PLUTARCH'S LIVES,

TRANSLATED FROM

THE ORIGINAL GREEK;

WITH

NOTES CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL,

AND A

LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

BY JOHN LANGHORNE, D.D.

AND

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IN SIX VOLUMES.

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THE

LIFE

OF

SERTORIUS.

SUMMARY.

Similar events which have happened to men of the same name. Sertorius makes his first campaign against the Cimbri and Teutones. His exploits in Spain. He distinguishes himself in the Marsian war, where he loses an eye; declares against Sylla. Marius joins Cinna and Sertorius. The latter puts to death four thousand slaves, the instruments of Marius' cruelties: sets off to take possession of Spain; succeeds in his enterprise, and by his affability of conduct renders himself highly popular: Is obliged to retire from that country, but subsequently returns to it. Description of the Fortunate Islands. He passes over to Africa, and makes war upon Ascalis: orders Antæus' tomb to be opened. His character: Hind: various successes against the Roman generals: over Metellus. He defeats that general's design upon the Langobritæ; acquires the esteem of the Spaniards by his liberality: has their children instructed in the Greek and Roman literature: Perpenna compelled by his troops to join Sertorius. He moderates the ardour of his barbarian allies. His stratagem to reduce the Characitani. His reputation increases on Pompey's arrival in Spain. He takes Lauron in his presence; gains a great battle over Pompey; finds his hind again; engages Pompey and Metellus, and obliges them to separate. Metellus sets a price on his head. Panegyric on Sertorius' conduct: His patriotism, and piety towards his mother: Magnanimity in his treaty with Mithridates; and conditions. Perpenna stirs up his friends against Sertorius, who is assassinated by the conspirators. Pompey puts Perpenna to death.

IT is not at all astonishing that Fortune, in the variety of her motions through a course of numberless ages, should frequently happen to hit upon the same point, and to produce events perfectly similar. For, if the number of events be infinite, she may easily furnish herself with parallels in such abundance of matter: if their number be limited, there must necessarily, after the whole is run through, be a return of the same occurrences.

There are some who take a pleasure in collecting from history or conversation those accidents and adventures, which have such a characteristical likeness, as to appear the effects of reason and foresight. For example, there were two eminent persons of the name of Attis[1], one a Syrian and the other an Arcadian, who were both killed by a boar. There were two Actæons, one of whom was torn in pieces by his dogs, and the other by his lovers[2]. Of the two Scipios, one conquered Carthage, and the other demolished it. Troy was thrice taken; once by Hercules on account of Laomedon's horses, next by Agamemnon with the assistance of a wooden horse, and thirdly by Charidemus, when a horse accidentally stood in the way, and prevented the Trojans from shutting the gates so quickly as they ought to have done[3]. Of two cities bearing the names of the most

[1] Pausanias in his Achaïcs (vii. 17.) mentions one Attis or Attes, the son of Calaüs the Phrygian, who introduced the worship of the Mother of the gods among the Lydians. He was himself under a natural incapacity of having children, and therefore, like the fox in the fable, might possibly be the first who proposed that all the priests of that goddess should be eunuchs. Pausanias adds that Jupiter, displeased at his being so great a favourite with her, sent a boar, which ravaged the fields and slew Attis with many others of the Lydians, since which time the inhabitants of Pessinus, a city consecrated to Cybele, have abominated swine. We know nothing of any other Attis.

[2] Actæon the son of Aristæus was torn in pieces by his own dogs, and Actæon the son of Melissus by the Bacchiadæ. See the Scholiast upon Apollonius. (iv. par. 75.)

[3] See Polyæn. Strat. iii. 14.*

odoriferous plants, Ios[4] and Smyrna (' Violet,' and ' Myrrh'), Homer is said to have been born in one, and to have died in the other. To these instances we may add, that some of the generals who have been the greatest warriors, and have exerted their capacity for stratagem in the most successful manner, have had but one eye; I mean Philip, Antigonus, Annibal, and Sertorius, whose Life I am now going to write. A man, whose conduct with respect to women was preferable to that of Philip, who was more faithful to his friends than Antigonus, and more humane to his enemies than Annibal; but who, though he was inferior to none of them in capacity, fell short of them all in success. Fortune indeed was ever more cruel to him, than his most inveterate and avowed enemies; yet he showed himself a match for Metellus in experience, for Pompey in noble daring, for Sylla in his victories, nay, for the whole Roman people in power, and was all the while an exile and a sojourner among barbarians.

The Grecian general, who in our opinion most resembles him, is Eumenes of Cardia[5]. Both of them excelled in point of generalship; in all the arts of stratagem, as well as in courage. Both were banished from their own countries, and commanded armies. And both had to contend with Fortune, who perse-

[4] Some suppose Ios to have been not a town, but an island. Were it so however, there might be a town in it of the same name, as was often the case in the Greek islands. (L.) Smyrna claimed the honour of Homer's birth, but this was disputed by six other cities:

Seven wealthy towns contend for Homer dead,
Through which the living Homer begg'd his bread.

But Homer's was not a singular fate:

He ask'd for bread, and he received a stone,

might be inscribed upon many a scholar's tomb. Smyrna was the birth-place likewise of Quintus Calaber, the continuator of Homer in fourteen books, who lived about the beginning of the third century.*

[5] In the Thracian Chersonese. The name of this city, meaning ' Heart,' has given birth to more than one etymology. See Steph. Byzant., and Plin. H. N. iv. 11., who most naturally refers it to the form of the city.*

cuted them with so much violence, that at last they were assassinated through the treachery of those very persons, whom they had often led to victory.

Quintus Sertorius was of a respectable family in the town of Nursia, and the country of the Sabines. Having lost his father when a child, he had a liberal education given him by his mother, whom upon that account he always loved with the greatest tenderness *. Her name was Rhea. He was sufficiently qualified to speak in a court of justice; and by his oratorical abilities gained some interest, when but a youth, in Rome itself. But his greater talents for the camp, and his success as a soldier, turned his ambition into the channel of war.

His first campaign he made under Cæpio[6], when the Cimbri and Teutones broke into Gaul. The Romans fought a battle, in which they behaved like cowards, and were put to the rout. Upon this occasion Sertorius lost his horse, and received many wounds; yet he swam over the Rhone, armed as he was with his breast-plate and shield, in spite of the violence of the torrent. Such was his strength of body, and so much had he improved that strength by exercise.

The same enemy made a second irruption, with such prodigious numbers and menaces so dreadful, that it was difficult to prevail upon a Roman to keep his post, or to obey his general. Marius had at that time the command, and Sertorius offered his service to go as a spy[7], and to bring him an account of the enemy. For this purpose he assumed a Gaulish habit, and having learned as much of the language as

* See below, p. 30, and the Life of Coriolanus, Vol. II. and not. (2.) ib.

[6] In the printed text it is 'Scipio;' but two MSS. give us 'Cæpio.' And it certainly was Q. Servilius Cæpio, who with the consul Cn. Mallius was (in consequence, chiefly, of his temerity) defeated by the Cimbri, B. C. 105. See Suppl. Liv. lxvii. 5.

[7] Upon great emergencies, a man of character and honour descends to act in this capacity. The names of Gideon (Judg. vii. 9.) and Alfred, in authentic history, and of Ulysses and Diomede, &c. (Hom. Il. x.) in fable, suffice at least to rescue the hardihood of Sertorius from reprobation.*

might suffice for common address, he mingled with the barbarians. When he had seen and heard enough to let him into their measures, he returned to Marius, who honoured him with the established rewards of valour; and throughout the whole war he gave such proofs of his courage and capacity, as raised him to distinction, and gained him the entire confidence of his general.

After the war with the Cimbri and Teutones, he was sent as a legionary tribune under Didius into Spain, and took up his winter-quarters in Castulo [8], a city of the Celtiberians. The soldiers living in great plenty behaved in an insolent and disorderly manner, and commonly drank to intoxication. The barbarians, observing this, held them in contempt; and one night having procured assistance from their neighbours the Gyrisœnians [9], they entered the houses where they were quartered, and put them to the sword. Sertorius, having with a few more effected his escape, sallied out, and collecting them into a body marched round the town, till he came to the gate at which the Gyrisœnians had been privately admitted: this he found open, and entered; but he took care not to commit the same error, which they had done. He placed a guard there, made himself master of every part of the town, and slew all the inhabitants who were able to bear arms. After this execution, he ordered his soldiers to lay aside their own arms and clothes, and put on those of the barbarians, and in that disguise to follow him to the city of the Gyrisœnians, whence their night-invaders had issued. The people, deceived by the well-known suits of armour, opened their gates and sallied forth, with the expectation of meeting their friends and

[8] *Hod.* Cazorla, a town of New Castile, on the confines of Andalusia. Plin. H. N. iii. 2.

[9] As this name never occurs elsewhere, it has been conjectured that we should read 'Orisians', who were a people of that district, (L.) or 'Oretanians,' if we prefer the authority of Plin. (ib. 3.) to that of Cellarius.*

fellow-citizens in all the joy of success. The consequence of which was, that the chief part of them were cut in pieces at the gates; the rest surrendered, and were sold as slaves.

By this manœuvre, the name of Sertorius became celebrated in Spain; and, upon his return to Rome, he was appointed quæstor in Cisalpine Gaul. That appointment proved a very seasonable one; for the Marsian war[10] soon afterward breaking out, and Sertorius being employed to levy troops and to provide arms, he proceeded in that commission with such expedition and activity, that while effeminacy and supineness were spreading among the rest of the Roman youth, he was considered as a man of gallant enterprise.

Neither did his martial intrepidity abate when he arrived at the degree of general. His personal exploits were still great, and he faced danger in the most fearless manner; in consequence of which, he had one of his eyes struck out. In this, however, he always gloried. Others, he said, did not constantly carry about with them the honourable badges of their valour, but sometimes laid aside their chains, their truncheons, and their coronets; while he had permanent evidences of his bravery, and those who saw his misfortune saw at the same time his courage. The people, likewise, treated him with the highest respect; and when he entered the theatre, received him with the loudest plaudits and acclamations; an honour, which officers distinguished for their age and achievements did not easily obtain.

Yet, when he offered himself a candidate for the office of tribune of the people, he lost it through the opposition of Sylla's faction; which was the chief cause of his perpetual enmity against that general. When Marius was overpowered by Sylla and fled, and the latter had set off to carry on the war against Mithridates, Octavius one of the consuls remained

[10] See the Life of Lucullus, Vol. III.

in Sylla's interest; but Cinna the other, whose temper was fond of innovation, endeavoured to revive the sinking faction of Marius, and Sertorius joined him in the attempt; the rather, because he perceived that Octavius did not act with vigour, and that he distrusted Marius' friends.

Some time afterward a great battle was fought by the consuls in the Forum, in which Octavius was victorious, and Cinna and Sertorius having lost not much fewer than ten thousand men, were compelled to fly. But as there were many troops scattered up and down in Italy, they gained them by promises, and with this addition found themselves able to make fresh head against Octavius. At the same time Marius arrived from Africa, and offered to range himself under Cinna's banners, as a private man under the consul. The officers were of opinion, that they ought to receive him; Sertorius alone opposed it—whether it was, that he thought Cinna would pay less attention to himself, when he had a person so much more illustrious (as a general) in his army, or feared the cruelty of Marius would again throw all their affairs into confusion; as he indulged his resentments without any regard to justice or moderation, whenever he had the advantage. He remonstrated, that being already superior to the enemy, they had not much left to achieve; but if they admitted Marius among them, he would rob them at once of all the honour and the power, as he could not endure an associate in command, and was treacherous in every thing where his own interest was concerned.

Cinna answered, that Sertorius' sentiments were perfectly right; but that he was ashamed, and indeed at a loss how to reject Marius, after he had invited him to take a part in the direction of affairs. Sertorius replied, "I imagined that Marius had come "of his own accord into Italy, and I pointed out to "you what in that case it was most expedient for "you to do: but, as he came upon your invitation,

" you should not have deliberated[11] for a single mo-
" ment, whether or not he was to be admitted. You
" should have received him immediately. True
" honour leaves no room for doubt and hesitation."

Cinna then sent for Marius; and, the forces being divided into three parts, each of these three great officers had a distinct command. When the war was finished, Cinna and Marius indulged themselves in every kind of insolence and cruelty. Sertorius alone neither put any man to death to glut his own revenge, nor committed any other outrage: on the contrary, he reproached Marius with his savage proceedings, and applying to Cinna in private prevailed upon him to make a more moderate use of his power. At last, finding that the slaves, whom Marius had admitted as his fellow-soldiers and afterward employed as the guards of his tyranny[12], were a strong and numerous body; and that partly by the order or permission of Marius, and partly by their native ferocity, they proceeded to the greatest excesses, killing their masters, abusing their mistresses, and violating the children; he deemed these outrages insupportable, and shot them all with arrows in their camp, though their number was not less than four thousand.

After the death of Marius, the subsequent assassination of Cinna, and the appointment of young Marius, to the consulship (contrary to the will of Sertorius, and the laws of Rome) Carbo, Scipio, and Norbanus carried on the war against Sylla, now returned to Italy, but without any success. For sometimes the officers behaved in a mean and dastardly manner, and sometimes the troops deserted in large bodies. In this case Sertorius began to think his presence of no importance, as he saw their affairs under a miserable direction, and persons of the least understanding invested with the greatest

[11] *Qui deliberant, desciverunt.* (Tac.)
[12] The Bardiæans. See the Life of Marius, Vol. III. p. 176, and not. (72.)*

share of power. He was the more confirmed in this opinion, when Sylla encamped near Scipio, and amusing him with caresses under pretence of an approaching peace, was all the while corrupting his troops. Sertorius forewarned Scipio of it several times, and told him what would be the event, but he met with no attention.

Giving up Rome therefore as lost, he retired with the utmost expedition into Spain; hoping, if he could get the government there into his hands, that he should be able to afford protection to those of his friends, who might be beaten in Italy. He met with dreadful storms on his way, and when he came to the mountains adjoining to Spain, the barbarians insisted that he should pay toll, and purchase his passage over them. At this his attendants were fired with indignation, thinking it insufferable that a Roman proconsul should pay toll to such a crew of barbarians. But he made light of the seeming disgrace, and said, "Time was what he purchased, the most "precious thing in the world to a man engaged in "great attempts." He therefore satisfied the demands of the mountaineers, and passed over into Spain without losing a moment.

He found the country very populous, and abounding in youth fit for war: but at the same time the people, oppressed by the avarice and rapacity of their former rulers, were ill-disposed toward any Roman government whatever. To remove this aversion, he tried to gain the better sort by his affable and obliging manner, and the populace by lowering the taxes. But his excusing them from providing quarters for the soldiers was the most agreeable measure. For he ordered his men to pass the winter in tents without the walls, and he himself set them the example. He did not, however, place his whole dependence upon the attachment of the barbarians. Whatever Romans had settled there, and were fit to bear arms, he incorporated with his troops: he provided such a variety of warlike machines, and built such

a number of ships, as kept the cities in awe; and, though his address was mild and gentle in peace, he rendered himself formidable by his preparations for war.

As soon as he was informed that Sylla had made himself master of Rome, and that the faction of Marius and Carbo was entirely suppressed, an army he concluded would soon be sent against him under the conduct of an able general. For this reason he despatched Julius Salinator, with six thousand foot, to block up the passes of the Pyrenees. In a little time, Caius Annius arrived on the part of Sylla: but finding it impossible to dislodge Salinator, he sat down at the foot of the mountain, not knowing how to proceed. While he was in this perplexity, one Calpurnius surnamed Lenarius assassinated Salinator; and his troops in consequence quitting the Pyrenees, Annius passed them, having easily repulsed with his large army the few who opposed him. Sertorius, not being in a condition to give him battle, retired with three thousand men to New Carthage[47]; where he embarked, and crossed over into Africa. The Maurusian coast was the first land he made; and his men going on shore to water, and not being upon their guard, the barbarians attacked and killed a considerable number of them; so that he was forced to set sail back for Spain. There however he found the coasts protected, so that it was impracticable to disembark; but having met with some vessels belonging to Cilician pirates, he persuaded them to join him, and landed in the isle of Pityusa[48], forcing his way through Annius' guards.

Soon afterward Annius made his appearance with a numerous fleet, on board of which were five thousand men. Sertorius ventured to engage him; though his vessels were small, and constructed rather for swiftness than strength. But a violent west-

[47] *Hod.* Carthagena, a port on the eastern coast of Spain. The Maurusians were situated in the north-western corner of Africa.*

[48] *Hod.* Ivica.

wind springing up raised such a storm, that the chief part of his ships, being too light to bear up against it, were driven on the rocky shore. Sertorius himself was prevented by the tempest from making his way at sea, and by the enemy from landing; so that he was tossed about by the waves for ten days together, and at last with great difficulty escaped.

