasion, the two first only were delivered. A. U. 683.

† Cicero knew that Cæcilius was secretly a friend to Verres, and wanted by this means to bring him off.

a boar-pig verres. And when Verres reproached Cicero with effeminacy, he answered,—“Why do you not first reprove your own children?” For Verres had a young son who was supposed to make an infamous use of his advantages of person. Hortensius the orator did not venture directly to plead the cause of Verres, but he was prevailed on to appear for him at the laying of the fine, and had received an ivory sphinx from him by way of consideration. In this case, Cicero threw out several enigmatical hints against Hortensius; and when he said,—“He knew not how to solve riddles,” Cicero retorted,—“That is somewhat strange, when you have a sphinx in your house.”

Verres being thus condemned, Cicero set his fine at seven hundred and fifty thousand drachmæ; upon which it was said by censorious people, that he had been bribed to let him off so low.\* The Sicilians, however, in acknowledgment of his assistance, brought him when he was ædile, a number of things for his games, and other very valuable presents; but he was so far from considering his private advantage, that he made no other use of their generosity, than to lower the price of provisions.

He had a handsome country-seat at Arpinum, a farm near Naples, and another at Pompeii, but neither of them were very considerable. His wife Terentia brought him a fortune of a hundred and twenty thousand denarii, and he fell heir to something that amounted to ninety thousand more. Upon this he lived in a genteel, and at the same time a frugal manner; with men of letters, both Greeks and Romans, about him. He rarely took his meal before sunset; not that business or study prevented his sitting down to table sooner, but the weakness of his stomach, he thought, required that regimen. Indeed, he was so exact in all respects in the care of his health, that he had his stated hours for rubbing and for the exercise of walking. By this management of his constitution, he gained a sufficient stock of health and strength for the great labours and fatigues he afterwards underwent.

He gave up the town house which belonged to his family to his brother, and took up his residence on the Palatine hill, that those who came to pay their court to him might not have too far to go. For he had a levee every day, not less than Crassus had for his great wealth, or Pompey for his power and interest in the army; though they were the most followed, and the greatest men in Rome. Pompey himself paid all due respect to Cicero, and found his political assistance very useful to him, both in respect to power and reputation.

\* This fine, indeed, was very inconsiderable. The legal fine for extortion, in such cases as that of Verres, was twice the sum extorted. The Sicilians laid a charge of 322,916*l.* against Verres: the fine must, therefore, have been, 645,832*l.*; but 750,000 drachmæ were no more than 24,218*l.* Plutarch must, therefore, most probably have been mistaken.



When Cicero became a candidate for the prætorship, he had many competitors who were persons of distinction, and yet he was returned first. As a president in the courts of justice, he acted with integrity and honour. Licinius Macer, who had great interest of his own, and was supported, besides, with that of Crassus, was accused before him of some default with respect to money. He had so much confidence in his own influence and the activity of his friends, that when the judges were going to decide the cause, it is said he went home, cut his hair, and put on a white habit, as if he had gained the victory, and was about to return so equipped to the forum. But Crassus met him in his court-yard, and told him, that all the judges had given verdict against him; which affected him in such a manner, that he turned in again, took to his bed, and died.\* Cicero gained honour by this affair, for it appeared that he kept strict watch against corruption in the court.

There was another person, named Vatinius, an insolent orator, who paid very little respect to the judges in his pleadings. It happened that he had his neck full of scrofulous swellings. This man applied to Cicero about some business or other, and as that magistrate did not immediately comply with his request, but sat some time deliberating, he said,—“ I could easily swallow such a thing, if I was prætor;” upon which Cicero turned towards him, and made answer,—“ But I have not so large a neck.”

When there was only two or three days of his office unexpired, an information was laid against Manilius for embezzling the public money. This Manilius was a favourite of the people, and they thought he was only prosecuted on Pompey's account, being his particular friend. He desired to have a day fixed for his trial; and, as Cicero appointed the next day, the people were much offended, because it had been customary for the prætors to allow the accused ten days at least. The tribunes therefore cited Cicero to appear before the commons, and give an account of his proceeding. He desired to be heard in his own defence, which was to this effect:—“ As I have always behaved to persons impeached with all the moderation and humanity that the laws will allow, I thought it wrong to lose the opportunity of treating Manilius with the same candour. I was master of only one day more in my office as prætor, and consequently must appoint that; for to leave the decision of the cause to another magistrate was not the method for those

\* The story is related differently by Valerius Maximus. He says that Macer was in court waiting the issue, and perceiving that Cicero was proceeding to give sentence against him, he sent to inform him that he was dead, and at the same time suffocated himself with his handkerchief. Cicero, therefore, did not pronounce sentence against him, by which means his estate was saved to his son Licinius Calvus. Notwithstanding this, Cicero himself, in one of his epistles to Atticus, says, that he actually condemned him; and in another of his epistles, he speaks of the popular esteem this affair procured him. *Cic. Ep. ad. Att. l. i. c. 3, 4.*

who were inclined to serve Manilius." This made a wonderful change in the people, they were lavish in their praises, and desired him to undertake the defence himself. This he readily complied with; his regard for Pompey, who was absent, not being his least inducement. In consequence hereof, he presented himself before the commons again, and giving an account of the whole affair, took opportunity to make severe reflections on those who favoured oligarchy, and envied the glory of Pompey.

Yet for the sake of their country, the patricians joined the plebeians in raising him to the consulship. The occasion was this, the change which Sylla introduced into the constitution, at first seemed harsh and uneasy, but by time and custom it came to an establishment which many thought not a bad one. At present there were some who wanted to bring in another change, merely to gratify their own avarice, and without the least view to the public good. Pompey was engaged with the kings of Pontus and Armenia, and there was no force in Rome sufficient to suppress the authors of this intended innovation. They had a chief of a bold and enterprising spirit, and the most remarkable versatility of manners; his name Lucius Catiline. Beside a variety of other crimes, he was accused of killing his own brother. To screen himself from prosecution, he persuaded Sylla to put his brother among the proscribed, as if he had been still alive. These profligates, with such a leader, among other engagements of secrecy and fidelity, sacrificed a man, and eat of his flesh. Catiline had corrupted great part of the Roman youth, by indulging their desires in every form of pleasure, providing them wine and women, and setting no bounds to his expences for these purposes. All Tuscany was prepared for a revolt, and most of Cisalpine Gaul. The vast inequality of the citizens in point of property, prepared Rome, too, for a change. Men of spirit amongst the nobility had impoverished themselves by their great expences on public exhibitions and entertainments, on bribing for offices, and erecting magnificent buildings; by which means the riches of the city were fallen into the hands of mean people; in this tottering state of the commonwealth, there needed no great force to overturn it, and it was in the power of any bold adventurer to accomplish its ruin.

Catiline, however, before he began his operations, wanted a strong fort to sally out from, and with that view stood for the consulship. His prospect seemed very promising, because he hoped to have Caius Antonius for his colleague: a man who had no firm principles either good or bad, nor any resolution of his own, but would make a considerable addition to the power of him who led him. Many persons of virtue and honour, perceiving this danger, put up Cicero for the consulship, and the people accepted him with pleasure. Thus Catiline was baffled, and Cicero and Caius Anto-

nius appointed consuls; though Cicero's father was only of the equestrian order, and his competitors of patrician families.

Catiline's designs were not yet discovered to the people. Cicero, however, at his entrance upon his office, had great affairs on his hands, the preludes of what was to follow. On the one hand, those who had been incapacitated by the laws of Sylla to bear offices, being neither inconsiderable in power nor in number, began now to solicit them, and make all possible interest with the people. On the other hand, the tribunes of the people proposed laws which had the same tendency to distress the government; for they wanted to appoint *decemvirs*, and invest them with an unlimited power. This was to extend over all Italy, over Syria, and all the late conquests of Pompey. They were to be commissioned to sell the public lands in these countries; to judge or banish whom they pleased; to plant colonies; to take money out of the public treasury; to levy and keep on foot what troops they thought necessary. Many Romans of high distinction were pleased with the bill, and in particular Antony, Cicero's colleague, for he hoped to be one of the ten. It was thought, too, that he was no stranger to Catiline's designs, and that he did not disrelish them, on account of his great debts. This was an alarming circumstance to all who had the good of their country at heart.

This danger, too, was the first that Cicero guarded against; which he did by getting the province of Macedonia decreed to Antony, and not taking that of Gaul which was allotted to himself. Antony was so much affected with this favour, that he was ready, like a hired player, to act a subordinate part under Cicero for the benefit of his country. Cicero having thus managed his colleague, began with greater courage to take his measures against the seditious party. He alleged his objections against the law in the senate, and effectually silenced the proposers.\* They took another opportunity, however, and coming prepared, insisted that the consuls should appear before the people. Cicero, not in the least intimidated, commanded the senate to follow him. He addressed the commons with such success, that they threw out the bill; and his victorious eloquence had such an effect upon the tribunes, that they gave up other things which they had been meditating.

He was indeed the man who most effectually showed the Romans, what charms eloquence can add to truth, and that justice is invincible, when properly supported. He showed also, that a magistrate who watches for the good of the community, should in his actions always prefer right to popular measures, and in his speeches know how to make those right measures agreeable, by separating from them whatever may offend. Of the grace and power with which he spoke, we have a proof in a theatrical regu-

\* This was the first of his three orations, *de Lege Agraria*.

lation that took place in his consulship. Before, those of the equestrian order sat mixed with the commonalty. Marcus Otho in his prætorship was the first who separated the knights from the other citizens, and appointed them seats which they still enjoy.\* The people looked upon this as a mark of dishonour, and hissed and insulted Otho when he appeared at the theatre. The knights, on the other hand, received him with loud plaudits. The people repeated their hissing, and the knights their applause; till at last they came to mutual reproaches, and threw the whole theatre into the utmost disorder. Cicero being informed of the disturbance, came and called the people to the temple of Bellona, where, partly by reproof, partly by lenient applications, he so corrected them, that they returned to the theatre, loudly testified their approbation of Otho's conduct, and strove with the knights which should do him the most honour.

Catiline's conspiracy, which at first had been intimidated and discouraged, began to recover its spirits. The accomplices assembled, and exhorted each other to begin their operations with vigour, before the return of Pompey, who was said to be already marching homewards with his forces. But Catiline's chief motive for action, was the dependence he had on Sylla's veterans. Though these were scattered all over Italy, the greatest and most warlike part resided in the cities of Etruria, and in idea were plundering and sharing the wealth of Italy again. They had Manlius for their leader, a man who had served with great distinction under Sylla; and now entering into Catiline's views, they came to Rome to assist in the approaching election; for he solicited the consulship again, and had resolved to kill Cicero in the tumult of that assembly.

The gods seemed to presignify the machinations of these incendiaries by earthquakes, thunders and apparitions. There were also intimations from men, true enough in themselves, but not sufficient for the conviction of a person of Catiline's quality and power. Cicero, therefore, adjourned the day of election; and having summoned Catiline before the senate, examined him upon the informations he had received. Catiline believing there were many in the senate who wanted a change, and at the same time being desirous to show his resolution to his accomplices who were present, answered with a calm firmness, "As there are two bodies, one of which is feeble and decayed, but has a head; the other strong and robust, but is without a head; what harm am I doing, if I give a head to the body that wants it?" By these enigmatical expressions he meant the senate and the people; consequently Cicero was still more alarmed. On the day of election, he put on a coat of mail; the principal personages in Rome conducted him from his house,

\* About four years before, under the consulship of Piso and Glabrio. But Otho was not then prætor; he was tribune.

and great numbers of the youth attended him to the *Campus Martius*. There he threw back his robe, and showed part of the coat of mail, on purpose to point out his danger. The people were incensed, and immediately gathered about him; the consequence of which was, that Catiline was thrown out again, and Silanus and Murena chosen consuls.

Not long after this, when the veterans were assembling for Catiline in Etruria, and the day appointed for carrying the plot into execution approached, three of the first and greatest personages in Rome, Marcus Crassus, Marcus Marcellus, and Metellus Scipio, went and knocked at Cicero's door about midnight; and having called the porter, bade him awake his master and tell him who attended. Their business was this: Crassus's porter brought him to a packet of letters after supper, which he had received from a person unknown. They were directed to different persons, and there was one for Crassus himself, but without a name. This only Crassus read; and when he found that it informed him of a great massacre intended by Catiline, and warned him to retire out of the city, he did not open the rest, but immediately went to wait on Cicero; for he was not only terrified at the impending danger, but he had some suspicions to remove, which had arisen from his acquaintance with Catiline. Cicero having consulted with them what was proper to be done, assembled the senate at break of day, and delivered the letters according to the directions, desiring, at the same time, that they might be read in public. They all gave the same account of the conspiracy.

Quintus Arrius, a man of prætorian dignity, moreover, informed the senate of the levies that had been made in Etruria, and assured them that Manlius, with a considerable force, was hovering about those parts, and only waiting for news of an insurrection in Rome. On these informations, the senate made a decree, by which all affairs were committed to the consuls, and they were empowered to act in the manner they should think best for the preservation of the commonwealth. This is an edict which the senate seldom issue, and never but in some great and imminent danger.

When Cicero was invested with this power, he committed the care of things without the city to Quintus Metellus, and took the direction of all within to himself. He made his appearance every day attended and guarded by such a multitude of people, that they filled great part of the *forum*. Catiline, unable to bear any longer delay, determined to repair to Manlius and his army; and ordered Marcius and Cethegus to take their swords, and go to Cicero's house early in the morning, where, under pretence of paying their compliments, they were to fall upon him and kill him. But Fulvia, a woman of quality, went to Cicero in the night, to inform him of his danger, and charged him to be on his guard in particular against

Cethegus. As soon as it was light, the assassins came, and being denied entrance, they grew very clamorous, which made them the more suspected.

Cicero went out afterwards, and assembled the senate in the temple of Jupiter *Stator*. Catiline came among the rest, as with a design to make his defence; but there was not a senator who would sit by him; they all left the bench he had taken; and when he began to speak, they interrupted him in such a manner, that he could not be heard.

At length Cicero rose up, and commanded him to depart the city. "For," said he, "while I employ only words, and you weapons, there should at least be walls between us." Catiline, upon this, immediately marched out with three hundred men well armed, and with the *fascēs* and other ensigns of authority, as if he had been a lawful magistrate. Having joined Manlius, and assembled an army of twenty thousand men, he marched to the cities, in order to persuade them to revolt. Hostilities being thus openly commenced, Antony, Cicero's colleague, was sent against Catiline.

Such as Catiline had corrupted, and thought proper to leave in Rome, were kept together, and encouraged by Cornelius Lentulus, surnamed *Sura*, a man of noble birth, but bad life. He had been expelled the senate for his debaucheries, but was then prætor the second time; for that was a customary qualification, when ejected persons were to be restored to their places in the senate.\* As to the surname of *Sura*, it is said to have been given on this occasion: When he was quæstor in the time of Sylla, he had lavished away vast sums of the public money. Sylla, incensed at his behaviour, demanded an account of him in full senate. Lentulus came up in a very careless and disrespectful manner, and said, "I have no account to give, but I present you with the calf of my leg;" which was a common expression among the boys, when they missed their stroke at tennis. Hence he had the surname of *Sura*, which is the Roman word for the calf of the leg. Another time, being prosecuted for some great offence, he corrupted the judges. When they had given their verdict, though he was acquitted only by a majority of two, he said, "He had put himself to a needless expense in bribing one of those judges; for it would have been sufficient to have had a majority of one."

Such was the disposition of this man, who had not only been solicited by Catiline, but was moreover infatuated with vain hopes, which prognosticators and other impostors held up to him. They forged verses in an oracular form, and brought him them, as from the books of the Sybils. These lying prophecies signified the decree of fate, "That three of the Cornelli would be monarchs of

\* When a Roman senator was expelled, an appointment to prætorial office was a sufficient qualification for him to resume his seat.—*Dion. l. xxxvii.*

Rome." They added, "That two had already fulfilled their destiny, Cinna and Sylla; that he was the third Cornelius whom the gods now offered the monarchy; and that he ought, by all means, to embrace his high fortune, and not ruin it by delays, as Catiline had done."

Nothing little or trivial entered into the schemes of Lentulus. He resolved to kill the whole senate, and as many of the other citizens as he possibly could, to burn the city, and to spare none but the sons of Pompey, whom he intended to seize, and keep as pledges of his peace with that general. The conspirators had fixed on a night during the feast of the *saturnalia*, for the execution of their enterprise. They had lodged arms and combustible matter in the house of Cethegus. They had divided Rome into a hundred parts, and pitched upon the same number of men, each of which was allotted his quarter to set fire to. As this was to be done by them all at the same moment, they hoped that the conflagration would be general: others were to intercept the water, and kill all who went to seek it.

While these things were preparing, there happened to be at Rome two ambassadors from the Allobroges, a nation that had been much oppressed by the Romans, and was very impatient under their yoke. Lentulus and his party thought these ambassadors proper persons to raise commotions in Gaul, and bring that country to their interest, and therefore made them partners in the conspiracy. They likewise charged them with letters to their magistrates, and to Catiline. To the Gauls they promised liberty, and they desired Catiline to enfranchise the slaves, and march immediately to Rome. Along with the ambassadors, they sent one Titus of Crotona, to carry the letters to Catiline. But the measures of these inconsiderate men, who generally consulted upon their affairs over their wine, and in company with women, were soon discovered by the indefatigable diligence, the sober address, and great capacity of Cicero. He had his emissaries in all parts of the city, to trace every step they took; and he had besides, a secret correspondence with many who pretended to join in the conspiracy; by which means he got intelligence of their treating with those strangers.

In consequence hereof, he laid an ambush for the Crotonian in the night, and seized him and the letters; the ambassadors themselves privately lending him their assistance.\* Early in the morning he assembled the senate in the temple of *Concord*, where he read the letters, and took the depositions of the witnesses. Junius Silanus deposed, that several persons had heard Cethegus say that three consuls and four prætors would very soon be killed. The evidence

\* These ambassadors had been solicited by Umhrenus to join his party. Upon mature deliberation, they thought it safest to abide by the state, and discovered the plot to Fabius Sanga, the patron of their nation.

of Piso, a man of consular dignity, contained circumstances of the like nature; and Caius Sulpitius, one of the prætors, who was sent to Cethegus's house, found there a great quantity of javelins, swords, poniards, and other arms, all new furnished. At last, the senate giving the Crotonian a promise of indemnity, Lentulus saw himself entirely detected, and laid down his office: he put off his purple robe in the house, and took another more suitable to his present distress. Upon which, both he and his accomplices were delivered to the prætors, to be kept in custody, but not in chains.

By this time it grew late, and as the people were waiting without in great numbers for the event of the day, Cicero went out and gave them an account of it. When Cicero was retired to the apartments assigned him, with only a few friends, he began to consider what punishment he should inflict upon the criminals. He was extremely loath to proceed to a capital one, which the nature of their offence seemed to demand, as well from the mildness of his disposition, as for fear of incurring the censure of making an extravagant and severe use of his power against men who were of the first families, and had powerful connections in Rome. On the other side, if he gave them a more gentle chastisement, he thought he should still have something to fear from them. He knew that they would never rest with any thing less than death, but would rather break out into the most desperate villanies, when their former wickedness was sharpened with anger and resentment: besides, he might himself be branded with the mark of timidity and weakness, and the rather because he was generally supposed not to have much courage.

Before Cicero could come to a resolution, the women who were sacrificing observed an extraordinary presage. When the fire on the altar seemed to be extinguished, a strong and bright flame suddenly broke out of the embers. The other women were terrified at the prodigy, but the vestal virgins ordered Terentia, Cicero's wife, to go to him immediately, and command him from them, "Boldly to follow his best judgment in the service of his country; because the goddess, by the brightness of this flame, promised him not only safety but glory in his enterprise." Terentia was by no means of a meek and timorous disposition, but had her ambition, and (as Cicero himself says) took a greater share with him in politics, than she permitted him to have in domestic business. She now informed him of the prodigy, and exasperated him against the criminals. His brother Quintus, and Publius Nigidius, one of his philosophical friends, whom he made great use of in the administration, strengthened him in the same purpose.

Next day the senate met to deliberate on the punishment of the conspirators; and Silanus, being first asked his opinion, gave it for sending them to prison, and punishing them in the severest manner



that was possible. The rest in their order agreed with him, till it came to Caius Cæsar, who was afterwards dictator. Cæsar, then a young man, and just in the dawn of power, both in his measures and his hopes, was taking that road which he continued in, till he turned the commonwealth into a monarchy. This was not observed by others; but Cicero had strong suspicions of him. He took care, however, not to give him a sufficient handle against him. Some say the consul had almost got the necessary proofs, and that Cæsar had a narrow escape. Others assert, that Cicero purposely neglected the informations that might have been had against him, for fear of his friends and his great interest; for, had Cæsar been brought under the same predicament with the conspirators, it would rather have contributed to save than to destroy them.