At length the wind abated, and he ran in among some scattered islands in that quarter. There he went ashore; but finding they were without water he put to sea again, crossed the Straits of Gades, and keeping to the right landed a little above the mouth of the river Bætis, which running through a large tract to discharge itself into the Atlantic Ocean, gives name to all the adjacent part of Spain[49]. He there found some mariners lately arrived from the Atlantic islands[50]. These are two in number, separated from each other by a narrow channel, and lying at the distance of four hundred leagues from the African coast. They are called, 'The Fortunate Islands.' Rain seldom falls there, and then falls moderately; but they have usually soft breezes, which scatter such rich dews, that the soil is not only good for sowing and planting, but spontaneously produces the most excellent fruits; and those in such abundance, that the inhabitants have only to indulge themselves in the enjoyment of ease and leisure. The air is always pleasant and salubrious, through the happy temperature of the seasons, and their insensible transition into each other. For the north and east winds, which blow from our continent, are dissipated and lost in the immense interval: while the

[49] Bætica, *hod.* Andalusia.

[50] *Hod.* The Canaries. But see the Life of Solon, Vol. I. not. (68.) They are more indeed in number, than here stated, but Plutarch perhaps speaks only of the two largest. His exaggeration of the distance, however, (which, in the original, is 'ten thousand furlongs,') is less defensible; the nearest not being more than forty leagues from the continent.*

sea winds (that is, the south and the west) bring with them from the ocean slight and gentle showers, but still more frequently only a refreshing moisture, which imperceptibly scatters plenty over their plains. Hence it is generally believed, even among the barbarians, that these are the Elysian Fields and the seats of the blessed, which Homer has described in all the charms of verse[52].

Sertorius hearing these wonders, conceived a strong desire to settle in those islands, where he might live in perfect tranquillity, at a distance from the evils of tyranny and war. This the Cilicians, who sought neither peace nor repose, but riches and spoils, no sooner perceived, than they bore away for Africa, to restore Ascalis the son of Iphtha to the throne of Mauritania. Sertorius, far from giving himself up to despair, resolved to go and assist the people, who were at war with Ascalis; in order to open to his troops another prospect in this new employment, and to prevent their deserting him for want of support. His arrival was most acceptable to the Moors, and he soon beat Ascalis in a pitched battle; after which, he besieged him in the place of his retreat.

Upon this, Sylla interposed, and sent Paccianus with a considerable force to the assistance of Ascalis. Sertorius, meeting him in the field, defeated and killed him; and having incorporated his troops with his own, assaulted and took the city of Tingis[53], whither Ascalis and his brothers had fled for refuge. The Africans tell us, that the body of Antæus is there interred; and Sertorius, not giving credit to what the barbarians reported of his gigantic size, opened his tomb. But how great was his surprise, when (according to the account, which we have of

[52] Odyss. IV. 563—568.

[53] In the text, 'Tingene.' Strabo informs us, that the barbarians call it 'Tinga,' Artemidorus 'Linga,' and Eratosthenes 'Lixus.' (L.) From this city (*hod.* Tangier) was denominated the tract called Mauritania Tingitana.*

it) he beheld a body sixty cubits long[54]. He immediately offered sacrifices, and closed up the tomb; thus adding considerably to the respect and reputation which it had previously possessed.

The people of Tingis relate, that after the death of Antæus, Hercules took his widow Tinga to his bed, and had by her a son named Sophax, who reigned over that country, and founded a city, to which he gave his mother's name. Diodorus, the son of Sophax (they add), subdued many African nations with an army of Greeks, which he raised out of the colonies of Olbians[55] and Myceneans, settled here by Hercules. These particulars we mention for the sake of Juba, the best of all royal historians; who is said to have been a descendent of Sophax and Diodorus.

Sertorius, having thus cleared the field, offered no injury to those, who surrendered themselves or put confidence in him. He restored to them their possessions and cities, and replaced the government in their hands; reserving nothing for himself, but what they voluntarily bestowed upon him.

As he was deliberating which way he should next turn his arms, the Lusitanians sent embassadors to invite him to take the command among them. For they wanted a general of his reputation and experience, to support them against the terror of the Roman eagles; and he was the only one, upon whose character and firmness they could perfectly depend. He is said, indeed, to have been proof against the impressions both of pleasure and of fear; intrepid

[54] If it did not appear from Strabo, that Plutarch has here only copied the fable of Gabinius concerning the stature of Antæus, we should be inclined to think that there was an error in the text, and that instead of ἑξηκοντα we should read ἐξ ἐχοντα, referring the participle to σωμα immediately preceding. We the more readily embrace this opinion, because the antiques of Hercules and Antæus do not represent the latter as exceeding the former in height by more than half a cubit.

[55] Situated, most probably, on the river Olbius in Arcadia. (Pausan. viii. 14.)*

in the time of danger, and not too much elated by prosperity; in arduous and sudden attempts as daring as any general of his time, and where art and contrivance as well as despatch were necessary, for seizing a pass or securing a strong hold, one of the first masters of stratagem in the world; noble and generous in rewarding great actions, and in punishing offences extremely moderate.

It is true his treatment of the Spanish hostages in the latter part of his life, which bore such strong marks of cruelty and revenge, seems to argue that his prior clemency was not a real virtue, but only assumed to suit his occasions. That virtue, indeed, which is sincere and founded upon reason, can never, in my opinion, by any event be made to give place to the opposite vice. Yet dispositions naturally humane and good by heavy and undeserved calamities may possibly be a little soured, and the man may change with his fortune[56]. This, I am persuaded, was the case of Sertorius; when fortune forsook him, his disposition was sharpened by disappointment, and he became severe to those, who had injured or betrayed him.

Accepting the invitation to Lusitania, he sailed thither from Africa, was invested immediately upon his arrival with full authority as general, and levied forces with which he reduced the neighbouring provinces of Spain. Numbers voluntarily came over to him, on account of his reputation for clemency, as well as the vigour of his proceedings. And to these advantages he added artifice, to amuse and gain the people.

That of the hind was none of the least[57]. Spanus, a countryman who lived in those parts, happening to observe a hind which had newly yeaned, and which

[56] See the Life of Sylla, Vol. III. The joint instances prove, that prosperity and adversity equally try the constancy of the human soul.*

[57] These arts Sertorius had learned from Marius; see his Life, Vol. III. p. 140. not. (31.)

was flying from the hunters, failed in his attempt to take her; but, charmed with the uncommon colour of the fawn (a perfect white), he pursued, and caught it. Sertorius had, fortunately, pitched his camp in that neighbourhood; and whatever was brought to him taken in hunting, or of the productions of the field, he received with pleasure, and returned the civility with interest. The countryman went, and offered him the fawn. This present he received like the rest, and at first took no extraordinary notice of it. But in time it became so tractable, and so much attached to him, that it would come when he called, follow him wherever he went, and learned to bear the hurry and tumult of the camp. By little and little he brought the people to believe, that there was something sacred and mysterious in the affair; affirming that the fawn was a gift from Diana, and that it disclosed to him many important secrets. For he knew the natural power of superstition over barbarian minds. In pursuance of his scheme, when the enemy was making a private irruption into the country under his command, or persuading some city to revolt, he pretended the fawn had appeared to him in a dream, and warned him to have his forces ready. And if he received intelligence of some victory gained by his officers, he used to conceal the messenger, and produce the fawn crowned with flowers for it's good tidings; bidding the people rejoice and sacrifice to the gods, on account of some news which they would receive ere long.

By this invention he rendered them so tractable, that they obeyed his orders in every thing without hesitation, considering themselves as no longer under the conduct of a stranger, but led by the immediate direction of heaven: and the extraordinary increase of his power confirmed them in that persuasion. For, with two thousand six hundred men, whom he called Romans (though of these seven hundred were Africans, who had come over with

him), and an addition of four thousand light-armed Lusitanians and seven hundred horse, he carried on the war against four Roman generals, who had a hundred and twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse, two thousand archers and slingers, and cities without number under their command; he himself at first possessing only twenty cities. Nevertheless, with so trifling a force and such small beginnings, he subdued several great nations, and took many cities. Of the generals opposed to him, he beat Cotta at sea in the straights over-against Mellaria[58], he defeated Phidius[59], who had the chief command in Bætica, and killed four thousand Romans upon the banks of the Bætis. By his quæstor he beat Domitius and Lucius Manlius[60], proconsul of the Hither Spain; he likewise slew Thoranius[61], one of the officers sent against him by Metellus, together with his whole army. Nay Metellus himself, a general of as much eminence and reputation as any the Romans then had, was entangled by him in such difficulties and reduced to such extremities, that he was forced to call in Lucius Lollius from Gallia Narbonensis to his assistance, and Pompey the Great was despatched in the utmost haste with another army from Rome. For Metellus knew not what measures to adopt against so daring an enemy, who was con-

[58] *Hod.* Tariffa, between TRAFALGAR and Gibraltar, in the mouth of the Straits. 'Cape Spartel and TRAFALGAR, Abyla and Gibraltar, are places well known to seamen who sail into the Mediterranean.' (Dac.) To what seamen, to what landmen, we may now (Dec. 1805) proudly ask will TRAFALGAR henceforward be unknown?*

[59] Xylander has it 'Dydius,' which is authorised by some MSS.; Cruserius conjectures, that it should be 'Aufidius.' But, as the learned Du Soul observes, there is a corrupt and insignificant τε in the text (Καὶ ναυμαχήσας τε Φιδίου δὲ) whence he concludes, with some degree of probability, that we should read 'Furfidius.' Freinshem (Suppl. Liv. xc. 28.) gives him this name; and he might do it, upon the authority of some ancient MS. of Plutarch.

[60] 'Lusius' in the text is again corrupt. We read it 'Lucius Manlius,' from Orosius and Livy.

[61] Florus has it 'Thorius.'

tinually harassing him, and yet would never come to a pitched battle; and who, by the lightness and activity of his Spanish troops, changed himself into all kinds of forms. He was sufficiently skilled indeed in set battles, and he commanded a firm heavy-armed infantry, which knew how to repulse and bear down any thing that would stand against them: but he had no experience in climbing mountains, nor could he vie in flight and pursuit with men as swift as the wind; neither were his troops able to bear hunger, eat their food undressed, or lie on the ground without tents like those of Sertorius. Besides, Metellus was now advanced in years, and after his many campaigns and long service had begun to indulge himself in a more delicate way of living: whereas Sertorius was in the vigour of his age, full of spirits, and in strength and activity advanced to the highest perfection by exercise and abstemiousness. He never indulged in wine, even when he had nothing else to do; and he had accustomed himself to bear labour and fatigue, to make long marches, and to pass many successive nights without sleep, though supported all the while with mean and slender diet. By bestowing his leisure on hunting and traversing the whole country for game, he had acquired such a knowledge of it's impracticable as well as it's open parts, that when flying he found no difficulty in discovering places of escape, and when pursuing he could with the utmost ease surround the enemy.

Hence it was that Metellus, in being prevented from coming to any regular action, suffered all the inconveniences of a defeat; and Sertorius gained as much by flying, as he could have done by pursuing. For he cut his adversary off from water, and prevented his foraging. If the Romans began to march, he was on the wing to harass them; and if they sat still, he galled them in such a manner, that they were quickly forced to quit their post. If they invested a town, he soon made his appearance, and by cutting off their convoys besieged as it were the be-

siegers: insomuch that they began to give up the point, and to call upon Metellus to accept the challenge which Sertorius had given, insisting that general should fight with general, and Roman with Roman; and, when he declined it, they ridiculed and abused him. Metellus only laughed at them, and he did perfectly right; for, as Theophrastus says, "A "general should die like a general, and not like a "common soldier."

The Langobritæ, he found, were very serviceable to Sertorius; and he perceived, at the same time, that he might soon bring them to surrender for want of water: for they had but one well in the city, and an enemy might presently make himself master of the springs in the suburbs and under the walls. He, therefore, advanced against the town; but, concluding that he should take it within two days, he ordered his troops to carry only five days' provisions with them. Sertorius, however, gave the people speedy assistance. He procured two thousand skins, and filled them with water, promising a considerable reward for the care of each. Upon this occasion, a number of Spaniards and Moors offered their service; and having selected the strongest and swiftest of them, he sent them along the mountains with orders, when they delivered the skins, to take all useless persons out of the town, that the water might be fully sufficient for the rest during the whole course of the siege.

When Metellus was informed of this manœuvre, he was greatly distressed; and, as his provisions began to fail, he sent out Aquilius[62] with six thousand men to collect fresh supplies. Sertorius, who had early intelligence of it, laid an ambush for Aquilius; and upon his return three thousand men, who had been placed in the shady channel of a brook for the purpose, rose up and attacked him in the

[62] The common reading in the Greek text is 'Aquinus,' but the MSS. give us 'Aquilius.'

fear. At the same time Sertorius in person, charging him in front, killed a considerable number of his party, and took the rest prisoners. Aquilius himself got back to Metellus, but with the loss both of his horse and of his arms; upon which Metellus, amidst the scoffs of the Spaniards, retired with disgrace.

This success procured Sertorius the admiration and esteem of the Spaniards; but what charmed them still more was, that he armed them in the Roman manner, taught them to keep their ranks, and to obey the word of command; so that, instead of exerting their strength in a savage and disorderly manner, and behaving like a multitude of banditti, he improved them into regular forces. He likewise farther furnished them with abundance of gold and silver to gild their helmets, and enrich their shields, and taught them to wear embroidered vests and magnificent coats; neither did he only give them supplies for these purposes, but himself set them the example. The chief thing however was, his collecting from the various nations the children of the nobility into the great city of Osca[63], and appointing them masters to instruct them in the Greek and Roman literature. This had the appearance merely of giving them an education, to prepare them for being admitted citizens of Rome, and to qualify them for important commissions; but, in fact, the children were so many hostages. Meanwhile, the parents were delighted to see their sons in gowns bordered with purple, and walking in state to the schools, without any expense to themselves. For Sertorius defrayed the whole charge, often making inquiries likewise into their improvements, and distributing

[63] Alexander had adopted the same method, before him, among the Persians. For he ordered thirty thousand Persian boys to be taught Greek, and trained in the Macedonian manner. Osca was a city of the Ilergetes in Hispania Tarraconensis, *hod* Huesca in Arragon.*

proper rewards to the deserving, among which were the golden ornaments hanging round the neck, called by the Romans 'Bullæ.'

It was at that time the custom in Spain for the band, which fought near the general's person, when he fell, to die with him. This manner of devoting themselves to death the barbarians call, 'a Liba-'tion[65].' The other generals had only a few of these guards, or knights-companions; but Sertorius was attended by many myriads, who had laid themselves under that obligation. It is said, that when he was once defeated near the walls of a town, and the enemy were pressing hard upon him, the Spaniards to save Sertorius exposed themselves without any precaution. They forwarded him upon their shoulders, from one to another, till he had gained the walls; and, when their general was secure, they dispersed and fled for their own lives.

Neither was he beloved by the Spanish soldiers alone, but by those likewise which had come from Italy. When Perpenna Vento, who was one of the same party with Sertorius, arrived in Spain with a great quantity of money and a respectable army, intending to proceed independently in his operations against Metellus; the troops disliked the scheme, and nothing was talked of in the camp but Sertorius. This gave considerable uneasiness to Perpenna, who was much elated by his high birth and his opulent fortune. Neither did the matter rest here. On receiving intelligence that Pompey had passed the Pyrenees, the soldiers took up their arms and standards, and peremptorily required their leader to lead them to Sertorius; threatening, if he refused, to desert him and go to a general, who knew how to

[65] In Gaul the persons, who laid themselves under this obligation, were called 'Solduríi.' (Cæs. iii. 22.) (L.) In the execution of their engagement, these loyalists were never known to break their word. To this passage Dacier refers, for an illustration of 2 Tim. iv. 6. The custom prevails, also, in several parts of the East.*

save both himself and those under his command. So that Perpenna was compelled to yield, and went and joined Sertorius with fifty-three cohorts[66].

Sertorius now found himself at the head of a large army; for, beside the junction of Perpenna, all the countries within the Iberus[67] had adopted his interest, and troops were daily flocking in on every side. But it gave him pain to see them behave with the disorder and ferocity of barbarians, to find them calling upon him to give the signal to charge, and to observe them impatient of the least delay. He tried what mild representations would do; but as they still continued obstinate and clamorously, at a most unseasonable moment, demanded the combat, he determined to let them engage in their own way; in consequence of which they would suffer great loss, though he designed to prevent their being entirely defeated. These checks, he hoped, would make them more willingly submit to discipline.