When it came to his turn to give judgment, he rose and declared, "Not for punishing them capitally, but for confiscating their estates, and lodging them in any of the towns of Italy that Cicero should pitch upon, where they might be kept in chains till Catiline was conquered."\* To this opinion, which was on the merciful side, and supported with great eloquence by him, Cicero himself added no small weight: for in his speech he gave the arguments at large for both opinions, first for the former, and afterwards for that of Cæsar. And all Cicero's friends, thinking it would be less invidious for him to avoid putting the criminals to death, were for the latter sentence; insomuch, that even Silanus changed sides, and excused himself by saying, that he did not mean capital punishment, for that imprisonment was the severest which a Roman senator could suffer.

The matter thus went on, till it came to Lutatius Catulus. He declared for capital punishment; and Cato supported him, expressing in strong terms his suspicions of Cæsar; which so roused the spirit and indignation of the senate, that they made a decree for sending the conspirators to execution. Cæsar then opposed the confiscating their goods; for he said, it was unreasonable, when they rejected the mild part of the sentence, to adopt the severe. As the majority still insisted upon it, he appealed to the tribunes. The tribunes, indeed, did not put in their prohibition, but Cicero himself gave up the point, and agreed that the goods should not be forfeited.

After this, Cicero went at the head of the senate to the criminals, who were not all lodged in one house, but in those of the several prætors. First he took Lentulus from the Palatine hill, and led him down the Via Sacra, and through the middle of the forum. The principal persons in Rome attended the consuls on all sides like a guard; the people stood silent at the horror of the scene; and the youth looked on with fear and astonishment, as if they were

\* Plutarch seems here to intimate, that after the defeat of Catiline they might be put upon their trial; but it appears from Sallust, that Cæsar had no such intention.

initiated that day in some awful ceremonies of aristocratic power. When he had passed the forum, and was come to the prison, he delivered Lentulus to the executioner. Afterwards he brought Cethegus, and all the rest in their order, and they were put to death.

By this time it grew late, and as he passed through the forum to go to his own house, the people now did not conduct him in a silent and orderly manner, but crowded to hail him with loud acclamations and plaudits, calling him the saviour and second founder of Rome. The streets were illuminated\* with a multitude of lamps, and torches placed by the doors. The women held out lights from the tops of the houses, that they might behold, and pay a proper compliment to the man who was followed with so much solemnity by a train of the greatest men in Rome, most of whom had distinguished themselves by successful wars, led up triumphs, and enlarged the empire both by sea and land. All these, in their discourse with each other as they went along, acknowledged that Rome was indebted to many generals and great men of that age for pecuniary acquisitions, for rich spoils, for power : but for preservation and safety to Cicero alone, who had rescued her from so great and dreadful a danger. Not that his quashing the enterprise, and punishing the delinquents appeared so extraordinary a thing ; but the wonder was, that he could suppress the greatest conspiracy that ever existed, with so little inconvenience to the state, without the least sedition or tumult : for many who had joined Catiline, left him on receiving intelligence of Lentulus and Cethegus ; and that traitor giving Antony battle with the troops that remained, was destroyed with his whole army.

Yet some were displeased with this conduct and success of Cicero, and inclined to do him all possible injury. At the head of this faction were the tribunes for the ensuing year, who would not suffer him to address the people, but only to take the oath upon laying down his office.† Accordingly, when Cicero went up to the rostra, it was expected that he would take the customary oath ; but he adopted one that was new and singular. The purport of it was, that “ he had saved his country, and preserved the empire : ” and all the people joined in it. This exasperated Cæsar and the tribunes still more ; and they endeavoured to create him new troubles. Among other things, they proposed a decree for calling Pompey home with his army, to suppress the despotic power of Cicero. It was happy for him, and the whole commonwealth, that Cato was

\* Illuminations are of high antiquity. They came originally from the nocturnal celebration of religious mysteries, and on that account carried the idea of veneration and respect with them.

† The consuls took two oaths ; one, on entering into their office, that they would act according to the laws ; and the other, on quitting it, that they had not acted contrary to the laws.

then one of the tribunes; for he opposed them with an authority equal to theirs, and a reputation that was much greater, and consequently broke their measures with ease. He made a speech upon Cicero's consulship, and represented it in so glorious a light, that the highest honours were decreed him; and he was called the father of his country: a mark of distinction which none ever gained before. Cato bestowed that title on him before the people; and they confirmed it.\*

The authority of Cicero in Rome at that time was undoubtedly great; but he rendered himself obnoxious and burdensome to many, not by ill action, but by continually praising and magnifying himself. He never entered the senate, the assembly of the people, or the courts of judicature, but Catiline and Lentulus were the burden of his song. Not satisfied with this, his writings were so interlarded with encomiums on himself, that though his style was elegant and delightful, his discourses were disgusting and nauseous to the reader; for the blemish stuck to him like an incurable disease.

But though he had such an insatiable avidity of honour, he was never unwilling that others should have their share; for he was entirely free from envy; and it appears from his works that he was most liberal in his praises, not only of the ancients, but of those of his own time. Many of his remarkable sayings, too, of this nature, are preserved. Thus of Aristotle he said, "That he was a river of flowing gold;" and of Plato's Dialogues, "That if Jupiter were to speak, he would speak as he did." Theophrastus he used to call his "particular favourite;" and being asked which of Demosthenes's orations he thought the best, he answered, "The longest." There was not one of his cotemporaries celebrated either for his eloquence or philosophy, whose fame he did not promote either by speaking or writing of him in an advantageous manner. He persuaded Cæsar, when dictator, to grant Cratippus the Peripatetic the freedom of Rome. He likewise prevailed upon the council of Areopagus to make out an order, for desiring him to remain at Athens, to instruct the youth; and not deprive the city of such an ornament. There are, moreover, letters of Cicero's to Herodes, and others to his son, in which he directs them to study philosophy under Cratippus. But he accuses Gorgias the rhetorician of accustoming his son to a life of pleasure and intemperance, and therefore forbids the young man his society. Amongst his Greek letters, this, and another to Pelops the Byzantine, are all that discover any thing of resentment. His reprimand to Gorgias certainly was right and proper, if he was the dissolute man he passed for; but he betrays an excessive meanness in his expostulations with Pelops, for

\* Q. Catulus was the first who gave him the title. Cato, as tribune, confirmed it before the people.

neglecting to procure him certain honours from the city of Byzantium.

These were the effects of his vanity. Superior keenness of expression, too, which he had at command, led him into many violations of decorum. He pleaded for Munatius in a certain cause; and his client was acquitted in consequence of his defence. Afterwards Munatius prosecuted Sabinus, one of Cicero's friends; upon which he was so much transported with anger, as to say, "Thinkest thou it was the merit of thy cause that saved thee, and not rather the cloud which I threw over thy crimes, and which kept them from the sight of the court?" He had succeeded in an encomium on Marcus Crassus from the rostrum; and a few days after as publicly reproached him. "What!" said Crassus, "did you not lately praise me in the place where you now stand?" "True," answered Cicero; "but I did it way of experiment, to see what I could make of a bad subject." Crassus had once affirmed, that none of his family ever lived above three-score years; but afterwards wanted to contradict it, and said, "What could I be thinking of, when I asserted such a thing?" "You knew," said Cicero, "that such an assertion would be very agreeable to the people of Rome." Crassus happened one day to profess himself much pleased with that maxim of the Stoics, "The good man is always rich." "I imagine," said Cicero, "there is another more agreeable to you, 'All things belong to the prudent;'" for Crassus was notoriously covetous.

Crassus had two sons, one of which resembled a man called Accius so much, that his mother was suspected of an intrigue with him. This young man spoke in the senate with great applause; and Cicero being asked what he thought of him, answered in Greek, *Axious Crassou*.\* An account was once brought Cicero that Vatinius was dead, which being afterwards contradicted, he said,—“May vengeance seize the tongue that told the lie?” When Cæsar proposed a decree for distributing the lands in Campania among the soldiers, many of the senators were displeased at it; and Lucius Gellius, in particular, who was one of the oldest of them, said,—“That shall never be while I live.” “Let us wait a while then,” said Cicero, “for Gellius requires no very long credit.” There was one Octavius, who had it objected to him, that he was an African. One day, when Cicero was pleading, this man said he could not hear him. “That is somewhat strange,” said Cicero, “for you are not without a hole in your ear.”† When Metellus Nepos told him,—“That he had ruined more as an evidence than he had saved as an advocate:” “I grant it,” said

\* An ill-mannered pun, which signifies either that the young man was worthy of Crassus, or that he was the son of Accius.

† A mark of slavery amongst some nations; but the Africans wore pendants in their ears by way of ornaments.

Cicero, "for I have more truth than eloquence." A young man, who lay under the imputation of having given his father a poisoned cake, talking in an insolent manner, and threatening that Cicero should feel the weight of his reproaches, Cicero answered,—“I had much rather have them than your cake.” Publius Sestius had taken Cicero, among others, for his advocate, in a cause of some importance; and yet he would suffer no man to speak but himself. When it appeared that he would be acquitted, and the judges were giving their verdict, Cicero called to him, and said,—“Sestius, make the best use of your time to-day, for to-morrow you will be out of office.”\* Publius Cotta, who affected to be thought an able lawyer, though he had neither learning nor capacity, being called as a witness in a certain cause, declared,—“He knew nothing of the matter.” “Perhaps,” said Cicero, “you think I am asking you some question in law.” Metellus Nepos, in some difference with Cicero, often asking him,—“Who is your father?” he replied, “Your mother has made it much more difficult for you to answer that question:” for his mother had not the most unsullied reputation. This Metellus was himself a man of a light unbalanced mind. He suddenly quitted the tribunitial office, and sailed to Pompey in Syria; and when he was there, he returned in a manner still more absurd. When his preceptor Philagrus died, he buried him in a pompous manner, and placed the figure of a crow in marble on his monument.† “This,” said Cicero, “was one of the wisest things you ever did; for your preceptor has taught you rather to fly than to speak.”‡ Marcus Appius having mentioned, in the introduction to one of his pleadings, that his friend had desired him to try every resource of care, eloquence, and fidelity in his cause, Cicero said,—“What a hard-hearted man you are, not to do any one thing that your friend has desired of you!”

It seems not foreign to the business of an orator, to use this cutting raillery against enemies or opponents: but his employing it indiscriminately, merely to raise a laugh, rendered him extremely obnoxious. To give a few instances,—He used to call Marcus Aquilius, Adrastus, because he had two sons-in-law who were both in exile.§ Lucius Cotta, a great lover of wine, was censor when Cicero solicited the consulship. Cicero in the course of his canvass, happening to be thirsty, called for water, and said to his friends who stood round him as he drank,—“You do well to conceal me, for

\* Probably Sestius, not being a professed advocate, would not be employed to speak for any body else; and, therefore, Cicero meant that he should indulge his vanity in speaking for himself.

† It was usual among the ancients to place emblematic figures on the monuments of the dead; and these were either such instruments as represented the profession of the deceased, or such animals as resembled them in disposition.

‡ Alluding to the celerity of his expeditions.

§ Because Adrastus had married his daughters to Eleocles and Polynices, who were exiled.

you are afraid that the censor will call me to account for drinking water." Meeting Voconius one day with three daughters, who were very plain women, he cried out,—

On this conception Phœbus never smiled.\*

Marcus Gellius, who was supposed to be of servile extraction, happening to read some letters in the senate with a loud and strong voice,—“Do not be surprised at it,” said Cicero, “for there have been some public criers in the family.” Faustus, the son of Sylla the dictator, who had proscribed great numbers of Romans, having run deep in debt, and wasted great part of his estate, was obliged to put up public bills for the sale of it. Upon which Cicero said,—“I like these bills much better than his father’s.”

Many hated him for these keen sarcasms; which encouraged Clodius and his faction to form their schemes against him. The occasion was this: Clodius, who was of a noble family, young and adventurous, entertained a passion for Pompeia, the wife of Cæsar. This induced him to get privately into his house, in the habit of a female musician, when the women were offering that mysterious sacrifice which is kept from the sight and knowledge of men. But, though no man is suffered to assist in it, Clodius, who was very young, and had his face yet smooth, hoped to pass through the women to Pompeia undiscovered. As he entered a great house in the night, he was puzzled to find his way, and one of the women belonging to Aurelia, Cæsar’s mother, seeing him wandering up and down, asked him his name. Being now forced to speak, he said he was seeking Abra, one of Pompeia’s maids. The woman, perceiving that it was not a female voice, shrieked out and called the matrons together. They immediately made fast the doors, and searching the whole house, found Clodius skulking in the apartment of the maid who introduced him.

As the affair made a great noise, Cæsar divorced Pompeia, and prosecuted Clodius for that act of impiety. Cicero was at that time his friend; for, during the conspiracy of Catiline, he had been ready to give him all the assistance in his power; and even attended as one of his guards. Clodius insisted in his defence, that he was not then at Rome, but at a considerable distance in the country. But Cicero attested, that he came that very day to his house, and talked with him about some particular business. This was, indeed, matter of fact; yet probably it was not so much the influence of truth, as the necessity of satisfying his wife Terentia that induced him to declare it. She hated Clodius on account of his sister Clodia; for she was persuaded, that that lady wanted to get Cicero for her husband, and that she managed the design by one Tullus. Many other persons of honour alleged against him the crimes of perjury, of fraud, of bribing the people, and corrupt-

\* A verse of Sophocles, speaking of Laius the father of Ædipus.

ing the women. As the people set themselves both against the witnesses and the prosecutors, the judges were so terrified, that they thought it necessary to place a guard about the court: and most of them confounded the letters upon the tablets. He seemed, however, to be acquitted by the majority; but it was said to be through pecuniary applications. Hence Catulus, when he met the judges, said, "You were right in desiring a guard for your defence; for you were afraid that somebody would take the money from you." And when Clodius told Cicero that the judges did not give credit to his deposition, "Yes," said he, "five and twenty of them believed me, for so many condemned you; nor did the other thirty believe you, for they did not acquit you till they had received your money." As to Cæsar, when he was called upon he gave no testimony against Clodius; nor did he affirm that he was certain of any injury done his bed. He only said, "He had divorced Pompeia, because the wife of Cæsar ought not only to be clear of such a crime, but of the very suspicion of it."

After Clodius had escaped this danger, and was elected tribune of the people, he immediately attacked Cicero, and left neither circumstance nor person untried to ruin him. He gained the people by laws that flattered their inclinations, and the consuls by decreeing them large and wealthy provinces. He registered many mean and indigent persons as citizens; and armed a number of slaves for his constant attendants. Of the great triumvirate, Crassus was an avowed enemy to Cicero. Pompey indifferently caressed both parties, and Cæsar was going to set out upon his expedition to Gaul. Though the latter was not his friend, but rather suspected of enmity since the affair of Catiline, it was to him that he applied. The favour he asked of him was, that he would take him as his lieutenant; and Cæsar granted it.\* Clodius perceiving that Cicero would, by this means, get out of the reach of his tribunitial power, pretended to be inclined to a reconciliation. He threw most of the blame of the late difference on Terentia; and spoke always of Cicero in terms of candour, not like an adversary vindictively inclined, but as one friend might complain of another. This removed Cicero's fears so entirely, that he gave up the lieutenancy which Cæsar had indulged him with, and began to attend to business as before.†

Cæsar was so much piqued at this proceeding, that he encouraged Clodius against him, and drew off Pompey entirely from his interest. He declared too, before the people, that Cicero, in his opinion, had been guilty of a flagrant violation of all justice and law, in putting Lentulus and Cethegus to death, without any form

\* Cicero says that this lieutenancy was a voluntary offer of Cæsar's—*Ep. ad Att.*

† It does not appear that Cicero was influenced by this conduct of Clodius; he had always expressed an indifference to the lieutenancy that was offered to him by Cæsar.—*Ep. ad Att.* l. ii. c. 18.

of trial. This was the charge which he was summoned to answer. Cicero then put on mourning, let his hair grow, and with every token of distress, went about to supplicate the people. Clodius took care to meet him every where in the streets, with his audacious and insolent crew, who insulted him on his change of dress, and often disturbed his applications by pelting him with dirt and stones. However, almost all the equestrian order went into mourning with him; and no fewer than twenty thousand young men, of the best families, attended him with their hair dishevelled, and entreated the people for him. Afterwards the senate met, with an intent to decree that the people should change their habits, as in times of public mourning. But, as the consuls opposed it, and Clodius beset the house with his armed band of ruffians, many of the senators ran out, rending their garments, and exclaiming against the outrage.

But this spectacle excited neither compassion nor shame, and it appeared that Cicero must either go into exile, or decide the dispute with the sword. In this extremity he applied to Pompey for assistance; but he had purposely absented himself, and remained at his Alban villa. Cicero first sent his son-in-law Piso to him, and afterwards went himself. When Pompey was informed of his arrival, he could not bear to look him in the face. He was confounded at the thought of an interview with his injured friend, who had fought such battles for him, and rendered him so many services in the course of his administration. But being now son-in-law to Cæsar, he sacrificed his former obligations to that connection, and went out at a back door to avoid his presence.

Cicero thus betrayed and deserted, had recourse to the consuls. Gabinus always treated him rudely; but Piso behaved with some civility. He advised him to withdraw from the torrent of Clodius's rage: to bear this change of the times with patience, and to be once more the saviour of his country, which, for his sake, was in all this trouble and commotion.

After this answer, Cicero consulted with his friends. Lucullus advised him to stay, and assured him he would be victorious. Others were of opinion, that it was best to fly, because the people would soon be desirous of his return, when they were weary of the extravagance and madness of Clodius. He approved of this last advice; and taking a statue of Minerva, which he had long kept in his house with great devotion, he carried it to the capitol, and dedicated it there, with this inscription, **TO MINERVA THE PROTECTRESS OF ROME.** About midnight he privately quitted the city; and, with some friends who attended to conduct him, took his route on foot through Lucania, intending to pass from thence to Sicily.

It was no sooner known that he was fled, than Clodius procured a decree of banishment against him, which prohibited him fire and



water, and admission into any house within five hundred miles of Italy. But such was the veneration the people had for Cicero, that in general there was no regard paid to the decree. They showed him every sort of civility, and conducted him on his way with the most cordial attention. Only at Hipponium, a city of Lucania, now called Vibo, one Vibius, a native of Sicily, who had particular obligations to him, and, among other things, had an appointment under him when consul, as surveyor of the works, now refused to admit him into his house; but, at the same time, acquainted him that he would appoint a place in the country for his reception. And Caius Virginius, the prætor of Sicily, though indebted to Cicero for considerable services, wrote to forbid him entrance into that island.

Discouraged at these instances of ingratitude, he repaired to Brundisium, where he embarked for Dyrrhachium. At first he had a favourable gale, but the next day the wind turned about and drove him back to port. He set sail, however, again, as soon as the wind was fair. It is reported, that when he was going to land at Dyrrhachium, there happened to be an earthquake, and the sea retired to a great distance from the shore. The diviners inferred that his exile would be of no long continuance, for these were tokens of a sudden change. Great numbers of people came to pay their respects to him; and the cities of Greece strove which should show him the greatest civilities; yet he continued dejected and disconsolate. Like a passionate lover, he often cast a longing look towards Italy, and behaved with a littleness of spirit which could not have been expected from a man that had enjoyed such opportunities of cultivation from letters and philosophy. Nay, he had often desired his friends not to call him an orator, but a philosopher, because he had made philosophy his business, and rhetoric only the instrument of his political operations. But opinion has great power to efface the tinctures of philosophy, and infuse the passions of the vulgar into the minds of statesmen, who have a necessary connexion and commerce with the multitude; unless they take care so to engage in every thing extrinsic, as to attend to the business only, without imbibing the passions that are the common consequence of that business.

After Clodius had banished Cicero, he burnt his villas, and his house in Rome; and on the place where the latter stood, erected a temple to liberty. His goods he put up to auction, and the crier gave notice of it every day, but no buyer appeared. By these means he became formidable to the patricians; and having drawn the people with him into the most audacious insolence and effrontery, he attacked Pompey, and called into question some of his acts and ordinances in the wars. As this exposed Pompey to some reflections, he blamed himself greatly for abandoning Cicero; and

entirely changing his plan, took every means for effecting his return. As Clodius constantly opposed them, the senate decreed that no public business of any kind should be despatched by their body, till Cicero was recalled.