The event answered his expectation. They fought, and were beaten; but he advanced with succours, rallied the fugitives, and conducted them safe into the camp. His next step was, to rouse them from their despondence. For this purpose, a few days afterward, he assembled all his forces, and produced before them two horses, the one old and feeble, the other large and strong, and remarkable besides for a fine flowing tail. By the poor weak horse stood a robust able-bodied man, and by the strong horse a little man of a most contemptible appearance. Upon a signal given, the strong man began to drag about the weak horse by the tail, as if he would pull it off; and the little man to pluck off the hairs of the great horse's tail, one by one. The former tugged and toiled a long time, to the high diversion of the spectators, and was at last forced to give up the point; the latter, without any difficulty, soon

[66] A cohort is the tenth part of a legion.

[67] *Hod.* the Ebro, which falls into the Mediterranean opposite to Majorca.*

stripped the great horse's tail of all it's hair[68]. Upon which, Sertorius rose up and said, "You see, my "friends and fellow-soldiers, how much superior are "the effects of perseverance to those of force; and "that there are many things invincible in a state of "union, which when once separated may gradually "be overcome. In short, perseverance is irresis-"tible. By this, Time attacks and destroys the "strongest things upon earth: Time, I say, the best "ally to those who have the discernment to use pro-"perly the opportunities he offers them, and the "worst enemy to those who rush into action without "his summons." By such symbols as these, Sertorius applied to the senses of the barbarians, and instructed them to wait for proper occasions.

But his contrivance, with respect to the Characitani, gained him as much admiration as any of his military performances. This people are seated beyond the river Tagus. They have neither cities nor villages, but dwell upon a large and lofty hill in dens and caverns of the rocks, the mouths of which are all toward the north. The soil of the whole surrounding country is a clay, so light and crumbly that it yields to the pressure of the foot, is reduced to powder with the least touch, and flies about like ashes or unslaked lime. Into these caves the barbarians, whenever they are apprehensive of an attack, retire with their booty, and look upon themselves as in a place perfectly impregnable.

It happened that Sertorius, withdrawing to some distance from Metellus, encamped under this hill; and the savage inhabitants, imagining that he withdrew only because he was beaten, offered him several insults. Sertorius, either provoked at such treatment, or wishing to show them that he was not flying from the enemy, mounted his horse the next day, and went to reconnoitre the place. As he could see no part in which it was accessible, he almost de-

[68] To this Horace alludes (Ep. II. i. 45.)

spaired of taking it, and could only vent his anger in vain menaces. At last he observed, that the wind blew the dust in great quantities toward the mouth of the caves, which (as I before observed) are all toward the north. The north-wind, which some call Cæcias[69], prevails most in those parts, taking it's rise from the marshy grounds and the mountains covered with snow. And as it was then the height of summer, it was remarkably strong, having received new supplies from the melting of the ice on the northern peaks; so that it blew a most agreeable gale, which in the day-time refreshed both these savages and their flocks.

Sertorius reflecting upon what he saw, and being informed by the neighbouring Spaniards that these were the usual appearances, ordered his soldiers to collect vast quantities of the above-mentioned dry and crumbly earth, so as to raise a mount of it opposite the hill. The barbarians, concluding that from that mount he intended to storm their strongholds, ridiculed his proceedings. The soldiers went on with their work till night, and he then led them back into the camp. Next morning at break of day a gentle breeze sprung up, which moved the lightest part of the heap, and dispersed it like smoke; and as the sun rose higher, the Cæcias again blew, and by it's violence covered the whole hill with dust. In the mean time, some of the soldiers stirred up the heap from the bottom, and crumbled all the clay; while others galloped up and down to raise the light earth, and thicken the clouds of dust in the wind, which carried them into the dwellings of the Characitani, their entrances directly facing it. As they were only caves, and of course had no other aperture, the eyes of the inhabitants were quickly filled, and they could scarcely breathe for the suffocating dust, which they inhaled with the air. In

[69] *Media inter Aquilonem et Exortum Æquinoctialem.* (Plin. H. N. ii. 47.) *Narrant et in Ponto Cæciam in se trahere nubes.* (Ib.)

these wretched circumstances they held out for two days, though with the utmost difficulty, and on the third surrendered themselves to Sertorius at discretion; who by reducing them gained an accession, not so much of strength, as of honour. For an honour it was, to subdue those by his policy, whom he could not reach with his arms.

While he carried on the war against Metellus alone, his success was generally imputed to the age and inactivity of his adversary, who had to contend with a bold young man at the head of troops so light, that they might pass rather for a party of marauders than a regular army. But when Pompey had passed the Pyrenees, and Sertorius took post against him, every art of generalship on both sides was put in practice; and yet even then it appeared that, in point both of attack and of defence, Sertorius had the advantage. Hence his fame greatly increased, and extended itself as far as Rome, where he was considered as the ablest general of his time. The honour indeed which Pompey had acquired was very considerable, and the actions which he had performed under Sylla, placed him in a most respectable light; insomuch that Sylla had given him the appellation of 'the Great,' and he was distinguished with a triumph, even before he had attained the age of manhood. This made many of the cities under Sertorius' command cast their eyes on Pompey, and inclined them to open their gates to him. But, upon the unexpected success which attended Sertorius at Lauron[70], they returned to their old attachment.

Sertorius was besieging that place, and Pompey had marched with his whole army to it's relief. There was a hill at some distance from the walls, from which the city might be very much annoyed.

[70] A city of Hither Spain, *hod.* Liria, five leagues from Valencia. (L.) It will be recollected by some readers, under it's modern denomination, as frequently mentioned in the latter part of Gil Blas. See the Life of Pompey, Vol. IV.*

Sertorius hastened to seize it, and Pompey to prevent him; but the former gained the post. Pompey however sat down by it with great satisfaction, thinking he had been fortunate in cutting Sertorius off from the town; and sent a message to the Lauronites, "That they might be perfectly easy and "sit quietly upon their walls, while they saw him be-"siege Sertorius." But when that general was informed of it, he only laughed and said, "I will "teach that scholar of Sylla" (for so, in ridicule, he denominated Pompey), "that a general ought to "look behind, rather than before him." At the same time, he showed the besieged a body of six thousand foot in the camp, which he had quitted in order to seize the hill, purposely left behind to fall upon Pompey in the rear, when he should come to attack him in his present post.

Pompey, not having discovered this manœuvre till it was too late, did not dare to begin the attack, lest he should be surrounded: and yet he was ashamed to leave the Lauronites in such extreme danger. The consequence was, that he was obliged to sit still, and see the town lost. The people, in despair of assistance, surrendered themselves to Sertorius; who spared the inhabitants indeed, and let them go free, but laid their city in ashes. This was done, not out of anger, or a spirit of cruelty (for he seems to have indulged his resentment less than any other general whatever), but in order to put the admirers of Pompey to the blush; while it was currently circulated among the barbarians, that though he was at hand and almost warmed himself at the flame, he suffered his allies to perish.

Sertorius, it is true, received many checks in the course of the war; not however where he acted in person, for there he was constantly invincible, but through his lieutenants. And such was his manner of rectifying their mistakes, that he met with more applause upon these occasions, than his adversaries in the midst of their successes. Instances of which

we have in the battle of Sucro with Pompey, and in that of Tuttia[71] with both Pompey and Metellus.

As to the battle of Sucro, we are told it was fought the sooner, because Pompey hastened it, with a view of preventing Metellus from having a share in the victory. This was the very thing which Sertorius desired, to try his strength with Pompey, before Metellus joined him. Sertorius came up, and engaged him in the evening; in the persuasion that the enemy, being unacquainted with the country, would find darkness a hindrance to them, whether they should have occasion to fly or to pursue. When they came to charge, he found that he had not to do with Pompey, as he could have wished, but that Afranius at the head of the enemy's left wing was placed opposite to himself at the head of his right. As soon as he understood however that his left was giving way to the vigorous impression of Pompey, he put his right under the direction of other officers, and hastened to support that which had the disadvantage. There, by rallying the fugitives, and encouraging those who kept their ground, he forced Pompey, who before was pursuing, to fly in great confusion. Nay, that general was himself in the utmost danger, being wounded and with difficulty carried off. For the Africans, who fought under the banners of Sertorius, having taken Pompey's horse adorned with gold and other rich furniture, discontinued the pursuit, and began quarrelling about the division of the spoil. In the mean time, while Sertorius was absent from his right wing succouring the other in distress, Afranius overthrew all before him, and closely following the fugitives entered their camp with them, which he pillaged till it was dark; knowing nothing of Pompey's defeat, and unable to restrain his soldiers from plundering. At that instant, Sertorius returned crowned with

[71] Grævius conjectures, that we should read 'Turia,' the Turius being a river which falls into the Sucro, *hod.* Xucar.

conquest, fell upon the troops of Afranius which were scattered up and down the camp, and destroyed great numbers of them. Next morning he again armed, and took the field; but perceiving that Metellus was at hand, he drew off and decamped. He did it, however, with an air of gayety; "If that "old woman (said he) had not been here, I would "have flogged the boy well, and sent him back to "Rome."

He was, notwithstanding, much afflicted by the loss of his hind, which could no where be found. For she was an excellent engine in the management of the barbarians, who now more than ever stood in need of encouragement. By good fortune some of his soldiers, as they were strolling one night about the country, met with her; and, knowing her by her colour, brought her back to him. Sertorius, happy to recover her, promised the soldiers large sums, on condition that they did not mention the affair. In the mean time, he carefully concealed the hind; and a few days afterward appeared in public with a cheerful countenance to transact business, telling the barbarian officers, that he had had some extraordinary success announced to him from heaven in a dream. He then mounted the tribunal, for the despatch of such affairs as might come before him. At that instant, the hind being let loose near the place by those who had the charge of her, and seeing Sertorius, ran up with the utmost joy, leaped on the tribunal, laid her head upon his lap, and licked his right-hand, in the manner to which she had long been trained. Sertorius returned her caresses with all the tokens of a sincere affection, even to the shedding of tears. The assembly, at first, looked on with silent astonishment; but they subsequently testified their regard for Sertorius with the loudest plaudits and acclamations, as a superior being beloved by the gods. With these impressions they conducted him back to his pavilion, and re-

sumed all their sanguineness of hope and expectation.

He watched the enemy so close in the plains of Saguntum, that they were in great want of provisions; and, as they at last determined to go out to forage and collect necessaries, this unavoidably brought on a battle. On both sides, signal acts of valour were performed. Memmius, Pompey's best officer, fell in the hottest of the fight. Sertorius carried all before him, and through heaps of the slain made his way toward Metellus, who manfully withstood him, and fought with a vigour above his years, till he was borne down by the stroke of a spear. All the Romans who saw or heard of his disaster, resolving not to abandon their general, from an impulse of shame as well as of anger turned upon the enemy, and sheltered Metellus with their shields, while others carried him off in safety. They then charged the Spaniards with great fury, and routed them in their turn.

As victory had now changed sides, Sertorius, in order to secure a safe retreat for his troops as well as convenience for raising fresh forces, had the art to retire into a city[72] strongly situated upon a mountain. He repaired the walls, and barricaded the gates, thinking at the same time of nothing less than of standing a siege. The enemy, however, were deceived by appearances. They invested the place, and imagining that they should make themselves masters of it without difficulty, took no care to pursue the fugitive barbarians, or to prevent the new levies which Sertorius' officers were raising. These officers he had sent to the towns under his command with instructions, when they had assembled a sufficient number, to despatch a messenger to apprise him of it.

[72] This, it may be inferred from Epit. Liv. xciii. was Calaguris, or Calagurium. See also Suppl. Liv. xcvii. 6.*

Upon the receipt of this intelligence, he sallied out; and having with little trouble made his way through the enemy, joined his recruits, and returned with that additional strength. He now cut off the Roman convoys both by sea and land: on land, by laying ambushes or hemming them in, and rapidly encountering them in every quarter; at sea, by guarding the coast with his light piratical vessels. In consequence of this, the Romans were obliged to separate. Metellus retired into Gaul, and Pompey went and took up his winter-quarters in the territories of the Vacceians[73], where he was greatly distressed for want of money; insomuch that he informed the senate he should soon leave the country if they did not supply him, as he had already sacrificed his own fortune in the defence of Italy. The common discourse indeed was, that Sertorius would be in Italy before Pompey. So far had his capacity prevailed over the most distinguished and the ablest generals in Rome.

Metellus' opinion of him, and dread of his abilities, were evident from a proclamation then published, in which he offered a reward of a hundred talents of silver and twenty thousand acres of land to any Roman who should take him; and, if that Roman was an exile, he promised that he should be restored to his country. Thus he plainly discovered his despair of fairly conquering his enemy, by the price which he held out to traitors to induce them to give him up. When he happened once to defeat him in a pitched battle, he was so much elated with the advantage, and thought the event so fortunate, that he suffered himself to be saluted 'Imperator;' and the cities received him, in his progress, with sacrifices and every sacred testimony of gratitude at their altars. Nay, he accepted (it is said) crowns of victory, made magnificent entertainments, and wore a triumphal robe upon the occasion. Victories

[73] Between the river Douro, and the province of Biscay.*

in effigy descended by machinery, with trophies of gold and garlands in their hands; and choirs of boys and virgins sung songs in his praise. It was surely extremely ridiculous to express so much joy and vanity at having compelled Sertorius to retreat, while at the same time he was calling him 'a fugi-'tive from Sylla,' and 'the poor remains of Carbo's 'faction.'

On the other hand, the magnanimity of Sertorius appeared in all his measures. The patricians, who had been obliged to fly from Rome and take refuge with him, he denominated 'the Senate.' Out of them he appointed quæstors and lieutenants, and in every thing proceeded according to the laws of his country. What was still more important, though he made war only with the arms, the money, and the men of Spain, he did not suffer the Spaniards to have the least share in any department of govern-ment, even in mere words or titles. He gave them Roman generals and governors; in order to prove that the liberty of Rome was his great object, and that he did not seek to set up the Spaniards against the Romans. In fact, he was a true lover of his country, and his anxiety to be restored to it was the first passion of his heart. Yet, in his heaviest mis-fortunes, he never departed from his dignity. On the other hand, when he was victorious, he would make an offer to Metellus or Pompey to lay down his arms, on condition that he might be permitted to return in the capacity of a private man. He said, he had rather be the meanest citizen in Rome, than an exile at the head of the rest of the world.

This love of his country is said to have been in some measure owing to the attachment, which he had to his mother. His father died in his infancy, and he had received his education wholly from her: in her, consequently, all his affections centered. His Spanish friends were anxious to appoint him supreme governor; but, having information at that time of the death of his mother, he abandoned him-

self to the most alarming grief. For seven whole days he neither gave the parole, nor would he be seen by any of his friends. At last, his generals and others of equal rank beset his tent, and insisted that he should rise from the ground and make his appearance, to speak to the soldiers and resume the direction of their affairs, which were then as prosperous as he could desire. Hence many imagined, that he was naturally of a pacific turn and a lover of tranquillity, and had been by some means or other reluctantly induced to take upon him the command; and that when he was hard pressed by his enemies, and had no other shelter to fly to but that of war, he had recourse to it simply in the way of self-defence.

We cannot have stronger proofs of his magnanimity, than those which appear in his treaty with Mithridates. That prince, recovering from the fall given him by Sylla, again entered the lists, and renewed his pretensions to Asia. By this time, the fame of Sertorius had extended itself into all parts of the world. The merchants who traded to the west carried back the news of his achievements; like commodities from a distant country, and filled Pontus with his renown. Upon this, Mithridates determined to send an embassy to him; induced chiefly by the vain speeches of his flatterers, who compared Sertorius to Annibal and himself to Pyrrhus, and insisted that the Romans would never be able to bear up against two such persons and powers, when attacked by them in different quarters; the one being the ablest of generals, and the other the greatest of kings.

In pursuance of this scheme, Mithridates despatched embassadors into Spain, with letters to Sertorius and verbal proposals; of which the purport was, that the king would supply him with money and ships for the war, on condition that he confirmed his claim to Asia, which he had lately given up to the Romans in the treaty with Sylla.

Sertorius assembled his council, which he called 'the Senate.' They were unanimous in their opinion, that he should accept the conditions, and think himself happy in them; since they were only asked to yield an empty name and title to things, which it was not in their power to bestow, and the king in return would supply them with what they most wanted. But Sertorius would by no means agree to it. He had no objection (he said) to that prince's having Bithynia and Cappadocia, countries accustomed to kingly government, and not belonging to the Romans by any just title; but as to a province to which the Romans had an undeniable claim, a province of which they had been deprived by Mithridates, which he had subsequently lost to Fimbria, and at last had quitted upon the peace with Sylla, he could never consent that it should again be given up to him. "Rome (he added) ought to "have her power extended by my victories, and I "have no right to extend my power at her expense. "A man who has any dignity of sentiment should "conquer with honour, and not use any base means, "even to save his life."