In the consulship of Lentulus, the sedition increased; some of the tribunes were wounded in the forum; and Quintus, the brother of Cicero, was left for dead among the slain. The people began now to change their opinion; and Annius Milo, one of the tribunes, was the first who ventured to call Clodius to answer for his violation of the public peace. Many of the people of Rome, and of the neighbouring cities, joined Pompey; with whose assistance he drove Clodius out of the forum; and then he summoned the citizens to vote. It is said, that nothing was ever carried among the commons with so great unanimity; and the senate, endeavouring to give still higher proofs of their attachment to Cicero, decreed that their thanks should be given the cities which had treated him with kindness and respect during his exile, and that his town and country houses, which Clodius had demolished, should be rebuilt at the public charge.\*

Cicero returned sixteen months after his banishment; and such joy was expressed by the cities, so much eagerness to meet him by all ranks of people, that his own account of it is less than the truth, though he said, "That Italy had brought him on her shoulders to Rome." Crassus, who was his enemy before his exile, now readily went to meet him, and was reconciled. In this, he said, he was willing to oblige his son Publius, who was a great admirer of Cicero.

Not long after his return, Cicero taking his opportunity, when Clodius was absent,† went up with a great company to the capitol, and destroyed the tribunitial tables, in which were recorded all the acts in Clodius's time. Clodius loudly complained of this proceeding; but Cicero answered, "That his appointment as a tribune was irregular, because he was of a patrician family, and consequently all his acts were invalid." Cato was displeased, and opposed Cicero in this assertion: not that he praised Clodius; on the contrary, he was extremely offended at his administration; but he represented, "That it would be a violent stretch of prerogative, for the senate to annul so many decrees and acts, among which were his own commission, and his regulations at Cyprus and Byzantium." The difference which this produced between Cato and Cicero, did not come to an absolute rupture; it only lessened the warmth of their friendship.

\* The consuls decreed for rebuilding his house in Rome near £11,000; for his Tuscan villa near £3,000; and for his Formian villa about half that sum, which Cicero called a very scanty estimate.

† Cicero had attempted this once before, when Clodius was present; but Caius, the brother of Clodius, being prætor, by his means they were rescued out of the hands of Cicero.

After this, Milo killed Clodius; and being arraigned for the fact, he chose Cicero for his advocate. The senate, fearing that the prosecution of a man of Milo's spirit and reputation might produce some tumult in the city, appointed Pompey to preside at this and the other trials; and to provide for the peace of the city, and the protection of the courts of justice. In consequence of which, he posted a body of soldiers in the forum before day, and secured every part of it. This made Milo apprehensive that Cicero would be disconcerted at so unusual a sight, and less able to plead. He therefore persuaded him to come in a litter to the forum; and to repose himself there till the judges were assembled, and the court filled: for he was not only timid in war, but he had his fear when he spoke in public; and in many causes he scarce left trembling even in the height and vehemence of his eloquence.

When he came out of the litter to open the cause of Milo, and saw Pompey seated on high, as in a camp, and weapons glittering all around the forum, he was so confounded that he could scarce begin his oration: for he shook, and his tongue faltered; though Milo attended the trial with great courage, and had disdained to let his hair grow, or to put on mourning. These circumstances contributed not a little to his condemnation: as for Cicero, his trembling was imputed rather to his anxiety for his friend, than to any particular timidity.

Cicero was appointed one of the priests called Augurs, in the room of young Crassus, who was killed in the Parthian war. Afterward the province of Cilicia was allotted to him, and he sailed thither with an army of twelve thousand foot, and two thousand six hundred horse. He had it in charge to bring Cappadocia to submit to king Ariobarzanes; which he accomplished to the satisfaction of all parties, without having recourse to arms; and finding the Cilicians elated on the miscarriage of the Romans in Parthia, and the commotions in Syria, he brought them to order by the gentleness of his government. He refused the presents which the neighbouring princes offered him; he excused the province from finding him a public table, and daily entertained, at his own charge, persons of honour and learning, not with magnificence indeed, but with elegance and propriety. He had no porter at his gate, nor did any man ever find him in bed; for he rose early in the morning, and kindly received those who came to pay their court to him, either standing or walking before his door. We are told that he never caused any man to be beaten with rods, or to have his garments rent;\* never gave opprobrious language in his anger, nor added insult to punishment. He recovered the public

\* This mark of ignominy was of great antiquity: "Wherefore Hanun took David's servants, and shaved off one half of their beards, and cut off their garments to the middle, even to their buttocks, and sent them away."—2 Sam. x. 4.

money which had been embezzled, and enriched the cities with it ; at the same time, he was satisfied if those who had been guilty of such frauds made restitution, and fixed no mark of infamy upon them.

He had also a taste for war : for he routed the bands of robbers that had possessed themselves of Mount Amanus, and was saluted by his army *Imperator*\* on that account. Cæcilius,† the orator, having desired him to send him some panthers from Cilicia for his games at Rome, in his answer he could not forbear boasting of his achievements. He said, “ There were no panthers left in Cilicia. Those animals, in their vexation to find that they were the only objects of war, while every thing else was at peace, were fled into Caria.”

In his return from his province, he stopped at Rhodes, and afterward made some stay at Athens ; which he did with great pleasure, in remembrance of his former conversations at that place. He had now the company of all that were most famed for erudition ; and visited his former friends and acquaintance. After he had received all due honours and marks of esteem from Greece, he passed on to Rome, where he found the fire of dissention kindled, and every thing tending to a civil war.

When the senate decreed him a triumph, he said, “ He had rather follow Cæsar’s chariot wheels in his triumph, if a reconciliation could be effected between him and Pompey.” And in private he tried every healing and conciliatory method by writing to Cæsar and entreating Pompey. After it came to an open rupture, and Cæsar was on his march to Rome, Pompey retired with numbers of the principal citizens in his train. Cicero did not attend him in his flight, and, therefore, it was believed he would join Cæsar. It is certain that he fluctuated greatly in his opinion, and was in the utmost anxiety ; for he says, in his epistles, “ Whither shall I turn ? Pompey has the more honourable cause ; but Cæsar manages his affairs with the greatest address, and is most able to save himself and his friends : in short, I know whom to avoid, but not whom to seek.”

At last, one Trebatius, a friend of Cæsar’s, signified to him by letter, that Cæsar thought he had reason to reckon him of his side, and to consider him as a partner of his hopes. But if his age would not permit it, he might retire into Greece, and live there in tranquillity, without any connexion with either party. Cicero was surprised that Cæsar did not write himself, and answered angrily,

\* He not only received this mark of distinction, but public thanksgivings were ordered at Rome for his success : and the people went near to decree him a triumph. His services, therefore, must have been considerable, and Plutarch seems to mention them too slightly.

† Not Cæcilius, but Cælius. He was then ædile, and wanted the panthers for his public shows.

“That he would do nothing unworthy of his political character.” Such is the account we have of the matter in his epistles.

However, upon Cæsar’s marching for Spain, he crossed the sea, and repaired to Pompey. His arrival was agreeable to the generality; but Cato blamed him privately for taking this measure. “As for me,” said he, “it would have been wrong to leave that party which I embraced from the beginning; but you might have been much more serviceable to your country and your friends, if you had staid at Rome, and accommodated yourself to events; whereas now, without any reason or necessity, you have declared yourself an enemy to Cæsar, and are come to share in the danger with which you had nothing to do.”

These arguments made Cicero change his opinion; especially, when he found that Pompey did not employ him upon any considerable service. It is true, no one was to be blamed for this but himself; for he made no secret of his repenting. He disparaged Pompey’s preparations; he insinuated his dislike of his counsels, and never spared his jests upon his allies. He was not, indeed, inclined to laugh himself; on the contrary, he walked about the camp with a very solemn countenance; but he often made others laugh, though they were very little inclined to it. Perhaps it may not be amiss to give a few instances:—When Domitius advanced a man who had no turn for war, to the rank of captain, and assigned for his reason, that he was an honest and prudent man, “Why then,” said Cicero, “do you not keep him for governor to your children?” When some were commending Theophanes the Lesbian, who was director of the board of works, for consoling the Rhodians on the loss of their fleet, “See,” said Cicero, “what it is to have a Grecian director!” When Cæsar was successful in almost every instance, and held Pompey, as it were, besieged, Lentulus said, “He was informed that Cæsar’s friends looked very sour.” “You mean, I suppose,” said Cicero, “that they are out of humour with him.” One Martius, newly arrived from Italy, told them a report prevailed at Rome, that Pompey was blocked up in his camp: “Then,” said Cicero, “you took a voyage on purpose to see it.” After Pompey’s defeat, Nonnius said, there was room yet for hope, for there were seven eagles left in the camp. Cicero answered, “That would be good encouragement, if we were to fight with jackdaws.” When Labienus, on the strength of some oracles, insisted that Pompey must be conqueror at last: “By this oracular generalship,” said Cicero, “we have lost our camp.”

After the battle of Pharsalia (in which he was not present on account of his ill health,) and after the flight of Pompey, Cato, who had considerable forces, and a great fleet at Dyrrhachium, desired Cicero to take the command, because his consular dignity gave

him a legal title to it. Cicero, however, not only declined it, but absolutely refused taking any farther share in the war. Upon which young Pompey and his friends called him traitor, drew their swords, and would certainly have despatched him, had not Cato interposed and conveyed him out of the camp.

He got safe to Brundisium, and staid there some time in expectation of Cæsar, who was detained by his affairs in Asia and Egypt. When he heard that the conqueror was arrived at Tarentum, and designed to proceed thence by land to Brundisium, he set out to meet him ; not without hope, nor yet without some shame and reluctance at the thought of trying how he stood in the opinion of a victorious enemy before so many witnesses. He had no occasion, however, either to do or say any thing beneath his dignity. Cæsar no sooner beheld him at a considerable distance, advancing before the rest, than he dismounted, and ran to embrace him ; after which, he went on discoursing with him alone for many furlongs. He continued to treat him with great kindness and respect ; insomuch that when he had written an encomium on Cato, which bore the name of that great man, Cæsar, in his answer, entitled *Anticato*, praised both the eloquence and conduct of Cicero, and said he greatly resembled Pericles and Theramenes.