Mithridates was perfectly astonished at this answer, and thus communicated his surprise to his friends: "What orders would Sertorius give us, "when seated in the senate-house at Rome; if now, "driven as he is to the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean, "he prescribes bounds to our empire, and threatens "us with war, should we make any attempt upon "Asia?" The treaty however went forward, and was ratified. Mithridates was to have Cappadocia and Bithynia, and Sertorius was to supply him with a general and some troops; the king, on the other hand, was to furnish Sertorius with three thousand talents and forty ships of war.

The general, sent by Sertorius upon this occasion, was a senator who had found refuge with him, named Marcus Marius. When Mithridates by his assistance had taken some cities in Asia, he per-

mitted that officer to enter them with his rods and axes[74], and voluntarily occupied the second place as one of his train. Marius declared some of those cities free, and excused others from imposts and taxes, informing them that for these favours they were indebted to Sertorius. So that Asia, which had again fallen under the exaction of tax-gatherers, and the oppressions and insults of the garrisons, was blessed once more with a prospect of some happier mode of government.

But in Spain the senators about Sertorius, who looked upon themselves as on a level with him, no sooner saw themselves a match for the enemy, than they bade adieu to fear, and indulged a foolish jealousy and envy of their general. At the head of these was Perpenna, who elated with the vanity of birth aspired to the command, and scrupled not to address his partisans in private with such speeches as these: "What evil demon possesses us, and "leads us from bad to worse? We that would not "stay at home, and submit to the orders of Sylla, "who is master both of sea and land, to what are "we reduced? Did we not come hither for liberty? "Yet here we are voluntary slaves, guards to the "exiled Sertorius; and suffer ourselves to be "amused with the title of 'a Senate,' a title de-"spised and ridiculed by the whole world. O noble "senators, who submit to the most mortifying tasks "and labours, as much as the meanest Spaniards "and Lusitanians!"

Numbers were attacked with these, and such like discourses; and though they did not openly revolt, because they dreaded Sertorius' power, they yet took private methods to ruin his affairs by oppressing the barbarians, inflicting heavy punishments, and collecting exorbitant subsidies, as if by his order. Hence the cities began to waver in their allegiance, and to raise disturbances; and the persons sent to

[74] *i. e.* The ensigns of Roman magistracy, borne by lictors.*

compose those disturbances by mild and gentle methods, made more enemies than friends, and inflamed the rising spirit of disobedience: insomuch that Sertorius, departing from his former clemency and moderation, behaved with extreme injustice to the children of the Spaniards in Osca, putting some to death and selling others for slaves.

The conspiracy daily gathered strength, and among the rest Perpenna drew in Manlius[75], who had a considerable command in the army. This Manlius had a great affection for a youth then with him, and to increase his regard disclosed to him the particulars of the plot; pressing him at the same time to take no notice of his other friends, but to confine his attention wholly to himself, as one who within a few days would become a very great man. The youth, being more attached to one Aufidius, revealed to him the secret. This astonished Aufidius, who was himself one of the conspirators, but had not been informed that Manlius was an accomplice. As the boy however proceeded to name Perpenna, Gracinus, and some others whom he knew to be concerned in it, he was much alarmed: he made light of it indeed to his young informant, and advised him to despise Manlius, as an empty braggart; but he went immediately to Perpenna, and warning him of the exigency of the danger, insisted upon his carrying the plot into instant execution. This was agreed to: upon which they prepared letters for Sertorius, importing that a victory had been gained by one of his officers, and great numbers of the enemy slain. Sertorius offered sacrifice for the good tidings; and Perpenna gave him and his own friends then present, who were all privy to the design, an invitation to supper, which with much entreaty he prevailed upon him to accept.

[75] Dacier thinks we should read 'Manius,' by which he means Manius Antonius, who gave Sertorius the first blow. See Suppl. Liv. xcvi. 10.

The entertainments, which Sertorius had previously accepted, had been always attended with the utmost order and decorum; for he could not bear either to see or hear the least indecency, and he had ever accustomed the guests to divert themselves in an innocent and irreproachable manner: but in the midst of this the conspirators began to seek occasion to quarrel, falling into the most dissolute discourse, and pretending drunkenness as the cause of their ribaldry. All this was done, to provoke him. Either vexed however at their obscenities, or guessing at their design by their drawling accent and unusual disrespect, he changed his posture, and threw himself back upon his couch, as if he neither heard nor regarded them. Perpenna then took a cup of wine, and as he was drinking, purposely let it fall out of his hands. The noise which it made being the signal for them to fall on, Antony who sat next to Sertorius gave him a stroke with his sword. Sertorius turned, and strove to rise, but Antony throwing himself upon his breast held both his hands, so that not being able in the least to defend himself, the rest of the conspirators despatched him with many wounds.

Upon the first intelligence of his death, most of the Spaniards abandoned Perpenna, and by their deputies surrendered themselves to Pompey and Metellus. Perpenna attempted something with those who remained; but though he had the use of all Sertorius' preparations, he made so bad a figure, that it was evident he knew no more how to command, than how to obey. He gave Pompey battle, and was soon routed and taken prisoner. Neither in this last distress did he behave, as became a general. He had the papers of Sertorius in his possession; and he offered Pompey the sight of original letters from men of consular dignity and the highest interest in Rome, in which they invited that chieftain into Italy, in consequence of the desire of numbers

to change the present state of affairs, and to bring in a new administration.

Pompey however behaved not like a young man, but with all the marks of a solid and improved understanding, and by his prudence delivered Rome from a train of dreadful fears and commotions. He collected all those letters and the other papers of Sertorius, and burned them, without either reading them himself, or suffering any other person to do it*. As for Perpenna, he immediately put him to death, lest he should disclose the names of those by whom they had been written, and thus excite fresh seditions and troubles. Perpenna's accomplices met the same fate; some of them being brought to Pompey, and by him ordered to the block, and others who fled into Africa being shot by the Moors. None escaped but Aufidius, the rival of Manlius. Whether it was that he could not be found, or that they thought him not worth the seeking, he lived to old age in a village of the barbarians, miserably poor and universally despised.

* See the Life of Pompey, in this vol.

THE

LIFE

OF

EUMENES.

SUMMARY.

Birth of Eumenes. He attaches himself to Philip of Macedon, and subsequently engages in the service of his son Alexander the Great. Often in disgrace with that monarch. His allotment upon Alexander's death. He unites with Perdiccas, who establishes him in Cappadocia. He gains a victory over Neoptolemus: rejects Antipater's proposals, who wishes him to abandon Perdiccas. Craterus marches against Eumenes. Eumenes' dream. Craterus falls in the engagement. Single combat between Eumenes and Neoptolemus, in which the latter is slain. Eumenes condemned to death by the Macedonians. His mode of paying his forces; and their vigilant care of him in return. He orders one of his officers to be hanged, who had treacherously caused him to lose a battle: prevents his troops from plundering Antigonus' baggage: retires into the city of Nora; and has an interview with Antigonus, who lays siege to Nora. How Eumenes exercises his men in a very limited space. His agreement with Antigonus. He receives letters, inviting him into Macedon: subdues the jealousy of Antigenes and Teutamus; and secures himself from the envy of the other grandees. Upon another occasion, the mere sight of his litter causes Antigonus to retire. His stratagem to stop that prince's march. He is appointed to the sole command, which occasions Antigenes and Teutamus to conspire against him. He routs Antigonus' army. Dastardly behaviour of Peucestas. Eumenes is delivered up to Antigonus: harangues his army. Antigonus' treatment of him. His death.

DURIS the historian writes, that Eumenes the Cardian[1] was the son of a poor waggoner in the Chersonese, and yet that he had a liberal education, both as to learning and the exercises then in vogue[2]. He says that while he was but a boy, Philip happening to be in Cardia went to spend an hour of leisure in seeing how the young men acquitted themselves in the pancration[3], and the boys in wrestling. Among these Eumenes succeeded so well, and showed so much activity and address, that Philip was pleased with him, and took him into his train. But others, with a greater appearance of probability, assert that Philip preferred him on account of the ties of friendship and hospitality, which subsisted between himself and the father of Eumenes.

After Philip's death, 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 respectable a light as the king's most intimate friends and counsellors; insomuch that he had the sole direction of an Indian expedition, and when Perdiccas upon the death of Hephæstion obtained his post, he succeeded Perdiccas[4]. When Neoptolemus therefore, who had been the principal armour-bearer, after Alexander's decease said, "That he had borne

[1] For an account of this city, see p. 3. not. (5.)

[2] There were public schools, where children of all conditions were taught without distinction. (L.) The low extraction however, assigned to Eumenes in the text, but ill accords with the subjoined circumstance, *viz.* that 'ties of friendship and hospitality' subsisted between his father and Philip. See also his Life by Corn. Nepos, who says that he was of an illustrious lineage.*

[3] This pancration, as we have already observed, consisted of the two exercises of wrestling and boxing.

[4] In the printed text it is ἐπαρχίαν, 'province.' But as we know of no government that Alexander gave Eumenes, ἱππαρχίαν, 'a command in the cavalry' (which is the reading in some MSS.) appears preferable. And Cornelius Nepos confirms it by these words, *Præfuit etiam alteri equitum alæ.*

" the shield and spear of that monarch, and that " Eumenes had but followed with his writing desk," the Macedonians only laughed at his vanity; knowing that, beside other marks of honour, Alexander had thought Eumenes not unworthy of his alliance. For Barsine the daughter of Artabazus, the first lady whom Alexander took to his bed in Asia, and who brought him a son named Hercules, had two sisters; one of whom, called Apama, he gave to Ptolemy, and the other, called also Barsine, he bestowed upon Eumenes, at the time when he was selecting Persian ladies as wives for his friends[5].

Yet it must be acknowledged that he was often in disgrace with Alexander, and once or twice likewise in danger, on account of Hephæstion. In the first place, Hephæstion gave a musician named Evius the quarters, which Eumenes' servants had previously engaged for their master. Upon this, Eumenes went in great wrath to Alexander with Mentor, and exclaimed, ' Their best plan would be to throw away " their arms, and learn to play upon the flute or turn " tragedians." Alexander at first entered into his quarrel, and sharply rebuked Hephæstion: but he soon changed his mind, and turned the weight of his displeasure upon Eumenes; as thinking that his behaviour had been influenced more by disrespect to him, than by resentment against Hephæstion.

Again, when Alexander wished to despatch Nearchus with a fleet to explore the coasts of the ocean, he found his treasury low, and solicited his friends for a supply. Among the rest, he applied for three hundred talents to Eumenes, who offered him only

[5] Alexander had married Statira the eldest daughter of Darius, and given the youngest, named Trypetis, to Hephæstion. This was a measure well calculated to establish himself and his posterity on the Persian throne, but it was obnoxious to the Macedonians. To support it therefore on one hand, and to obviate inconveniences on the other, he selected eighty virgins out of the most honourable families in Persia, and persuaded his principal friends and officers to marry them. (See Q. Curt. x., Diod. Sic. xvii. 107., Ælian viii. 7., and the Life of Alexander, in this vol.)

one hundred, and assured him at the same time that he should find it difficult to collect that sum by his stewards. Alexander refused the offer, but did not remonstrate or complain. He ordered his servants however privately to set fire to Eumenes' tent, that he might be forced to carry out his money, and thus be openly convicted of a falsehood. It happened that the tent was entirely consumed, and Alexander was sorry on account of the loss of his papers. The gold and silver found melted amounted to more than a thousand talents, yet even then the king did not take any of it. And, having written to all his grandees and lieutenants to send him copies of the despatches which had been destroyed, upon their arrival he again placed them under the care of Eumenes.

Some time afterward, another dispute happened between him and Hephæstion, in consequence of some present from the king to one of them. Much abusive language passed between them, yet Alexander for the present did not look upon Eumenes with diminished regard. But Hephæstion dying within a short period, the king in his unspeakable affliction expressed strong resentment againt all, who he thought had envied that favourite while he lived, or rejoiced at his death. Eumenes was one of those, whom he most suspected of such sentiments, and he often mentioned their differences, and the severe language which those differences had produced. Eumenes however, being an artful man and happy at expedients, made the very person through whom he had lost the king's favour the means of regaining it. He seconded the zeal and application of Alexander to celebrate Hephæstion's memory, suggested such instances of veneration as he thought might do most honour to the deceased, and contributed largely and freely from his own purse toward the expenses of his funeral.

Upon the death of Alexander, a serious 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, a stranger, to interfere in the disputes "of the Macedonians." And when the other state-officers retired from Babylon, he stayed there, and appeased great numbers of that body of infantry, and disposed them to a reconciliation.

After these troubles were passed, and the generals met to consult about dividing the provinces and armies among them, the countries assigned to Eumenes were Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, and the coast of the sea of Pontus as far as Trapezus[7]. These countries were not then subject to the Macedonians, for Ariarathes was at their head as king; but Leonatus and Antigonus were to go with a large army, and put Eumenes in possession. Antigonus however, elated with power and despising all the world, gave no attention to Perdiccas' letters. But Leonatus marched down from the Upper Provinces into 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[8]. Leonatus, being inclined to comply, called Eumenes, and attempted to reconcile him to Hecatæus. They had long had suspicions of each other, on account of a family-difference in politics; in consequence of which, Eumenes had openly charged Hecatæus with having set himself up tyrant in Cardia, and had entreated Alexander to restore that people to their liberty. He now desired to be excused from taking a share in the Grecian expedition, alleging his fear that Antipater who had long hated him, to gratify himself as well as Hecatæus, would make some at-

[7] *Hod.* Trebizond, a city near the S. E. extremity of the Euxine, or Black Sea, in later ages celebrated as the residence of the Greek emperors from 1261—1460, when it was taken from them by Mahomet II.

[8] A city of Thessaly.

tempt against his life. Upon which Leonatus, placing an entire confidence in him, opened to him his whole heart. He told him, the assisting of Antipater was nothing but a pretext; and that he designed, as soon as he landed in Greece, to assert his claim to Macedon. At the same time he showed him letters from Cleopatra[9], in which she invited him to Pella, and promised to give him her hand.

Whether Eumenes were really afraid of Antipater, or despaired of any service from Leonatus, who was extremely obstinate in his temper, and followed every impulse of an unsteady and precipitate ambition; he withdrew from him in the night with his whole equipage, consisting of three hundred horse, two hundred of his domestics well-armed, and all his treasure to the amount of five thousand talents. With this, he fled to Perdiccas; and as he apprised that general of Leonatus' secret designs, he was immediately received into a high degree of favour, and admitted to a share in his councils. In a little time, likewise, Perdiccas in person conducted him into Cappadocia with a large army; took Ariarathes prisoner, subdued the whole 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 head, and appointed judges and superintendents of the revenue; Perdiccas having left every thing entirely at his disposal. 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 that he could himself execute the designs which he was meditating, and perceiving that the provinces 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

[9] The sister of Alexander.

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 considerable arrogance, and unlimited vanity. Eumenes however, by soothing applications, endeavoured to keep him within the bounds of duty. And as he saw the Macedonian infantry were become extremely insolent and audacious, he set himself about levying a body of cavalry, which might serve as a counterpoise against them. For this purpose he remitted the taxes, and gave other immunities to those of his province, who were good horsemen. He also bought a great number of horses, and distributed them among such of his courtiers as he most trusted; exciting them by honours and rewards, and training them to strength and skill by a variety of exercises. The Macedonians upon this were differently affected, some with astonishment and others with joy, to see a body of cavalry collected to the number of six thousand three hundred, and disciplined within so short a period.

About this time, Craterus and Antipater having reduced Greece passed into Asia, to overthrow Perdiccas' power; and intelligence 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 peremptorily refused to submit to the injunction: alleging, that "The Macedonians "would be ashamed to fight Antipater; and that "their affection for Craterus would induce them to "receive him with open arms." On the other hand, it was obvious that Neoptolemus was forming some treacherous scheme against Eumenes; for when called upon, instead of joining him, he prepared to give him battle.

This was the first occasion, upon 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 seized his baggage. And while the phalanx were dispersed in the pursuit, he fell upon them 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 embassadors to Eumenes, to desire him to adopt their interests, in return for which they would confirm to him his present provinces, and give him others with an additional number of troops: promising likewise, that he should in that case find Antipater a friend instead of an enemy, and not render Craterus an enemy instead of a friend.

To these proposals, Eumenes replied, "That having been long an enemy to Antipater, he did not "choose to become his friend, at a time when he "saw him treating his friends like enemies. As for "Craterus, he was ready to do him every good "office with Perdiccas, and to compromise matters "between them upon just and reasonable terms. "But if he should commence hostilities, he would "support his injured friend as long as he had an "hour to live, and rather sacrifice his person and "his life itself than his honour."