When Quintus Ligarius was prosecuted for bearing arms against Cæsar, and Cicero had undertaken to plead his cause, Cæsar is reported to have said, " Why may we not give ourselves a pleasure, which we have not enjoyed so long, that of hearing Cicero speak ; since I have already taken my resolution as to Ligarius, who is clearly a bad man, as well as my enemy ? " But he was greatly moved when Cicero began ; and his speech, as it proceeded, had such a variety of pathos, so irresistible a charm, that his colour changed ; and it was evident that his mind was torn with conflicting passions. At last, when the orator touched on the battle of Pharsalia, he was so extremely affected, that his whole frame trembled, and he let drop some papers out of his hand. Thus conquered by the force of eloquence, he acquitted Ligarius.

The commonwealth being changed into a monarchy, Cicero withdrew from the scene of public business, and bestowed his leisure on the young men who were desirous to be instructed in philosophy. As these were of the best families, by his interest with them he once more obtained great authority in Rome. He made it his business to compose and translate philosophical dialogues, and to render the Greek terms of logic and natural philosophy in the Roman language. His ready turn for poetry likewise afforded him amusement. As in this period he spent most of his time at his Tusculan villa, he wrote to his friends, " That he led the life of Laertes ; " either by way of raillery, as his custom was, or from an ambitious desire of public employment, and discontent in his pre-

sent situation. Be that as it may, he rarely went to Rome, and then only to pay his court to Cæsar. He was always one of the first to vote him additional honours; and forward to say something new of him and his actions. Thus, when Cæsar ordered Pompey's statues, which had been pulled down, to be erected again, Cicero said, "That, by setting up Pompey's statues, he had established his own."

It is reported that he had formed a design to write the history of his own country; but he was prevented by many disagreeable circumstances, both public and private, into most of which he brought himself by his own indiscretion; for, in the first place, he divorced his wife Terentia. The reasons he assigned, were, that she had neglected him during the war; and even sent him out without necessaries. Besides, after his return to Italy, she behaved to him with little regard, and did not wait on him during his long stay at Brundisium. Nay, when his daughter, at that time very young, took so long a journey to see him, she allowed her but an indifferent equipage, and insufficient supplies. Indeed, according to his own account, his house was become naked and empty, through the many debts which she had contracted. Terentia, however, denied all these charges: and Cicero himself made a full apology for her, by marrying a young woman not long after. Terentia said, he took her merely for her beauty; but his freedman Tyro affirms, that he married her for her wealth, that it might enable him to pay his debts. She was, indeed, very rich, and her fortune was in the hands of Cicero, who was left her guardian. As his debts were great, his friends and relations persuaded him to marry the young lady, notwithstanding the disparity of years, and satisfy his creditors out of her fortune.

Antony, in his answer to the Philippics, taxes him with "repudiating a wife with whom he was grown old;"\* and rallies him on account of his perpetually keeping at home, like a man either unfit for business or war. Not long after this match, his daughter Tullia, who after the death of Piso had married Lentulus, died in childbed. The philosophers came from all parts to comfort him, for his loss affected him extremely; and he even put away his new bride, because she seemed to rejoice at the death of Tullia. In this posture were Cicero's domestic affairs.

As to those of the public, he had no share in the conspiracy against Cæsar, though he was one of Brutus's particular friends; and no man was more uneasy under the new establishment, or more desirous of having the commonwealth restored. Possibly they feared his natural deficiency of courage, as well as his time of life, at which the boldest begin to droop. After the work was done by Brutus and Cassius, the friends of Cæsar assembled to revenge his

\* Cicero was then sixty-two.

death ; and it was apprehended that Rome would again be plunged in civil wars. Antony, who was consul, ordered a meeting of the senate, and made a short speech on the necessity of union. But Cicero expatiated in a manner suitable to the occasion ; and persuaded the senate to pass a general amnesty as to all that had been done against Cæsar, and to decree provinces to Brutus and Cassius.

None of these things, however, took effect : for the people were inclined to pity on this event ; and when they beheld the dead body of Cæsar carried into the forum, where Antony showed them his robe, stained with blood, and pierced on all sides with swords, they broke out into a transport of rage. They sought all over the forum for the actors in that tragedy, and ran with lighted torches to burn their houses. By their precaution they escaped this danger ; but as they saw others no less considerable impending, they left the city.

Antony, elated with this advantage, became formidable to all the opposite party, who supposed that he would aim at nothing less than absolute power ; but Cicero had particular reason to dread him ; for, being sensible that Cicero's weight in the administration was established again, and of his strong attachment to Brutus, Antony could hardly bear his presence. Besides, there had long been some jealousy and dislike between them on account of the dissimilarity of their lives. Cicero, fearing the event, was inclined to go with Dolabella into Syria, as his lieutenant. But afterwards Hirtius and Pansa, who were to be consuls after Antony, persons of great merit, and good friends to Cicero, desired him not to leave them ; and promised, with his assistance, to destroy Antony. Cicero, without depending much on their scheme, gave up that of going with Dolabella, and agreed with the consuls elect to pass the summer in Athens, and return when they entered upon their office.

Accordingly, he embarked for that place without taking any principal Roman along with him. But his voyage being accidentally retarded, news was brought from Rome, (for he did not choose to be without news,) that there was a wonderful change in Antony ; that he took all his steps agreeably to the sense of the senate ; and that nothing but his presence was wanting to bring matters to the best establishment. He, therefore, condemned his excessive caution, and returned to Rome.

His first hopes were not disappointed. Such crowds came out to meet him, that almost a whole day was spent at the gates, and on his way home, in compliments and congratulations. Next day Antony convened the senate, and sent for Cicero ; but he kept his bed, pretending that he was indisposed with his journey. In reality, he seems to have been afraid of assassination, in consequence



of some hints he received by the way. Antony was extremely incensed at these suggestions, and ordered a party of soldiers either to bring him, or to burn his house in case of refusal. However, at the request of numbers who interposed, he revoked that order, and bade them only bring a pledge from his house.

After this, when they happened to meet, they passed each other in silence, and lived in mutual distrust. Mean time, young Cæsar, arriving from Apollonia, put in his claim as heir to his uncle, and sued Antony for twenty-five million *drachmas*,\* which he detained of the estate.

Hereupon, Philip, who had married the mother, and Marcellus, who was husband to the sister of Octavius, brought him to Cicero. It was agreed between them that Cicero should assist Cæsar with his eloquence and interest, both with the senate and the people; and that Cæsar should give Cicero all the protection that his wealth and military influence could afford: for the young man had already collected a considerable number of the veterans who had served under his uncle.

Cicero received the offer of his friendship with pleasure: for while Pompey and Cæsar were living, Cicero, it seems, had a dream, in which he thought he called some boys, the sons of senators, up to the capitol, because Jupiter designed to pitch upon one of them for sovereign of Rome. The citizens ran with all the eagerness of expectation, and placed themselves about the temple; and the boys in their *prætecta* sat silent. The doors suddenly opening, the boys rose up one by one, and, in their order, passed round the god, who reviewed them all, and sent them away disappointed: but when Octavius approached, he stretched out his hand to him, and said, "Romans, this is the person, who, when he comes to be your prince, will put an end to your civil wars." This vision, they tell us, made such an impression upon Cicero, that he perfectly retained the figure and countenance of the boy, though he did not yet know him. Next day, he went down to the *Campus Martius*, when the boys were just returning from their exercises; and the first who struck his eye, was the lad in the very form that he had seen in his dream. Astonished at the discovery, Cicero asked him who were his parents; and he proved to be the son of Octavius, a person not much distinguished in life, and of Attia, sister to Cæsar. As he was so near a relation, and Cæsar had no children of his own, he adopted him, and, by will, left him his estate. Cicero, after his dream, whenever he met young Octavius, is said to have treated him with particular regard; and he received those marks of his friendship with great satisfaction. Besides, he happened to be born the year that Cicero was consul.

\* Plutarch is mistaken in the sum. It appears from Paterculus and others that it was seven times as much.

These were pretended to be the causes of their present connexion. But the leading motive with Cicero was his hatred of Antony, and the next his natural avidity of glory ; for he hoped to throw the weight of Octavius into the scale of the commonwealth ; and the latter behaved to him with such a puerile deference, that he even called him father. Hence Brutus, in his letters to Atticus, expressed his indignation against Cicero, and said, " That, as through fear of Antony, he paid his court to young Cæsar, it was plain that he took not his measures for the liberty of his country, but only to obtain a gentle master for himself." Nevertheless, Brutus finding the son of Cicero at Athens, where he was studying under the philosophers, gave him a command, and employed him upon many services, which proved successful.

Cicero's power at this time was at its greatest height ; he carried every point that he desired ; insomuch that he expelled Antony, and raised such a spirit against him, that the consuls Hirtius and Pansa were sent to give him battle ; and Cicero likewise prevailed upon the senate to grant Cæsar the *fascēs*, with the dignity of prætor, as one who was fighting for his country.

Antony indeed was beaten ; but both the consuls falling in the action, the troops ranged themselves under the banners of Cæsar. The senate now fearing the views of a young man, who was so much favoured by fortune, endeavoured by honours and gifts to draw his forces from him, and to diminish his power. They alleged, that, as Antony was put to flight, there was no need to keep such an army on foot. Cæsar, alarmed at these vigorous measures, privately sent some friends to entreat and persuade Cicero to procure the consulship for them both ; promising, at the same time, that he should direct all affairs, according to his better judgment, and find him perfectly tractable, who was but a youth, and had no ambition for any thing but the title and the honour. Cæsar himself acknowledged afterwards, that, in his apprehensions of being entirely ruined and deserted, he seasonably availed himself of Cicero's ambition, persuaded him to stand for the consulship, and undertook to support his application with his whole interest.

In this case particularly, Cicero, old as he was, suffered himself to be imposed upon by this young man, solicited the people for him, and brought the senate into his interest. His friends blamed him for it at the time ; and it was not long before he was sensible that he had ruined himself, and given up the liberties of his country : for Cæsar was no sooner strengthened with the consular authority, than he gave up Cicero ;\* and reconciling himself to Antony and Lepidus, he united his powers with theirs, and divided the empire among them as if it had been a private estate. At the same time they proscribed above two hundred persons,

\* Instead of taking him for his colleague, he chose Quintus Pedius.

whom they had pitched upon for a sacrifice. The greatest difficulty and dispute was about the proscription of Cicero; for Antony would come to no terms, till he was first taken off. Lepidus agreed with Antony in this preliminary; but Cæsar opposed them both. They had a private congress for these purposes near the city of Bononia, which lasted three days. Cæsar is said to have contended for Cicero the two first days; but the third he gave him up. The sacrifices on each part were these: Cæsar was to abandon Cicero to his fate; Lepidus, his brother Paulus; and Antony, Lucius Cæsar, his uncle by the mother's side. Thus rage and rancour entirely stifled in them all sentiments of humanity; or, more properly speaking, they showed no beast is more savage than man, when he is possessed of power equal to his passion.