When this answer was reported to Antipater and Craterus, they took some time to deliberate upon the measures which they should pursue. In the meanwhile Neoptolemus arriving gave them an account of the battle which he had lost, and requested assistance from them both, but particularly from Craterus: "The Macedonians," he affirmed, "had "so extraordinary an attachment to him, that if they "saw but his hat, or heard a single accent of his "tongue, they would immediately run to him with "their swords in their hands." The reputation of Craterus indeed stood very high among them, and

after Alexander's death most of them wished to be under his command. They remembered the risks, which he had incurred, of embroiling himself with Alexander for their sakes; how he had combated the inclination for Persian fashions, which insensibly grew upon that prince, and how he had 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 with Neoptolemus against Eumenes. That Eumenes foresaw his coming, and was prepared for it, we may impute to the vigilance necessary in a general, without affecting to trace in it any indication of superior genius. But when, beside concealing from the enemy what they ought not to discover, he brought his own troops into action without suffering them to know who was their adversary, and made them serve against Craterus unconscious that he was their opponent; in this, we trace characteristical proofs of generalship. For he propagated a report that Neoptolemus, assisted by Pigris, was again advancing with some Cappadocian and Paphlagonian horse. The night, upon which he designed to decamp, he fell into a sound sleep, and had a most extraordinary dream. He thought he saw two Alexanders prepared to try their strength against one another, and each at the head of a phalanx. Minerva came to support the one, and Ceres the other. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the Alexander assisted by Minerva was defeated, and Ceres crowned the victor with a wreath of corn. This dream he immediately interpreted in his own favour, because he had to fight for a country which was most of it in tillage, and which had then so excellent a crop well ripening for the sickle, that the whole face of it bore the appearance of a profound peace. He was the more confirmed in his opinion, when he found the enemy's word was 'Minerva and Alexander;' and, in opposition to it, he gave 'Ce-

res and Alexander.' At the same time, he ordered his men to crown themselves, and to cover their arms, with ears of corn. He was frequently on the point of disclosing to his principal officers and captains the adversary, with whom they had to contend; thinking it a hazardous undertaking to keep to himself a secret so important, and of which it was perhaps necessary for them to be informed. He adhered however to his first resolution, and trusted his own heart alone with the danger which might ensue.

When he came to give battle, he would not set any Macedonian to engage Craterus, but appointed to that charge two bodies of foreign horse, commanded by Pharnabazus the son of Artabazus and Phœnix of Tenedos [9]. These 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 pay it the smallest regard. 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, went and posted himself in the right wing, where he should have to act against Neoptolemus. When they had passed a little hill situated between the two armies, and came in view of the enemy, 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. He exhorted his officers however to behave like brave men, and stood forward to the encounter. In the first shock, which was extremely violent, the spears were soon broken, and they were then to decide the dispute with the sword.

The behaviour of Craterus reflected no dishonour

9 A little island off the western coast of Asia Minor, opposite to the mouth of the Simois in the Troad.*

upon Alexander. He killed numbers with his own hand, and overthrew many others, who assailed him in front. At last, a Thracian gave him a side-blow, which brought him to the ground. Many passed over him, without knowing him; but Gorgias, one of Eumenes' 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. In the two first encounters they did not recognise one another, but in the third they did; upon which, they rushed forward impetuously with swords drawn and loud shouts. The shock, with which their horses met, was so vehement as to resemble that of two galleys. Quitting their bridles, they grappled with each other; each endeavouring to tear off the helmet, or the breast-plate, of his enemy. While their hands were thus engaged, their horses ran 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 cut him in the ham, and thus got upon his feet before him. Neoptolemus, wounded in one knee, supported himself upon the other, and fought with great courage underneath, but was not able to give his adversary a mortal blow. At last receiving a stroke in the neck, he grew faint, and stretched himself upon the ground. Eumenes in 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. As the stroke however was but feeble, his apprehension was greater than the real hurt.

When he had despoiled his adversary, weak as he

was with the wounds which he had received in his legs and arms, he mounted his horse and made up to his left wing, which he supposed might be still engaged with the enemy. There, learning Craterus' fate, 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. He now vented his execrations upon Neoptolemus, now lamented his own ill fortune, and the cruel necessity imposed upon him 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, as well of capacity as of courage; but, at the same time, it exposed him to the envy and the hatred both of his allies and of his enemies. It seemed hard to them that a stranger, a foreign adventurer, with the very arms and hands of the Macedonians, should have destroyed one of their greatest and most illustrious men. Had the intelligence of the death of Craterus sooner reached Perdiccas, none but he would have swayed the Macedonian sceptre. But he was slain in a mutiny in Egypt, two days before it arrived.

The Macedonians were so much exasperated against Eumenes upon the late event, that they immediately decreed his death: and Antigonus and Antipater were appointed to direct the war against him. In the mean time Eumenes went to the king's horses, which were pasturing upon mount Ida, and took such as he wanted, giving the keepers a discharge for them. When Antipater was apprised of it, he laughed and said, "He could not enough admire Eumenes' caution, who must certainly expect "to see the account of the king's goods and chattels "stated, either on one side or the 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 Cleo-

patra what a respectable force he had. At the request however of that princess, who was afraid to furnish Antipater with any cause of complaint, he marched to the upper Phrygia, and wintered in Celænæ[11]. There Alcetas, Polemon, and Docimus, contended with him for the command; upon which he observed, "This verifies the remark, that [every "one thinks of advancing himself, but] no one con- "siders the danger which may thence 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 which 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 affections 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 high distinctions to the man that should kill Eumenes, the Macedonians were highly incensed; and gave orders that he should thenceforth have a body-guard of a thousand officer-like men always about him, who should keep watch by turns, and be in waiting day

[11] This city, M. Dacier informs us, was so called from the colour of the stones, in the neighbouring country, which were all black (μελαινοι) volcanic ejections. Hence likewise that part of Phrygia was called κατακεκαυμενη, 'parched' or 'burnt.' In this place the fabled dispute between Marsyas and Apollo is supposed to have occurred, because it is watered by a river called after the former. See Liv. xxxviii. 13.; other writers derive it's name from a more fabulous etymology. From it's ruins Antiochus Soter afterward built at some distance, upon the banks of the Mæander, into which the Marsyas falls, the city Apamea. The subjoined proverb was nobly contradicted by Themistocles, when he advised the Athenians to surrender the command of the fleet to the Lacedæmonians, and thus sacrifice their ambition to the common interest of Greece. See his Life, Vol. I.*

and night. There was not a single man, who refused that charge; and they were glad to accept from Eumenes the marks of honour, which those who were called 'the king's friends' had been accustomed to receive from the hands of royalty. For he was empowered likewise to distribute purple hats and rich robes, which were considered as the noblest gifts the kings of Macedon could bestow.

Prosperity gives an appearance of higher sentiments even to persons of mean spirit, and we discern something of grandeur and importance about them, in the elevation where fortune has placed them. But he, who is inspired by real fortitude and magnanimity, will best display it by the dignity of his behaviour in afflictions and adversity. So did Eumenes. When in the territory of the Orcynians in Cappadocia, he had lost a battle to Antigonus, through the treachery of one of his officers, though he was himself compelled to fly, he did not suffer the traitor to escape to the enemy, but seized and hanged him upon the spot. In his flight he took a different road 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 burned with the split doorposts of the neighbouring villages. The bodies of the officers and the common soldiers were burned upon separate piles; and, after having raised great monuments of earth over them, he decamped. So that Antigonus, subsequently coming that way, was astonished at his firmness and intrepidity.

At another time he fell in with Antigonus' baggage, and could easily have taken it, together with many persons of free condition, an immense number of slaves, and all the wealth which had been amassed in so many wars, and from the plunder of so many countries. But he was afraid that his men, when possessed of such riches and spoils, would think themselves too heavy for flight, and would 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 rid 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 now within their 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 re- "tire as quickly 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. Upon this, Eumenes affected deep concern, and drew off his forces. When Menander reported this affair to Antigonus, the Macedonians (we are told) launched out in the praises of Eumenes, and began to regard him with an eye of kindness for having acted so generous a part, when it was in his power to have enslaved their children and dishonoured their wives. This caused Antigonus to observe; "Think not, my good friends, it was for your sakes "that 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 and sculk from place to place, prevailed upon 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 with him, who were too few to fight and too many to be concealed. And when he retired to the

castle of Nora[12] on the confines of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, with only five hundred horse and two hundred foot, he there again gave all such of his friends free leave to depart, as disliked the inconveniences of the place and the meanness of his diet[13], and dismissed them with the utmost marks of affection.

In a little time Antigonus came up, and before he formally laid siege to the fortress, invited him to a conference. Eumenes answered, "Antigonus has "many friends and generals to take his place, in the "event of any accident to himself; but the troops, "of whom I have the care, have none to protect "them after my fall." He therefore insisted, that Antigonus should send hostages, if he wished to treat with him in person. And when Antigonus was desirous that Eumenes should make the first advances to him, as the greater man, he replied, "So long as "I am master of my sword, I never think any man "greater than myself." At last, Antigonus sending his nephew Ptolemy into the fort as a hostage, Eumenes came out to him; and they embraced with strong tokens of friendship and cordiality, having formerly been intimate acquaintance and companions. In this conference, which lasted a considerable time, Eumenes made no mention of security for his own life, or of an amnesty for what was passed. Instead of that, he insisted on having the government of his provinces confirmed to him, and considerable rewards for his services besides: insomuch, that all who attended upon the occasion admired his firmness, and were astonished at his magnanimity.

During the interview, numbers of the Macedonians ran to see Eumenes; for, after Craterus' death, no man was so much talked of in the army as he. But Antigonus, fearing that they should offer him some violence, called to them to keep at a distance; and as they still kept crowding in, he ordered them

[12] It was only two hundred and fifty paces in circumference. (L.) For an accurate description of it, see Diod. Sic. xviii. 41.*

[13] A hundred left him upon this offer.

to be driven off with stones. At last, he took him in his arms, and holding the multitude in check 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, retired. The fort was abundantly provided with corn, water, and salt, but in want of every thing else requisite for the table. Yet with this mean provision he 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 general appearance was, indeed, most engaging. His countenance had nothing of a ferocious or war-worn turn, but was smooth and elegant; and the proportion of his limbs was so excellent, that they might seem to have come from the chisel of the statuary. And though he was not very eloquent, he had, as we may conclude from his epistles, a very soft and persuasive manner of speaking.

The greatest inconvenience to the garrison, he observed, was the narrowness of the space in which they were confined, enclosed as it was with small houses, and the whole of it not exceeding two furlongs in circuit; so that both they, and their horses, were constrained to take their food without exercise. To remove the languor consequent upon this inactivity, as well as to prepare them for flight if occasion should offer, he assigned a room fourteen cubits long (the largest in the whole fort) for the men to walk in, and gave them orders gradually to quicken their pace. The horses he tied to the roof of the stable with strong halters. He then raised their heads and forepart by a pulley, till they could scarcely touch the ground with their fore-feet, though at the same time they stood firm upon those behind. In this posture the grooms plied them with the whip and the voice, and the horses vexed and irritated bounded furiously

on their hind-feet, or strained to set their four-feet on the ground; thus exercising their whole body, till they were out of breath and in a foam. After this discipline, which was no bad one either for speed or for strength, they had their barley given them boiled, that they might sooner despatch and better digest it.

As the siege was protracted to a considerable length, Antigonus received information of the death of Antipater in Macedon, and of the troubles which prevailed in that kingdom through the animosities subsisting between Cassander and Polyperchon. Bidding adieu therefore to all inferior prospects, and grasping no less than the whole empire in his schemes, he wished to make Eumenes his friend, and induce him to co-operate in the execution of his plan. For this purpose, he sent to him Hieronymus[14] with proposals of peace, on condition that he took an oath then offered to him. Eumenes made a correction in the oath, and left it to the Macedonians before the place, to judge which was the more reasonable form. Antigonus indeed, to save appearances, had slightly mentioned the royal family in the beginning, while all the rest ran in his own name. Eumenes, therefore, put Olympias and the princes of the blood first; and proposed to engage himself by oath of fealty not to Antigonus only, but 'to Olympias and the princes.' 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, and required him to take it on the other part.

In the mean time, Eumenes restored to the Cappadocians all the hostages, whom he had in Nora: and they furnished him with horses, beasts of burthen, and tents in return. He also collected great

[14] 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.'

part of his soldiers, who had dispersed themselves after his defeat, and were straggling about the country. By these means he assembled nearly a thousand horse[15], with which he set off as fast as possible: rightly judging, that he had much to fear from Antigonus. For that general not only ordered him to be again besieged, and shut up with a circular wall, but in his letters expressed the utmost resentment, against the Macedonians for having admitted the correction of the oath.

While Eumenes was flying from place to place, he received letters from Macedon, in which the people declared their apprehensions of the growing power of Antigonus; and others from Olympias, inviting him to come and take upon himself 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 receive five hundred talents out of the royal treasure at Quinda[16], for the re-establishment of his own affairs, and as much more as he should judge necessary for the purposes of the war. Antigenes and Teutamus likewise, 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 the jealousy of 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 jealousy and desire of the first place, was less easy; for, though they knew not how to command, they were resolved not to obey. In this case, he called

[15] Diodorus Siculus says, 'two thousand.' The Philip, mentioned below, was Arrhidæus.

[16] A strong fortress in Cilicia, not far from Anchialus near the mouth of the Cydnus, where the Macedonian princes kept their treasures. (Strabo, xiv.)*

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; declaring, "That if they would "hold their councils and despatch business there, he "would be with them, and prosper every measure "and every action which commenced under his "auspices[17]."

This vision he easily persuaded Antigenes and Teutamus to believe. They were not willing to come to him, neither did he choose to dishonour his commission by waiting upon 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.

Thence they marched to the Upper Provinces, and were joined on the way by Peucestas a friend of Eumenes, and by 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 intractable in society, and so dissolute in their way of living since Alexander's death, and they came together with a spirit of despotism so nursed by barbaric pride, and quickly became so obnoxious to each other, that no sort of harmony could subsist between them. Besides, they flattered the Macedonians without any regard to decorum, and supplied them so profusely with money for their entertainments and sacrifices, that in a little time their camp looked like a place of public reception for every

[17] In consequence of this (according to Diod. Sic. xviii. 60.) Eumenes proposed that a sum should be taken out of the treasury, sufficient for making a throne of gold; and the diadem, the crown, and sceptre, and all the other ensigns of royalty belonging to that prince, solemnly placed upon it: that, every morning, a sacrifice should be offered to him by all the officers; and that all orders should be issued in his name. A stroke of policy, suitable to the genius of Eumenes!

species of intemperance; and those veterans were to be courted for military appointments, as the people are for their votes in a republic.

Eumenes quickly perceived that the newly-arrived grandees despised each other, but were afraid of him, and watched an opportunity to kill him. He therefore pretended to be in want of money, and borrowed large sums[18] of those who hated him the most, in order that they might place some confidence in him, or at least give up their designs against his life from a consideration of the money deposited in his hands. Thus he found protection 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.

So long as no danger was near, the Macedonians took bribes from all who sought to corrupt them, and like a species of satellites daily attended the gates of those who affected the command. But when Antigonus came and encamped over-against them, and affairs called out as it were actually for a real general, Eumenes was applied to, not only by the soldiers but by the very grandees; who, though they had assumed so much state in time of peace and pleasure, now freely gave place to him, and took the posts which he assigned them without murmuring. When Antigonus indeed attempted to cross the Pasitigris[19], not one of the other officers appointed to guard it had any intelligence of his motions: Eumenes alone was at hand to oppose him, and he did it 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 evinced that though they deemed others fit to direct in magnificent entertainments and the solemnities of peace, they regarded him as the only person among

[18] Four hundred thousand crowns.

[19] See Quint. Curt. i. 3. Peucestas' feast, mentioned below, is more minutely described by Diod. Sic. xix. 22.*

them qualified to lead an army. For Peucestas having feasted them sumptuously in Persia, and given each man a sheep for sacrifice, hoped to be appointed to the command. A few days afterward, as they were marching against the enemy, Eumenes was so dangerously ill, that he was obliged to be carried in a litter at some distance from the ranks; lest his rest, which was very precarious, 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, as they marched down the hill, the elephants with their towers upon their backs, and the purple vests which the cavalry used to wear when 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. At the same time they grounded their arms, exhorted each other to stop, and insisted that their officers should not hazard an engagement without Eumenes.

Eumenes no sooner heard this, than he came forward with the utmost expedition, hastening the slaves who 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 as to be borne in a litter, concluded that he should find little difficulty in beating the other generals; and he therefore hurried to the attack. But when he came to reconnoitre the enemy's army, and saw in what excellent order it was drawn up, he stood still for some time in silent admiration. At last, spying the litter carried about

from one wing to the other, he laughed aloud (as his manner was), and observed to his friends, "Yon litter "is the thing, which pitches the battle against us;" and immediately retreated to his entrenchments[20].

The Macedonians had scarcely recovered from their fears, before they again began to behave in a disorderly and mutinous manner to their officers, and

[20] There are some particulars in Diodorus, which deserve to be here inserted. After the two armies had separated, without coming to action, they encamped at about three furlongs' distance from each other; and Antigonus soon finding the country where he lay so much exhausted, that it would be 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; a proposal, 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 re-'plied, that he considered the alliance in question as a high honour 'to his family; but he was afraid with respect to his teeth and his 'claws, lest upon any trifling dispute that might happen between 'them after marriage, he should exercise them a little too hastily 'upon his daughter. To remove this objection, the amorous lion 'caused both his nails and teeth to be immediately drawn; upon 'which 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 promises, till he has made himself master of your 'forces, and then beware of his teeth and his claws.' A few days afterward Eumenes, having received 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 Antigonus' camp, where they reported that Eumenes meant to attack him that very night in his trenches. But while Antigonus' troops were under arms, Eumenes marched for Gabene, which at length Antigonus suspected; and, having given proper orders to his foot, immediately followed 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 Antigonus' whole army was at hand, faced about and disposed his troops in order of battle. Thus Eumenes was deceived in his turn, and as soon as Antigonus' infantry came up, a sharp action ensued, in which the victory seemed won and lost several times. At last however Antigonus had visibly the worst, being forced to withdraw by long marches into Media. (xix. 25, 26.)

spread themselves over almost all the provinces of Gabene for winter-quarters; insomuch, that the first were at the 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, which 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 re-assemble them.

As soon however 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. Hence, their march could not be concealed. The barbarians, who inhabited the mountains overlooking the desert, wondered what such a number of fires could mean, and despatched some person upon dromedaries to Peucestas with an account of them.

Peucestas, distracted with terror at this intelligence, 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 enemy's march, that they would arrive three days later than they were expected. Observing that they listened to him, he sent orders to the officers to draw all the troops from their quarters, and to bring them together with speed. At the same time he took his horse, and went with his collegues in quest of a lofty piece of ground, which might attract the attention of the troops marching below. Having found one which answered his purpose, he measured it, and caused a number of fires to be lighted at proper intervals[21], so as to resemble a camp.

[21] And of such a varying magnitude in the successive watches of the night, as to confirm the suspicion. (Diod. Sic. xix. 38.) Antigonus' distress arose from feeling himself unequal to cope with the collected force of this army *in nubibus*. For some particulars of the

When Antigonus beheld those fires upon the heights, he was in the utmost distress. For he thought the enemy had been apprised of his intention some time before, and were come to meet him. Not choosing therefore with forces so harassed and fatigued by their march to be obliged to fight troops, which were perfectly fresh and had wintered in excellent quarters, he left the short road, and led his men through the towns and villages, giving them abundant time to refresh themselves. But on finding that no parties came out to gall him in his march (as is usual, when an enemy is near) and learning from 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, in the heat of his indignation, advanced with a resolution to try his strength in a pitched battle.

In the mean time the greatest part of the forces repairing to Eumenes, from their high opinion of his capacity, desired him to take the sole command. Upon this Antigenes 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 engaged in it most of the grandees and generals, they consulted upon a proper time and method to take him off. Their unanimous determination was, to avail themselves of his services in the ensuing battle, and to assassinate him immediately afterward. But Eudamus, master of the elephants, and Phædimus privately informed Eumenes of their resolutions; not out of any kindness or benevolence, but because they were afraid of losing the money which they had lent him. He commended them for the honour with which they had behaved, and retiring to his tent told his friends, "That he lived "among a herd of savage beasts," and immediately

ensuing events, and the respective lines of battle, see the same author, ib. 39, 40.*

made his will. After which he destroyed all his papers, lest upon his death charges and impeachments should rise against the persons who had written them, in consequence of the secrets there disclosed. 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 stayed 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 Antigonus' troops, they cried out "Villains, you fight against "your fathers!" They then fell furiously upon his infantry, and soon routed them. None of the battalions indeed were able to resist 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 through the weak and dastardly behaviour of Peucestas[22], were victorious and took all the baggage. Antigonus had great presence of mind upon the most trying occasions, and here he was befriended by the place. It was a plain open country, the soil neither deep nor hard, but like the sea-shore covered with a fine dry sand: this the trampling of so many men and horses during the action reduced to a small white dust, which like

[22] And yet this Peucestas, in Alexander's time, had signalised himself by his gallantry upon several occasions, particularly in the assault on the city of the Oxydracæ; where he bravely threw himself, at the imminent risk of his own life, between that prince and his enemies.*

a cloud of lime filled the air and intercepted the prospect, so that it was easy for Antigonus to take the baggage unperceived.

After the battle was finished, Teutamus sent some of his corps to Antigonus, to desire him to restore the baggage. He answered, he would not only restore the Argyraspides their baggage, but treat them in every respect with the utmost kindness, provided they would put Eumenes into his hands; upon which, they shamefully agreed to deliver 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, others desired him as a conqueror to assume the spirit of victory, and others lodged accusations against 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 which he had to make, but upon matters of great importance to themselves. Silence being made, he ascended an eminence; and stretching out his hands[23], bound as they were, he exclaimed; "What trophy, ye vilest of all the Mace-"donians, what trophy could Antigonus have "wished to raise, like this which you are yourselves "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 bag-"gage? For my part, though thus led, I am not con-

[23] For, though Plutarch states above that 'his hands were bound behind him,' Justin in his account of this matter adds the necessary particular, *laxatisque vinculis prolatam, sicut catenatus erat, manum ostendit.* (xiv. 4.)*

" quered; I have beaten the enemy, and am ruined " by my fellow-soldiers. But I conjure you by the " god of armies[24], and the aweful deities who pre- " side over oaths, to kill me here with your own " hands. If my life be taken by another, the deed will " still be yours. Neither would Antigonus complain, " were you to take the work out of his hands; for " he wants not Eumenes alive, but Eumenes dead. " Should you not choose to be the immediate instru- " ments, loose but one of my hands, and that shall " achieve the business. If you will not trust me " with a sword, throw me bound as I am to wild " beasts. Comply with this last request, and I will " acquit you of all guilt with respect to me, and de- " clare that you have behaved to your general like " the best and the worthiest 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 of less im- " portance that an execrable Chersonesian, who has " harassed the Macedonians with infinite wars, should " have cause to lament his fate, than that the best " of Alexander's and Philip's soldiers should be de- " prived 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 ene- " mies?" So saying, they drove him forward.

Antigonus, fearing some evil consequence from the crowd (for there was not a single man left in his camp) sent out ten of his best elephants, and a corps of spearmen who were Medes and Parthyæans, to keep them off. He could not bear to have Eumenes brought into his presence, because of the former friendly connexions, which had subsisted between them. And when those, who took the charge of him, asked " In what manner he would have " him guarded?" he replied, " As you would guard

[24] Jupiter.

" an elephant, or a lion." Nevertheless, he quickly 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 even occasionally listened to the applications and promises of Nearchus the Cretan, and of his own son Demetrius, who was most zealous 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 " gotten his enemy into his power, did not either " immediately despatch, or generously release him?" Onomarchus contemptuously answered, " That in " the battle, and not in prison, 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 that you have " found a better man than yourself, why do not you " patiently wait his time?"

When Antigonus had resolved upon his death, he gave orders that he should have no kind of food. By this measure, in two or three days' time he began to draw near his end: and then Antigonus, being obliged upon some sudden emergency to decamp, sent 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 for instruments of vengeance against the offi-

cers[24] and soldiers, who had betrayed him. Antigonus himself, detesting the Argyraspides as impious and savage wretches, ordered Ibyrtius governor of Arachosia[25], under whose direction he had placed them, to take every method of destroying them; so that not one of them might return to Macedon, or set his eyes upon the Grecian sea.

SERTORIUS AND EUMENES COMPARED.

THESE are the most remarkable particulars, which history has recorded concerning Eumenes and Sertorius. And now to come to the comparison. We observe first, that though they were both strangers, aliens, and exiles, they had to the end of their days the command of many warlike nations and large and respectable armies. Sertorius indeed possesses this advantage, that his fellow-warriors ever freely resigned to him the command on account of his superior merit; whereas many disputed the post of honour with Eumenes, and it was his actions only that obtained it for him. The officers of Sertorius were ambitious to have him at their head; but those who acted under Eumenes never had recourse to him, till experience had showed them their own incapacity and the necessity of employing another.

[24] Antigenes, commander-in-chief of the Argyraspides, was by order of Antigonus put into a coffin and burnt alive. Eudamus, Celbanus, and many others of Eumenes' enemies, experienced a similar fate.

[25] A province of Parthia, near Bactriana. (L.) Eumenes died B. C. 315, at the age (as Corn. Nepos informs us) of forty-five.*

The one was a Roman, and commanded the Spaniards and Lusitanians, who for many years had been subject to Rome; the other was a Chersonesian, and commanded the Macedonians, who had conquered the whole world. It should be considered likewise, that Sertorius the more easily made his way, because he was a senator and had previously commanded armies; while Eumenes, with the disreputation of having been only a secretary, raised himself to the first military employments. Neither had Eumenes only fewer advantages, but greater impediments also in the road of honour. Numbers opposed him openly, and numbers formed private designs against his life; whereas no man ever opposed Sertorius in public, and it was not till toward the last, that a few of his own party entered into a private plot to destroy him. The dangers of Sertorius were generally over, when he had gained a victory; but those of Eumenes grew out of his very victories, among such as envied his success.

Thus their military performances were equal and similar, but their dispositions were very different. Eumenes loved war, and had a native spirit of contention; Sertorius loved peace and tranquillity. The former might have lived in the utmost security and honour, if he would not have stood in the way of the great; but he rather chose to tread for ever in the uneasy paths of power, though he had to fight every step he took: the latter would gladly have withdrawn from the tumult of public affairs, but he was forced to continue the war, in order to defend himself against his restless persecutors. For Antigonus would have been delighted to employ Eumenes, if he would have given up the dispute for superiority, and been content with the station next to his own; whereas Pompey would not grant Sertorius his request, to be permitted to live in private. Hence the one voluntarily engaged in war, for the sake of gaining the chief command; the other involuntarily took the command, because he could not

live in peace. Eumenes therefore, in his passion for the camp, preferred ambition to safety; Sertorius was an able warrior, but he employed his talents only for the safety of his person. The one was not apprised of his impending fate; the other expected his, every moment. The one had the candid praise of confidence in his friends; the other incurred the censure of weakness, for he would have fled[25], but could not. The death of Sertorius reflected no dishonour upon his life; he suffered that from his fellow-soldiers, which the enemy could not have effected. Eumenes could not avoid his chains, yet after the indignity of chains[27] was still desirous to live: so that he could neither escape death, nor meet it as he ought to have done; but by having recourse to mean applications and entreaties, put his mind in the power of the man who before was only master of his body.

[25] When upon notice of the intention of his enemies to destroy him after the battle, he deliberated whether he should give up the victory to Antigonus, or retire into Cappadocia.

[27] This does not appear from Plutarch's account. He only desired Antigonus either to give immediate orders for his execution, or to show his generosity by releasing him.

THE

LIFE

OF

AGESILAUS.

SUMMARY.

Agesilaus' birth, education, character, and appearance. Agis does not acknowledge Leotychidas as his son, till his last sickness. Agesilaus, by Lysander's interest, deprives him of the crown; and acquires great authority in Sparta. His justice toward his enemies, and his weakness toward his friends. He is appointed to carry the war into Persia: sacrifices a hind to Diana: is jealous of Lysander; and by his behaviour obliges him to request a separate command. Lysander's resentment. Agesilaus takes many cities in Phrygia: sells his prisoners naked, to expose the effeminacy of their persons: defeats Tisaphernes, and gets possession of his camp: is appointed commander-in-chief by land and sea: marches into Phrygia to attack Pharnabazus. His love for Megabates: interview with Pharnabazus; and friendship for his son. He violates the rules of justice in favour of his friends. His virtues. He is recalled to Sparta, and instantly returns: traverses Greece, Macedon, Thessaly, &c. and enters Bœotia. Battle of Chæronea, where he is dangerously wounded. He celebrates the Pythian games at Delphi: preserves the simplicity of his manners; persuades his sister to try her fortune in person at the Olympic chariot-race. His mode of conciliating his enemies. He drives the Argives out of Corinth. His reception of the Theban embassadors. Treaty between the Lacedæmonians and the king of Persia. Lysander's conduct at variance with his honourable sentiments. Sphodrias' unsuccessful attack upon the Piræus: Through Lysander's interest, he is acquitted. Lysander makes war upon Bœotia: falls sick. Congress of Grecian deputies at

Lacedæmon. Battle of Leuctra. Fortitude of the Spartans on receiving the intelligence. Agesilaus gives orders, that the laws shall sleep one day. Epaminondas enters Laconia; is obliged to retire from Sparta. Sedition and conspiracy put down by Agesilaus. The Thebans withdraw from Laconia. Weakness of Sparta. Archidamus' victory over the Arcadians. Epaminondas comes by surprise upon Sparta in Agesilaus' absence, but is driven off on his return. Astonishing valour of a young Spartan. Battle of Mantinea. Agesilaus loses the esteem of the Greeks and Lacedæmonians; goes into Egypt. The Egyptians conceive a disadvantageous opinion of him. He abandons Tachos, and goes over to Nectanabis: effects his deliverance from a fortress, in which he was besieged; and gains a great victory for him, which establishes him upon the throne. Dies.

ARCHIDAMUS[1] the son of Xeuxidamus, after having governed the Lacedæmonians with a very respectable character, left behind him two sons; the one named Agis, whom he had by Lampito[2] a woman of an illustrious family, the other much younger named Agesilaus, whom he had by Eupolia the daughter of Melisippidas. As the crown was by law to descend to Agis, Agesilaus had nothing to expect but a private station, and therefore received a common Lacedæmonian education; which, though hard in respect of diet and full of laborious exercises, was well calculated to teach the youth obedience. Hence, Simonides is said to have called that celebrated city 'the man-subduing Sparta,' because it was the principal tendency of her discipline to render the citizens tractable and submissive to the laws; and she trained her youth, as the colt is trained to the menage. The law however does not reduce to the same necessity the young princes, who are edu-

[1] Archidamus II.

[2] Lampito, or Lampido, was his sister by the father's side.—(Plat. Alcib. 1.)

cated for the throne. In this regard therefore Agesilaus stood alone, that before he came to govern, he had learned to obey. Hence it was, that he accommodated himself with a better grace to his subjects, than any other of the kings; having united to his princely talents and inclinations great civility and courtesy of manner.

While he was yet in one of the classes or societies of boys, Lysander had that honourable attachment to him, which the Spartans distinguish by the name of love. He was charmed with his ingenuous modesty. For though he had a spirit above his companions, an ambition to excel which made him unwilling to sit down without the prize, and a vigour and impetuosity which could not be conquered or overborne, yet was he equally remarkable for his gentleness where it was necessary to obey. At the same time it appeared, that his obedience was not owing to fear but to a principle of honour, and that throughout his whole conduct he dreaded disgrace more than exertion.

He was lame of one leg: but that defect, during his youth, was covered by the agreeable turn of the rest of his person; and the easy and cheerful manner in which he bore it, and his being the first to rally himself upon it, always made it the less regarded. Nay, it rendered his spirit of enterprise the more remarkable; for he never pleaded his weakness as an excuse for declining any undertaking, however laborious.

We have no portrait or statue of him. He would not suffer any to be formed while he lived, and at his death he utterly forbade it. We are only told, that he was a little man, and that he had an aspect far from commanding. But a perpetual vivacity and cheerfulness, attended with a talent for raillery, which was expressed without any severity either of voice or look, made him more agreeable even in age than the young and the handsome. And yet Theophrastus says, the Ephori fined Archidamus for hav-

ing married a little woman. "She will bring us," said they, "a race of pygmies, instead of kings."

During the reign of Agis, Alcibiades upon quitting Sicily came an exile to Lacedæmon. And he had not been there long, before he was suspected of a criminal commerce with Timæa, Agis' wife. Agis indeed refused to own the child which she subsequently bore, and contended it was the son of Alcibiades. The queen herself, as Duris informs us, was not displeased at the supposition, but used to whisper to her women, the child should be called Alcibiades, not Leotychidas. He adds, that Alcibiades himself scrupled not to say, "He did not "approach Timæa to gratify his appetite, but from "an ambition to give kings to Sparta." He was obliged however to fly from Sparta, lest Agis should revenge the injury. And that prince, looking upon Leotychidas with an eye of suspicion, did not notice him as a son. Yet in his last sickness Leotychidas prevailed upon him, by tears and entreaties, to acknowledge him as such before many witnesses.