While his enemies were thus employed, Cicero was at his Tusculan villa, and his brother Quintus with him. When they were informed of the proscription, they determined to remove to Astyra, a country house of Cicero's near the sea; where they intended to take a ship, and repair to Brutus in Macedonia; for it was reported, that he was already very powerful in those parts. They were carried in their separate litters, oppressed with sorrow and despair; and often joining their litters on the road, they stopped to bemoan their mutual misfortunes. Quintus was the more dejected, because he was in want of necessaries; for, as he said, he had brought nothing from home with him. Cicero, too, had but a slender provision. They concluded, therefore, that it would be best for Cicero to hasten his flight, and for Quintus to return to his house, and get some supplies. This resolution being fixed upon, they embraced each other with every expression of sorrow, and then parted.

A few days after, Quintus and his son were betrayed by his servants to the assassins who came in quest of them, and lost their lives. As for Cicero, he was carried to Astyra; where finding a vessel, he immediately went on board, and coasted along to Circæum, with a favourable wind. The pilots were preparing immediately to sail from thence; but whether it was that he feared the sea, or had not yet given up all his hopes in Cæsar, he disembarked, and travelled a hundred furlongs on foot, as if Rome had been the place of his destination. Repenting, however, afterwards, he left that road, and made again for the sea. He passed the night in the most perplexing and horrid thoughts; insomuch, that he was sometimes inclined to go privately into Cæsar's house, and stab himself upon the altar of his domestic gods, to bring the divine vengeance upon his betrayer. But he was deterred from this by the fear of torture. Other alternatives equally distressful, presented themselves. At last, he put himself in the hands of his servants, and ordered them to carry him by sea to Cajeta, where he had a

delightful retreat in the summer, when the Etesian winds set in. There was a temple of Apollo on that coast, from which a flight of crows came, with great noise towards Cicero's vessel, as it was making land. They perched on both sides his sail yard, where some sat croaking and others pecking the ends of the ropes. All looked upon this as an ill omen; yet Cicero went on shore, and, entering his house, lay down to repose himself. In the mean time, a number of the crows settled in the chamber window, and croaked in the most doleful manner. One of them even entered it, and alighting on the bed, attempted, with its beak, to draw off the clothes with which he had covered his face. On sight of this, the servants began to reproach themselves. "Shall we," said they, "remain to be spectators of our master's murder? Shall we not protect him, so innocent and so great a sufferer as he is, when the brute creatures give him marks of their care and attention?" Then partly by entreaty, partly by force, they got him into his litter, and carried him towards the sea.

Mean time the assassins came up. They were commanded by Herennius, a centurion, and Pompilius, a tribune, whom Cicero had formerly defended when under a prosecution for parricide. The doors of the house being made fast, they broke them open. Still Cicero did not appear, and the servants who were left behind, said they knew nothing of him. But a young man, named Philologus, his brother Quintus's freedman, whom Cicero had instructed in the liberal arts and sciences, informed the tribune, that they were carrying the litter through deep shades to the sea side. The tribune, taking a few soldiers with him, ran to the end of the walk where he was to come out. But Cicero perceiving that Herennius was hastening after him, ordered his servants to set the litter down, and putting his left hand to his chin, as it was his custom to do, he looked steadfastly upon his murderers. Such an appearance of misery in his face, overgrown with hair, and wasted with anxiety, so much affected the attendants of Herennius, that they covered their faces during the melancholy scene. That officer despatched him, while he stretched his neck out of the litter to receive the blow. Thus fell Cicero, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Herennius cut off his head, and, by Antony's command, his hands too, with which he had written the *Philippics*. Such was the title he gave his orations against Antony, and they retain it to this day.

When these parts of Cicero's body were brought to Rome, Antony happened to be holding an assembly for the election of magistrates. He no sooner beheld them than he cried out, "Now let there be an end of all proscriptions. He ordered the head and hands to be fastened up over the *rostra*, a dreadful spectacle to the Roman people, who thought they did not so much see the face of Cicero as a picture of Antony's soul. Yet he did one act of justice

on this occasion, which was the delivering of Philologus to Pomponia, the wife of Quintus. When she was mistress of his fate, beside other horrid punishments, she made him cut off his own flesh by piecemeal, and roast and eat it. This is the account some historians give us; but Tyro, Cicero's freedman, makes no mention of the treachery of Philologus.

I am informed that, a long time after, Cæsar, going to see one of his grandsons, found him with a book of Cicero's in his hands. The boy, alarmed at the accident, endeavoured to hide the book under his robe; which Cæsar perceived, and took it from him; and after having run most of it over as he stood, he returned it, and said, "My dear child, this was an eloquent man, and a lover of his country."

Being consul at the time when he conquered Antony, he took the son of Cicero for his colleague; under whose auspices the senate took down the statues of Antony, defaced all the monuments of his honour, and decreed, that, for the future, none of his family should bear the name of Marcus. Thus the divine justice reserved the completion of Antony's punishment for the house of Cicero.

## DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO

## COMPARED.

THESE are the most memorable circumstances in the lives of Demosthenes and Cicero, that could be collected from the historians which have come to our knowledge. Though I shall not pretend to compare their talents for speaking, yet this, I think, I ought to observe, that Demosthenes, by the exertion of all his powers, both natural and acquired, upon that object only, came to exceed, in energy and strength, the most celebrated pleaders of his time; in grandeur and magnificence of style, all that were eminent for the sublime of declamation; and in accuracy and art, the most able professors of rhetoric. Cicero's studies were more general, and, in his treasures of knowledge, he had a great variety. He has left us a number of philosophical tracts, which he composed upon the principles of the Academy. And we see something of ostentation of learning in the very orations which he wrote for the forum and the bar.

Their different tempers are discernible in their way of writing. That of Demosthenes, without any embellishments of wit and humour, is always grave and serious: nor does it smell of the lamp, as Pytheas tauntingly said, but of the water-drinker, of the man of thought, of one who was characterized by the austerities of life. But Cicero, who loved to indulge his vein of pleasantry, so much affected the wit, that he sometimes sunk into the buffoon; and, by affecting gayety in the most serious things to serve his client, he has offended against the rules of propriety and decorum. Thus in the oration of Cælius he says—"Where is the absurdity, if a man with an affluent fortune at command, shall indulge himself with pleasure? It would be madness not to enjoy what is in his power, particularly when some of the greatest philosophers place man's chief good in pleasure?"\*

When Cato impeached Murena, Cicero, who was then consul, undertook his defence, and, in his pleading, took occasion to ridicule several paradoxes of the Stoics, because Cato was of that sect. He succeeded so far as to raise a laugh in the assembly, and even among the judges. Upon which Cato smiled, and said to those who sat by him, "What a pleasant consul we have!" Cicero, indeed, was naturally facetious; and he not only loved his jests, but his countenance was gay and smiling: whereas Demos-

\* Plutarch has not quoted this passage with accuracy. Cicero apologizes for the excesses of youth, but does not defend or approve the pursuit of pleasure.

thenes had a care and thoughtfulness in his aspect, which he seldom or never put off. Hence his enemies, as he confesses, called him a morose ill-natured man.

It appears also from their writings, that Demosthenes, when he touches upon his own praise, does it with an inoffensive delicacy. Indeed, he never gives into it at all, but when he has some great point in view; and on all other occasions is extremely modest; but Cicero, in his orations, speaks in such high terms of himself, that it is plain he had a most intemperate vanity. Thus he cries out—

Let arms revere the robe; the warrior's laurel  
Yield to the palm of eloquence.

At length he came to commend not only his own actions and operations in the commonwealth, but his orations too, as well those which he had only pronounced, as those which he had committed to writing, as if, with a juvenile vanity, he were vying with the rhetoricians Isocrates and Anaximenes, instead of being inspired with the great ambition of guiding the Roman people—

Fierce in the field, and dreadful to the foe.

It is necessary, indeed, for a statesman to have the advantage of eloquence; but it is mean and illiberal to rest on such a qualification, or to hunt after praise in that quarter. In this respect Demosthenes behaved with more dignity, with a superior elevation of soul. He said—"His ability to explain himself was a mere acquisition, and not so perfect but that it required great candour and indulgence in the audience." He thought it must be, as indeed it is, only a low and little mind that can value itself upon such attainments.

They both, undoubtedly, had political abilities, as well as powers to persuade. They had them in such a degree, that men who had armies at their devotion, stood in need of their support. Thus Chares, Diopithes, and Leosthenes, availed themselves of Demosthenes; Pompey and young Cæsar, of Cicero: as Cæsar himself acknowledges, in his Commentaries addressed to Agrippa and Mæcenas.

It is an observation, no less just than common, that nothing makes so thorough a trial of a man's disposition, as power and authority; for they awake every passion, and discover every latent vice. Demosthenes never had an opportunity for a trial of this kind. He never obtained any eminent charge; nor did he lead those armies against Philip, which his eloquence had raised. But Cicero went quæstor into Sicily, and proconsul into Cilicia and Cappadocia; at a time, too, when avarice reigned without control; when the governors of provinces, thinking it beneath them to take a clandestine advantage, fell to open plunder; when, to take another's

property, was thought no great crime, and he who took moderately passed for a man of character. Yet at such a time as this, Cicero gave many proofs of his contempt for money; many of his humanity and goodness. At Rome, with the title only of consul, he had an absolute and dictatorial power against Catiline and his accomplices: on which he verified the prediction of Plato, "That every state will be delivered from its calamities, when, by the favour of fortune, great power unites with wisdom and justice in one person."

It is mentioned to the disgrace of Demosthenes, that his eloquence was mercenary; that he privately composed orations both for Phormio and Apollodorus, though adversaries in the same cause. To which we may add, that he was suspected of receiving money from the king of Persia, and condemned for taking bribes of Harpalus. Supposing some of these the calumnies of those who wrote against him, (and they are not a few,) yet it is impossible to affirm that he was proof against the presents which were sent him by princes, as marks of honour and respect. This was too much to be expected from a man who vested his money at interest upon ships. Cicero, on the other hand, had magnificent presents sent him by the Sicilians, when he was *ædile*; by the king of Cappadocia, when *proconsul*; and his friends pressed him to receive their benefactions, when in exile; yet, as we have already observed, he refused them all.