Notwithstanding this public declaration, Agis was no sooner dead than Lysander, who had vanquished the Athenians at sea and possessed great power and interest in Sparta, advanced Agesilaus to the throne; alleging that Leotychidas was a bastard, and consequently had no right to it. The generality indeed of the citizens knowing the virtues of Agesilaus, and that he had been educated with themselves, in all the severity of Spartan discipline, concurred with pleasure in the project.

There was then at Sparta a soothsayer named Diopithes, well versed in ancient prophecies, and supposed to be an able interpreter of every thing relative to the gods. This person represented it as contrary to the divine will, that a lame man should occupy the throne of Sparta; and on the day, upon which the point was to be decided, he publickly read this oracle:

Illustrious, Sparta, as thou art, beware,
Lest a lame government thy strength impair[3];
Woes unforeseen shall be thy certain doom,
And war's strong tide shall whelm thee in the tomb.

Upon this Lysander observed, that if the Spartans were solicitous to act literally according to the oracle, they ought to beware of Leotychidas: as heaven did not deem it a matter of importance, whether or not the king happened to have a lame foot; the thing to be guarded against being the admission of any one, who was not a genuine descendent of Hercules, for that would make the government itself lame. Agesilaus added, that Neptune had borne witness to the bastardy of Leotychidas, in throwing Agis out of his bed by an earthquake[4], upward of ten months after which Leotychidas was born, though Agis did not cohabit with Timæa during the whole of that period.

By these means Agesilaus gained the diadem, and at the same time was put into possession of Agis' private fortune, Leotychidas being rejected on account of his illegitimacy. Observing however that his relations by the mother's side, though men of merit, were entirely indigent, he distributed among them a moiety of the estate: thus procuring to himself by the inheritance respect and honour, instead of envy and aversion.

By obedience to the laws of his country, as Xenophon informs us, Agesilaus gained so much power, that his will was never disputed. The case was as follows: The principal authority was at that time in the hands of the Ephori and the senate. The former were annual magistrates; and the members of the latter held their office for life. They were both, as we have observed in the Life of Lycurgus, appointed as a barrier against the power of the kings. The kings therefore had an old and hereditary antipa-

[3] For the whole of this introduction, see the Life of Lysander, Vol. III. p. 216, not. (44.), and also Fab. in Justin vi. 2.
[4] Xenoph. Hellen. iii.

thy to them, and there was a perpetual succession of disputes. But Agesilaus took a different course. He gave up all thoughts of opposition and contention, and upon every occasion paid his court to them; taking care, in all his enterprises, to set out under their auspices. If he was summoned by them, he moved faster than usual: If he was upon his throne administering justice, he rose up when they approached: If any one of them was admitted a member of the senate, he sent him a robe and an ox[5] as tokens of honour. Thus, while he seemed to be adding to the dignity and importance of their body, he was privately increasing his own strength, and the authority of the crown through their attachment.

In his conduct with respect to the other citizens, he behaved better as an enemy than as a friend. If he was severe to his enemies, he was not unjustly so; his friends he countenanced even in their unjust pursuits. If his enemies performed any thing extraordinary, he was ashamed not to take honourable notice of it; his friends he could not correct, even when they did amiss. On the contrary, it was his pleasure to support them, and to go the same lengths they did; for he thought no service dishonourable, which he did in the way of friendship. Nay, when his adversaries fell into any misfortune, he was the first to sympathise with them, and ready to give them his assistance if they desired it. By these means, he gained the hearts of all his people.

The Ephori observed this, and in their fear of his increasing power imposed a fine upon him; alleging as the reason, that whereas the citizens ought to be in common, he appropriated them to himself. As the writers upon physics say, that if war and discord were banished the universe, the heavenly bodies would stop their course, and all generation and motion would by that perfect harmony be made to cease;

[5] Emblems of magistracy and patriotism.

so the great lawgiver infused a spirit of ambition and contention into the Spartan constitution, as an incentive to virtue, and wished always to see some difference and dispute among the good and the virtuous. He thought that general complaisance, which leads men to yield to the first proposal, without exploring each other's intentions and without debating on the consequences, was an inert principle undeserving of the name of harmony[6]. Some imagine, that Homer saw this; and that he would not have made Agamemnon rejoice[7], when Ulysses and Achilles contended in such opprobrious terms, if he had not expected that some considerable benefit would arise to the public from this particular quarrel among the great. This point, however, cannot be admitted without qualification; for violent dissensions are pernicious to a state, and productive of extreme danger.

Agesilaus had not been long seated upon the throne, before accounts were brought from Asia, that the king of Persia was preparing an immense fleet to dispossess the Lacedæmonians of their dominion of the sea. Lysander was very solicitous to be again sent into Asia, that he might support his friends, whom he had left governors and masters of the cities; and of whom many, having abused their authority to the purposes of violence and injustice, had been banished or put to death by the people. He therefore persuaded Agesilaus to enter Asia with his forces, and fix the seat of war at the farthest distance from Greece, before the Persian could have

[6] Upon the same principle, we need not be much alarmed at party-disputes in our own nation. They will not expire, but with liberty. And such ferments are often necessary to throw off vicious humours. (L.) One of the ancients has indeed pronounced war 'the mother of all things;' and this might perhaps facetiously be interpreted of the old moral pedigree, 'War begets poverty, poverty peace, peace plenty,' &c. &c. &c. Horace likewise, as well as Ovid, (Metam. i. 433.) speaks of *Rerum concordia discors*. (Epist. 1. xii. 19.)

[7] Odyss. viii. 77.

finished his preparations. At the same time, he instructed his friends in Asia to send deputies to Lacedæmon, to desire that Agesilaus might be appointed to that command.

Agesilaus received their proposals in a full assembly of the people, and agreed to undertake the war, on condition that they would give him thirty Spartans for his officers and counsellors, a select corps of two thousand newly-enfranchised Helots, and six thousand of the allies. All this was readily decreed, through Lysander's influence, and Agesilaus was despatched with the thirty Spartans. Lysander was quickly at the head of the council, not only on account of his reputation and power, but through the friendship of Agesilaus, who regarded the having procured him this command as a greater favour than the having raised him to the throne.

While his forces were assembling at Geræstus, he went with his friends to Aulis; and, passing the night there, dreamed that a person addressed him in this manner: "King of Sparta, you are sensible that, "since Agamemnon, none has been appointed cap- "tain-general of all Greece except yourself: as "therefore you command the same people, and go "against the same enemies with him, and likewise "take your departure from the same place, you "ought to propitiate the goddess with the sacrifice "which he offered before he sailed."

Agesilaus at first thought of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, whom her father offered in obedience to the soothsayers. This circumstance, however, did not give him any pain. In the morning he related the vision to his friends, and told them he would honour the goddess with what a superior being might reasonably be supposed to take pleasure in, and not imitate the savage ignorance of his predecessor[8]. In consequence of which he crowned a hind with flowers, and delivered her to his own soothsayer, with orders

[8] For a fine discussion of this subject, see Hor. Sat. II. iii.

that he should perform the ceremony, and not the person appointed to that office by the Bœotians. The first magistrates of Bœotia, incensed at this innovation, sent their officers to insist, that Agesilaus should not sacrifice contrary to the laws and customs of the country: and the officers not only gave him such notice, but threw the thighs of the victim from the altar. With this treatment Agesilaus was highly offended, and departed in extreme wrath with the Thebans. Neither could he conceive any hopes of success after such an omen; on the contrary, he concluded his operations would be incomplete, and his expedition fail of attaining his object.

When he came to Ephesus, the power and interest of Lysander appeared in a most obnoxious light. The gates of that minister were continually crowded, and to him all applications were made; as if Agesilaus had only the name and badges of command in order to save the forms of law, and Lysander had in fact the power, and all business were to pass through his hands. None of the generals indeed, who had been sent to Asia, ever possessed greater sway or were more dreaded than he; none ever served their friends more effectually, or so much humbled their enemies. These were things fresh in every one's memory; and when they compared also the plain, mild, popular behaviour of Agesilaus with the stern, rough, authoritative manner of Lysander, they entirely submitted to the latter, and attended singly to his orders.

The other Spartans first expressed their resentment, because this attention to Lysander made them appear rather as his ministers, than as the counsellors of the king. Afterward, Agesilaus himself was piqued at it. For though he had no envy in his nature, or any jealousy of honours paid to merit, yet was he ambitious of glory, and firm in asserting his claim to it. Besides, he apprehended that if any signal action were performed, it would be exclusively

imputed to Lysander, on account of the superior light in which he had been considered.

The method, which he took to obviate it, was this: He first opposed the counsels of Lysander, and pursued measures totally different from those, for which he interested himself most. Another step was, to reject the petitions of all, who seemed to apply to him in reliance upon that minister's influence. In matters likewise, judicially brought before him, those against whom Lysander exerted himself were sure to gain their cause; and they, in whose favour he appeared, could scarcely escape without a fine. As these things happened not casually, but constantly, and with obvious marks of design, Lysander discovered the cause, and did not conceal it from his friends. He told them, it was upon his account that they were disgraced, and desired them to pay their court to the king, and to those who possessed more interest with him than himself. These proceedings seemed invidious, and intended to depreciate the king: Agesilaus therefore, to mortify him still more, appointed him his carver; and said, we are told, before a large company, "Now let them go, and "pay their court to my carver."

Lysander, unable to bear this last instance of contempt, observed to him, "Truly, Agesilaus, you "know very well how to lessen your friends:" Upon which Agesilaus replied, "I know very well, who "seek to be greater than myself." "This is rather "perhaps," said Lysander, "an assertion of yours, "than an action of mine. Put me however in some "post, where I may be least obnoxious and most "useful to you."

Upon this, Agesilaus appointed him his lieutenant in the Hellespont; where he persuaded Spithridates, a Persian in the province of Pharnabazus, to come over to the Greeks with a considerable treasure and two hundred horse. Yet he retained his resentment, and nourishing the remembrance of the affront which

he had received, meditated how he might deprive the two families of the privilege of giving kings to Sparta[9], and throw open to all the citizens the way to that high station. And it appears, that he would have raised considerable commotions in pursuit of his revenge, had he not been killed in his expedition into Bœotia. Thus ambitious spirits, when they advance beyond certain bounds, do much more harm than good to the community. For if Lysander was to blame, as in fact he was, for indulging an unseasonable avidity of honour, Agesilaus might have discovered less exceptionable modes of correcting the faults of a man of his character and spirit. But under the influence of the same passion, the one knew not how to pay proper respect to his general, nor the other how to bear the imperfections of his friend.

At first Tisaphernes was afraid of Agesilaus, and undertook by treaty, that the king would leave the Grecian cities to be governed by their own laws: but subsequently, thinking his strength sufficiently increased, he declared war. This was an event most agreeable to Agesilaus. He hoped great things from this expedition[10]; and he considered it as a circumstance which would reflect dishonour upon himself, that Xenophon should have been able to conduct ten thousand Greeks from the heart of Asia to the sea, and beat the king of Persia whenever his forces thought proper to engage him; if he at the head of the Lacedæmonians, who were masters both at sea and land, could not distinguish himself before the Greeks by some memorable stroke.

To revenge therefore the perjury of Tisaphernes by an artifice, which justice recommended, he pretended immediately to march into Caria; and when

9 The Eurytionidæ, and the Agidæ.

10 He told the Persian embassadors, 'He was much obliged to their master for the step which he had taken, since by the violation of his oath he had made the gods enemies to Persia and friends to Greece.'

the barbarian had drawn his forces to that quarter, he turned short and entered Phrygia. There he took many cities, and made himself master of immense treasures: by which he showed his friends, that to violate a treaty is to despise the gods; while to deceive an enemy is not only just but glorious, and the way to add profit to pleasure. As he was inferior however in cavalry, and the liver of the victim appeared without a head, he retired to Ephesus, to raise that species of troops in which he was deficient. His method was, to insist that every person of substance, if he did not choose to serve in person, should provide a horse and a man. Many accepted the alternative; and instead of a parcel of indifferent combatants, such as the rich would have been, he soon levied a numerous and respectable cavalry [11]. For those who did not choose to serve at all, or not to serve as horse, hired others that wanted neither courage nor inclination. In this he professedly imitated Agamemnon, who for a good mare excused a dastardly rich man the service [12].

One day he ordered his commissaries to sell the prisoners, but to strip them first. Their clothes found many purchasers; but as to the prisoners themselves, their skins being soft and white on account of their having lived so much within doors, the spectators only laughed at them, thinking they would be of no service as slaves. Upon which Age-

[11] Ψιλων ὁπλιτων, the present corrupt reading, should be altered from a passage in the Apophthegms (Ed. St. p. 369.) to ψιλων και πλουσιων. The passage is this: ὡστε ταχυ συνηχθησαν και ἱπποι και ανδρες επιτηδειοι και ΔΕΙΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΛΟΥΣΙΩΝ.

[12] Then Meneläus his Podargus brings,
And the famed courser of the king of kings;
Whom rich Echepolus, more rich than brave,
To 'scape the wars to Agamemnon gave,
(Æthe her name) at home to end his days,
Base wealth preferring to eternal praise. (Il. xxiii. 295.)

Thus Scipio, when he went over to Africa, ordered the Sicilians either to attend him, or to supply him with horses or men.

silaus, who stood by at the auction, said to his troops, "These are the persons you fight with;" then, pointing to the rich spoils, "And those are "the things you fight for."

When the season again called him into the field, he announced that Lydia was his object. In this he did not deceive Tisaphernes: that general deceived himself. For giving no heed to the declarations of Agesilaus, because he had previously been duped by him, he concluded that he would now enter Caria, a country not convenient for cavalry, in which he was much the weakest. Agesilaus, as he had proposed, went and sat down on the plain of Sardis, and Tisaphernes was forced to march thither with succours in the utmost haste. The Persian, as he advanced with his cavalry, cut off a number of the Greeks, who were scattered up and down for plunder. Agesilaus however considered that the enemy's infantry could not yet be come up, whereas he himself had all his forces about him, and he therefore resolved to give battle immediately. Pursuant to this resolution, he mixed his light-armed foot with the horse, and ordered them to advance swiftly to the charge, while he was bringing up the heavy-armed troops which could not be far behind. The barbarians were soon put to flight: the Greeks pursued them, took their camp, and killed immense numbers.

In consequence of this success, they were able to pillage the king's country in full security; and they had likewise the satisfaction to see Tisaphernes, a man of abandoned character and one of the bitterest enemies to their name and nation, properly punished. For the king immediately sent Tithraustes against him, who cut off his head. At the same time he desired Agesilaus to grant him peace, promising him large sums [13], on condition that he evacuated his do-

[13] He promised also to restore the Greek cities in Asia to their liberty, on condition that they paid the established tribute: and he

minions. Agesilaus replied, "His country was the "sole arbitress of peace. For his own part, he ra- "ther chose to enrich his soldiers than himself: and "the great honour among the Greeks was to carry "home spoils, and not presents, from their enemies." Nevertheless, to gratify Tithraustes for having destroyed Tisaphernes, the common enemy of the Greeks, he decamped and retired into Phrygia, receiving thirty talents from that viceroy to defray the charges of his march.

Upon the road he received the Scytale [14] from the magistrates of Lacedæmon, which invested him with the command of the navy as well as of the army, an honour never granted in that city to any one but himself. He was indeed, as Theopompus somewhere observes, confessedly the first and most illustrious man of his time; yet he placed his dignity rather in his virtue, than in his power. There was this flaw, however, in his character: upon being entrusted with the conduct of the navy, he committed the care of it to Pisander, although there were other officers of greater age and abilities at hand. Pisander was his wife's brother; and, in compliment to her, he respected that alliance more than the public good.

He took up his own quarters in the province of Pharnabazus, where he not only lived in plenty, but raised considerable subsidies. Thence he proceeded to Paphlagonia, and drew over to his interest Cotys the king of that country, who had been for some time desirous of such a connexion, on account of the virtue and honour which marked his character. Spithridates, the first person of consequence who came over from Pharnabazus, accompanied Agesilaus in all his expeditions, and participated in all his dangers. This Spithridates had a son Megabates, a

hoped (he said) that this condescension would induce Agesilaus to accept the peace, and to return home; the rather, because Tisaphernes, who was guilty of the first aggression, had been punished as he deserved. (Xenoph. Hellen. iii.)

[14] See the Life of Lysander, Vol. III. p. 212.

handsome youth, for whom the Spartan prince entertained a particular regard, and a beautiful daughter in the flower of her age, whom he persuaded to marry Cotys. Cotys gave Agesilaus a thousand horse, and two thousand men draughted from his light-armed troops, and with these he returned into Phrygia.

In that province he committed dreadful ravages; but Pharnabazus, instead of waiting to oppose him, or confiding in his own garrisons, carried off with him his most valuable property, and moved from place to place to avoid a battle. Spithridates however watched him so narrowly, that with the assistance of Herippidas[15] the Spartan, he at last made himself master of his camp and all his treasures. Herippidas minutely examined what part of the baggage was secreted, and compelled the barbarians to restore it; he looked, indeed, with a keen and scrutinising eye into every thing. This provoked Spithridates to such a degree, that he immediately marched off with the Paphlagonians to Sardis.

No occurrence, during the whole war, touched Agesilaus more nearly than this. Beside the pain of reflecting that he had lost Spithridates, and with him a considerable body of men, he was ashamed of a mark of avarice and illiberality, from which he had ever studied to preserve both himself and his country. These were causes of uneasiness, which might be publicly acknowledged: but he had a more sensible one, in his devoted attachment to the son of Spithridates; though, while he was with him, he had made a point of combating that attachment.

One day Megabates approached to salute him, and Agesilaus declined that mark of his affection. The youth, after this, was more distant in his addresses. Agesilaus was then sorry for the repulse which he had given him, and affected to wonder

[15] Herippidas was at the head of the new council of Thirty, sent to Agesilaus in the second year of the war.

why he kept at such a distance. His friends told him, he must blame himself for having rejected his former application: "He would still," they added, "be glad to pay his most obliging respects to you; "but take care, you do not reject them again." Agesilaus was silent for some time; and after having duly reflected upon the business, replied, "Do not "mention it to him: for this second victory over "myself gives me more pleasure, than I should have "in turning the whole of what I see to gold." This resolution of his held, as long as Megabates was with him; but he was so much afflicted at his departure, that it is hard to say how he would have behaved, if he had found him again.

After this, Pharnabazus desired a conference with him; and Apollophanes of Cyzicum, at whose house they had both been entertained, effected an interview. Agesilaus came first to the place appointed with his friends, and sat down upon the long grass in the shade to wait for Pharnabazus. When the Persian grandee came, his servants spread soft skins and beautiful pieces of tapestry for him; but upon seeing Agesilaus so seated, he was ashamed to make use of them, and placed himself carelessly on the grass in the same manner, though his robes were delicate and of the finest colours.

After mutual salutations, Pharnabazus opened the conference; and he had indeed just cause of complaint against the Lacedæmonians, after the services which he had rendered them in the Athenian war, and their late ravages in his country. Agesilaus saw the Spartans were at a loss for a reply, and kept their eyes fixed upon the ground; for they knew, that Pharnabazus was the injured party. The Spartan general however found an answer, which was as follows: "While we were friends to the king of "Persia, we treated him and his in a friendly man-"ner: now we are enemies, you can expect nothing "from us but hostilities. So long therefore as you, "Pharnabazus, choose to be a vassal to the king, we

" wound him through your sides. Become a friend " and ally to the Greeks, and shake off that vas- " salage; and from that moment you have a right " to consider these battalions, these arms, these ships " —in short, all that we are or have, as guardians of " your possessions and your liberty; without which, " nothing is great or desirable among men [16]."

Pharnabazus then explained himself in these terms: " If the king sends another lieutenant in my room, I " will come over to you; but so long as he continues " me in the government, I will to the best of my " power repel force with force, and make reprisals " for him upon you." Charmed with this reply Agesilaus took his hand, and rising up with him said, " Heaven grant that, with such sentiments as these, " you may be our friend and not our enemy [17]."

As Pharnabazus and his party were going away, his son who was behind ran up to Agesilaus, and said with a smile, " Sir, I enter with you into the rights " of hospitality:" giving him at the same time a javelin, which he held in his hand. Agesilaus received it; and delighted with his looks and kind regards, looked about for something handsome to bestow upon a youth of his princely appearance in return. His secretary Adæus happening to have a horse with magnificent furniture just by, he ordered it to be taken off, and given to the young man. Neither did he afterward forget him. In process of time this Persian was driven from home by his brothers, and forced to seek refuge in Peloponnesus. Agesilaus then took him into his protection, and served him upon all occasions. Among other things he had a favourite in the wrestling-ring at Athens, who wished to be introduced at the Olympic games; but, as he had exceeded the proper age, they did not

[16] He added, 'Should we however continue at war, I will for the future avoid your territories as much as possible, and rather forage and raise contributions in any other province.' (Xen. Hellen. iv.)

[17] *Talis cum sis, utinam noster esses!*

choose to admit him[18]: Upon which the Persian applied to Agesilaus; and he, anxious in this as well as other things to oblige him, procured the young man (though not without considerable difficulty) the admission which he desired.

Agesilaus indeed, in other respects, was strictly and inflexibly just; but, where a man's friends were concerned, he thought rigid regard to justice a mere pretence. There is still extant a short letter of his to Hydrieus the Carian, which is a proof of what we have said: "If Nicias is innocent, of course acquit him; If he is not innocent, upon my account acquit him; at all events, be sure to acquit him[19]."

Such was the general character of Agesilaus, as a friend. There were times indeed, when his attachments gave way to the exigencies of state. Being once obliged to decamp in a hurry, he was leaving a favourite sick behind him. The favourite called after him, and earnestly entreated him to come back; upon which he turned and said, "How little consistent are pity[20] and prudence!" This particular we have from Hieronymus the philosopher.

Agesilaus had been now two years at the head of the army, and was become the general subject of discourse in the Upper Provinces. His wisdom, his disinterestedness, and his moderation, were the themes upon which they dwelt with pleasure. Whenever he made an excursion, he lodged in the temples most renowned for sanctity; and, whereas upon many occasions we do not choose that men should see what we are about, he was desirous to have the gods themselves inspectors and witnesses of his conduct. Among so many thousands of soldiers there was scarcely one, who had a worse or a harder bed

[18] In these exhibitions they sometimes admitted boys, who after a certain age were excluded from the lists.

[19] *Si possis, rectè: si non, quocunque modo.*—(Hor. I. i. 66.)*

[20] Some MSS. read 'love,' and they are followed by Amyot.*

than he. And he was so completely fortified against heat and cold, that no one was equally prepared for whatever seasons the climate might produce.

The Greeks in Asia never saw a more agreeable spectacle, than that of the Persian governors and generals, who had been insufferably elated with power and had rolled in riches and luxury, humbly submitting and paying their court to a man in a coarse cloak, and upon one brief laconic word conforming to his sentiments, or rather transforming themselves into another shape. Many thought Timotheus' line applicable upon this occasion:

Mars is the god; and Greece reveres not gold.

The whole of Asia was now in a state of agitation, and ready to revolt from the Persians. Agesilaus had brought the cities under excellent regulations, and settled their police without putting to death or banishing a single subject. After which he resolved to change the seat of war, and to remove it from the Grecian sea to the heart of Persia; that the king might have to fight for Ecbatana and Susa, instead of sitting in them at his ease to bribe the orators, and hire the states of Greece to destroy each other. But amidst these schemes of his, Epicydidas the Spartan came to acquaint him, that Sparta was involved in a Grecian war, and that the Ephori had sent him orders to return and defend his own country.

Unhappy Greeks! barbarians to each other!

For what better name can we bestow upon that envy, which incited them to conspire and combine for their mutual destruction, at a time when Fortune had taken them upon her wings, and was carrying them against the barbarians; and yet they brought home to themselves the war, which had been removed into a foreign country[21]. I cannot indeed

[21] That corruption, which induced the states of Greece to take Persian gold, undoubtedly deserves censure. Yet we cannot help

agree with Demaratus of Corinth, when he asserts, that those Greeks fell short of a considerable pleasure, who did not live to see Alexander seated on the throne of Darius. But I think the Greeks had just cause for tears, when they considered that they left that to be achieved by Alexander and the Macedonians, which might have been effected by themselves under the generals whom they lost in the fields of Leuctra, Coronea, Arcadia, and Corinth.

Of all the actions of Agesilaus, however, there is none which displayed a stricter sense of propriety, or a stronger proof of his obedience to the laws and justice to the public, than his immediate return to Sparta. Annibal, though his affairs were in a desperate condition, and he was almost beaten out of Italy, very reluctantly obeyed the summons of his countrymen to go and defend them in a war at home. And Alexander, upon receiving intelligence that Agis had had an engagement with Antipater, jestingly said; "It seems, my friends, that while we "were conquering Darius here, there was a battle "of mice in Arcadia." How happy then was Sparta in the respect, which Agesilaus paid her, and in his reverence for the laws! No sooner was the Scytale brought to him, though in the midst of his power and good fortune, than he resigned and abandoned his flourishing prospects, sailed home, and left his great work unfinished. And such was the regret of his friends and his allies for the loss of him, as to supply a striking confutation of the saying of Demostratus the Phæacian; "That the Lacedæmo-"nians excelled in public, and the Athenians in pri-"vate characters." For, though he had eminent

remarking, that the divisions and jealousies which reigned in Greece were the support of it's liberties, and that Persia was not conquered, till nothing but the shadow of these liberties remained. Were there indeed a number of little independent states, which made justice the constant rule of their conduct to each other, and which would be always ready to unite upon any alarm from a formidable enemy, they might preserve their liberties inviolate for ever.

merit as a king and a general, he was a still more agreeable companion and desireable friend.

As the Persian money had the impression of an archer, he said, "He was driven out of Asia by "ten thousand of the king's archers [22]." For the orators of Athens and Thebes, having been bribed with so many pieces of money, had excited their countrymen to take up arms against Sparta.

When he had crossed the Hellespont, he marched through Thrace without asking leave of any of the barbarians. He only desired to know of each people, "Whether they wished him to pass as a friend, or as "an enemy?" Upon which they all received him with tokens of friendship, and showed him every civility on his way, with the exception of the Trallians [23], of whom Xerxes is said to have bought a passage; and they demanded of him a hundred talents of silver, and as many women. He ironically asked the messenger, "Why did they not then come "to receive them?" And then marching forward, and finding them drawn up to oppose him, he gave them battle, and routed them with great slaughter.

He sent some of his people likewise to put the same question to the king of Macedon, who answered, "I will consider of it." "Let him consider," said he; "in the mean time we march." The king, surprised and awed by his spirit, desired him to pass as a friend.

The Thessalians were confederates with the enemies of Sparta, and he therefore ravaged their territories. To the city of Larissa indeed he offered his

[22] Tithraustes sent Timocrates of Rhodes into Greece with fifty talents, which he distributed at Thebes, Argos, and Corinth; but, according to Xenophon (Helen. iii.) Athens had no share in the distribution.

[23] Beside the Trallians in Lydia, there was a people of that name in Illyricum, upon the confines of Thrace and Macedon. So at least, according to Dacier, Theopompus (ap. Steph.) testifies. One of the MSS., instead of Τραλλεις, gives us Τραχαλεις. In one of our author's Moral Treatises, they are called Τραδεις. Possibly, they might be the Triballi.

friendship, by his embassadors Xenocles and Scytha; but the people seized them, and threw them into prison. This affront, his troops so deeply resented, that they would have had him go and lay siege to the place. Agesilaus, however, was of a different opinion. He said, "He would not lose one of his "embassadors for the conquest of all Thessaly;" and he, subsequently, found means to recover them by treaty. Neither are we to wonder that Agesilaus took this step, since upon receiving intelligence of a great battle fought near Corinth, in which many brave men had been suddenly cut off, but that the loss of the Spartans was inconsiderable in comparison of that of the enemy, he was not in the least elevated. On the contrary, he said with a deep sigh, "Unhappy Greece! why hast thou destroyed "so many brave men with thine own hands; who, "had they lived, might have conquered all the bar- "barians in the world!"

As the Pharsalians however attacked and harassed him in his march, he engaged them with five hundred horse, and put them to flight. With this success he was so much delighted, that he erected a trophy under mount Narthacium; and he valued himself the more upon it, because with so small a number of his own training he had beaten people, who reckoned theirs the best cavalry in Greece. Here Diphridas one of the Ephori met him, and gave him orders to enter Bœotia immediately: and though his intention was to have done so after having strengthened his army with some reinforcements, he thought it not right to disobey the magistrates. He therefore said to those about him, "Now comes the day, "for which we have been called out of Asia." At the same time, he sent for two cohorts from the army near Corinth. And the Lacedæmonians did him the honour to cause proclamation to be made at home, that such of the youth as were inclined to go and assist the king, might give in their names. All the young men in Sparta presented themselves for

that service; but the magistrates selected only fifty of the ablest, and sent them off.

Agesilaus, having passed the straits of Thermopylæ and traversed Phocis, which was in friendship with the Spartans, entered Bœotia and encamped upon the plains of Chæronea. He had scarcely entrenched himself, when there happened an eclipse of the sun[24]. At the same time he received an account, that Pisander had been defeated at sea, and killed by Pharnabazus and Conon. This intelligence afflicted him, as well for his own loss, as for that of the public. Yet lest his army, which was going to give battle, should be discouraged at the news, he ordered his messengers to report that Pisander was victorious[25]. Nay, he appeared in public with a chaplet of flowers, returned solemn thanks for the pretended success, and sent portions of the sacrifice to his friends.

When he came up to Coronea[26], and was in view of the enemy, he drew up his army. The left wing he gave to the Orchomenians, and took the right himself. The Thebans also, forming in order of battle, placed themselves on the right, and the Argives on the left. Xenophon affirms, that this was the most furious action in his time; and he certainly was able to judge, for he fought in it by the side of Agesilaus, with whom he had returned from Asia.

The first charge was neither violent, nor lasting: The Thebans quickly routed the Orchomenians, and Agesilaus the Argives. But, when both parties were informed that their left wings were broken and flying, they both hastened to their relief. At that in-

[24] This eclipse took place on the twenty-ninth of August, Ol. xcvi. 3. B. C. 394.

[25] That the fleet (says Xenophon, Hellen. iv.) was victorious, but that Pisander had fallen in the engagement.*

[26] In the printed text it is 'Coronea,' nor have we any various reading. But undoubtedly Chæronea, upon the Cephisus, was the place where the battle was fought; and we must not confound it with the battle of Coronea in Thessaly, fought fifty-three years before, B. C. 447.

stant Agesilaus without any risk might have secured to himself the victory, if he would have suffered the Thebans to pass, and had then charged them in the rear[27]. But borne along by his fury, and an ambition to display his valour, he attacked them in front, in the confidence of beating them upon even terms. They received him however with equal briskness, and amazing efforts were exerted in all quarters, especially where Agesilaus and his fifty Spartans were engaged. Those volunteers could not have come at a more pressing crisis, or more seasonably for their king. For they fought with the most determined valour, and exposed their persons to the greatest dangers in his defence, and yet could not prevent his being wounded. He was pierced through his armour, in many places, with spears and swords; and though they formed a ring about him, it was with difficulty that they brought him off alive, after having killed numbers of the enemy, and left not a few of their own body dead upon the spot. At last, finding it impracticable to break the Theban front, they were obliged to have recourse to a manœuvre, which at first they had scorned. They opened their ranks, and let the Thebans pass; after which, observing that they marched in a disorderly manner, they followed and took them in flank and rear. Still however, they could not break them. The Thebans retreated to Helicon, valuing themselves highly upon the battle, because their part of the army had been a full match for the Lacedæmonians.

Agesilaus, though he was much weakened by his wounds, would not retire to his tent, till he had been carried through all his battalions, and had seen the dead borne off upon their arms. In the mean time being informed, that a party of the enemy had taken refuge in the temple of the Itonian Minerva, he gave orders that they should be dismissed in safety. Be-

[27] Xenophon (iv.) gives another turn to the matter; but, with him, Agesilaus was never wrong.

fore this temple stood a trophy, which the Bœotians had formerly erected, when under the conduct of Sparton they had defeated the Athenians, and killed their general Tolmides[28].

Early the next morning Agesilaus, willing to try whether the Thebans would renew the combat, commanded his men to wear garlands and the music to play, while he reared and adorned a trophy in token of his success. At the same time, the enemy applied to him for leave to bear off their dead; which circumstance confirmed to him the victory. He therefore granted them a truce for that purpose, and then caused himself to be carried to Delphi, where they were celebrating the Pythian games. There he ordered a solemn procession in honour of the god, and consecrated to him the tenth of the spoils which he had taken in Asia. This offering amounted to a hundred talents.

Upon his return to Sparta, he was greatly beloved by the citizens, who admired the peculiar temperance of his life. For he did not, like other generals, come altered from a foreign country; nor, in fondness for the fashions which he had seen there, disdain or quarrel with those of his own. On the contrary, he showed as strong an attachment to the Spartan customs, as those who had never passed the Eurotas. He did not vary either his repasts, his baths, the equipage of his wife, the ornaments of his armour, or the furniture of his house. He even let his doors remain, which were so old that they seemed to be those set up by Aristodemus[29]. Xenophon also assures us, that his daughter's carriage was not in the least richer than those of other young

[28] In the battle of Coronea. See the Life of Pericles, Vol. II, and for what relates to the temple of the Itonian