The banishment of Demosthenes reflected infamy upon him; for he was convicted of taking bribes: that of Cicero, great honour; because he suffered for destroying traitors, who had vowed the ruin of their country. The former, therefore, departed without exciting pity or regret: for the latter, the senate changed their habit, continued in mourning, and could not be persuaded to pass any act till the people had recalled him. Cicero, indeed, spent the time of exile in an inactive manner in Macedonia; but with Demosthenes it was a busy period in his political character. Then it was (as we have mentioned above) that he went to the several cities of Greece, strengthened the common interest, and defeated the designs of the Macedonian ambassadors. In which respect he discovered a much greater regard for his country than Themistocles and Alcibiades, when under the same misfortune. After his return, he pursued his former plan of government, and continued the war with Antipater and the Macedonians; whereas Lælius reproached Cicero in full senate, with sitting silent, when Cæsar, who was not yet come to years of maturity, applied for the consulship contrary to law. And Brutus, in one of his letters, charged him "with having reared a greater and more unsupportable tyranny, than that which they had destroyed."

As to the manner of their death we cannot think of Cicero's with-



out a contemptuous kind of pity. How deplorable to see an old man, for want of proper resolution, suffering himself to be carried about by his servants, endeavouring to hide himself from death, which was a messenger that nature would soon have sent him, and overtaken notwithstanding, and slaughtered by his enemies! The other, though he did discover some fear, by taking sanctuary, is, nevertheless, to be admired for the provision he had made of poison, for the care with which he had preserved it, and his noble manner of using it: so that, when Neptune did not afford him an asylum, he had recourse to a more inviolable altar, rescued himself from the weapons of the guards, and eluded the cruelty of Antipater.



# AN ACCOUNT

OF

*Weights, Measures, and Denominations of Money, mentioned by  
PLUTARCH.*

(FROM THE TABLES OF DR. ARBUTHNOT.)



## WEIGHTS.

	lb.	oz.	dwt.	gr.
The Roman libra, or pound . . . . .	00	10	18	13 $\frac{5}{7}$
The Attic mina, or pound . . . . .	00	11	07	16 $\frac{2}{7}$
The Attic talent, equal to sixty minæ . . . . .	56	11	07	17 $\frac{1}{2}$

## DRY MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

	peck.	gal.	pints.
The Roman modius . . . . .	1	0	0 $\frac{2}{9}$
The Attic chœnix, one pint, 15,705 $\frac{1}{8}$ solid inches, nearly . . . . .	0	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
The Attic medimnus . . . . .	4	0	6 $\frac{1}{10}$

## LIQUID MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

	pints.	solid inches.
The cotyle . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$	2,141 $\frac{1}{2}$
The cyathus . . . . .	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0,356 $\frac{1}{2}$
The chus . . . . .	6	25,698

## MEASURES OF LENGTH.

	Eng. paces.	ft.	in.
The Roman foot . . . . .	0	0	11 $\frac{2}{5}$
The Roman cubit . . . . .	0	1	5 $\frac{2}{3}$
The Roman pace . . . . .	0	4	10
The Roman furlong . . . . .	120	4	4
The Roman mile . . . . .	967	0	0
The Grecian cubit . . . . .	0	1	6 $\frac{1}{5}$
The Grecian furlong . . . . .	100	4	4 $\frac{1}{3}$
The Grecian mile . . . . .	805	5	0

*N. B. In this computation the English pace is five feet.*

## MONEY.

	£	s.	d.	q.
The quadrans . . . . .	about 0	0	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
The as . . . . .	0	0	0	0 $\frac{3}{10}$
The sestertius . . . . .	0	0	1	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
The sestertium, equal to 1000 sestertii . . . . .	8	1	5	2
The denarius . . . . .	0	0	7	3
The Attic obolus . . . . .	0	0	1	1 $\frac{1}{6}$
The drachma . . . . .	0	0	7	3
The mina, equal to 100 drachmæ . . . . .	3	4	7	0
The talent, equal to 60 minæ . . . . .	193	15	0	0
The stater-aureus of the Greeks, weighing two Attic drachmæ . . . . .	0	16	1	3
The stater-daricus . . . . .	1	12	3	0
The Roman aureus was of different value at dif- ferent periods. According to the propor- tion mentioned by Tacitus, when it ex- changed for twenty-five denarii, it was of the same value as the Grecian stater . . . . .	0	16	1	3

# A TABLE

OF

## THE MOST DIFFICULT PROPER NAMES

WHICH OCCUR IN THIS WORK.

*Properly divided and accented, for the Use of Persons who have not had a Classical Education.*

### A

An-ti-mā-chus  
An-ti-gō-nus  
Aris-to-mē-nes  
Aris-to-dē-mus  
A-ge-si-lā-us  
An-tal-cī-das  
Ar-chi-dā-mus  
A-pol-lo-the-mis  
A-re-o-pā-gus  
A-bro-tō-non  
A-ris-ti-des  
A-phē-tæ  
Ar-chi-tē-les  
A-ces-to-dō-rus  
An-ti-phā-tes  
A-ris-to-bū-le  
Ar-dē-a-tes  
An-do-cī-des  
As-ty-ō-chus  
An-dro-mā-chus  
A-drā-num  
A-dran-ī-tes  
A-chra-dī-na

A-ris-tō-mā-che  
A-lo-pe-ce  
A-mom-pha-re-tus  
An-ta-gō-ras  
An-ti-ō-chus  
A-gā-tho-cles  
A-cro-ta-tus  
A-ri-ā-rā-thes  
An-tī-pā-ter  
An-tī-gō-nus  
An-tī-gē-nes  
Aux-ī-mum  
A-lex-an-drō-pō-lis  
A-then-ō-dō-rus  
Ari-mī-um  
A-ris-tō-phon  
Æs-chī-nes

### B

Bē-rē-nīce

### C

Cha-ri-lā-us  
Cle-ō-phy-lus  
Ce-lē-res  
Chre-o-co-pī-dæ

Cle-ō-bis	E-lā-tus
Ca-pe-na-tes	Eu-rō-tas
Ca-pe-næ	Eu-ry-bi-ǎ-des
Cla-zō-mě-næ	Er-go-tě-les
Ca-tǎ-na	E-ra-sis-trǎ-tus
Cle-o-crī-tus	Eu-cli-des
Ci-thæ-ron	Eu-mě-nes
Car-ne-ǎ-des	Eu-phrǎ-tes
Che-lī-dō-nis	E-ra-to-sthě-nes
Cy-la-rǎ-bus	F
Chæ-ro-ně-a	Fi-de-næ
Cam-by-ses	Fi-dě-na-tes
Cra-tě-rus	G
Cha-ri-dě-mus	Ger-mǎ-num
Cli-to-mǎ-chus	Gym-nō-so-phistǎ
Ce-thě-gus	Gan-da-rī-tes
D	H
Di-ō-cles	He-lō-tes
Di-os-co-rī-des	Hip-po-nī-cus
De-mǎ-des	He-rǎ-clī-des
De-mo-nī-des	He-ro-dō-tus
Di-no-mǎ-che	Hy-dro-phō-rus
Dě-mo-strǎ-tus	Hy-per-bō-lus
Di-ra-des	Her-mi-ōne
De-ma-rě-tus	I
Dě-i-o-tǎ-rus	Ic-ě-tes
De-ma-rǎ-tus	I-do-mě-neus
Da-rī-us	K
E	Ke-rǎ-ta
Eu-nō-mus	L
Eu-ry-tī-on	Le-o-nī-das
Eu-ty-chī-das	Le-o-ty-chī-das
Eu-ry-tio-ni-dǎ	Ly-cur-gī-dǎ
Ep-hō-ri	Le-o-bō-tes

Lam-psā-cus  
 Ly-si-mā-chus  
 Le-pī-dus

## M

Ma-nī-pū-li  
 Ma-ni-pu-lā-res  
 Mi-lā-res  
 Me-gā-cles  
 Mil-ti-ā-des  
 Mā-rā-thon  
 My-cā-le  
 Me-ta-gē-nes  
 Me-ga-ra  
 Mi-thrī-da-tes

## N

Nū-mī-tor  
 Ne-ō-cles  
 Ni-ca-gō-ras  
 Ni-co-gē-nes

## O

Ob-ti-lē-tis  
 Or-tha-gō-ras  
 O-ne-sī-crī-tus  
 O-rī-cum

## P

Pe-pa-re-thī-an  
 Pry-tā-nis  
 Po-ly-dec-tes  
 Po-ly-dō-rus  
 Phi-lo-ste-phā-nus  
 Pæ-da-re-tus  
 Pi-sis-trā-tī-das  
 Pon-ti-fī-ces  
 Pi-sis-trā-tus

Pit-tā-cus  
 Pry-tā-ne-um  
 Pre-si-le-us  
 Phry-nī-chus  
 Pha-le-rus  
 Pe-lo-pī-das  
 Po-lē-mon  
 Pex-o-dō-rus  
 Pha-sē-lis  
 Pa-si-crā-tes  
 Per-se-pō-lis  
 Po-ly-mā-chus  
 Phi-lo-xā-nus

## Q

Qui-rī-tes

## R

Rhoe-sā-ces

## S

Stra-to-nī-cus  
 Se-ri-phus  
 Sy-bā-ris  
 Ste-sim-brō-tus  
 Sa-ty-rus  
 So-phe-ne  
 Sō-phō-cles  
 Spi-thri-dā-tes  
 Sā-lā-mis  
 Se-rā-pis  
 Sta-tī-ra

## T

Tha-les  
 Thes-mo-thē-tæ  
 The-mis-tō-cles  
 Ther-mo-py-læ

Troc-ze-ne  
 Tol-mĩ-des  
 The-ra-mě-nes  
 Ti-mo-de-mus  
 Ti-mo-phã-nes  
 Te-gě-tæ  
 Thes-sa-lo-ni-ca  
 Ten-tã-mus

Ti-gra-nes  
 The-o-dõ-tus  
 Tax-ĩ-les  
 U  
 U-li-ã-des  
 X  
 Xe-nõ-cles  
 Xe-no-dõ-chus



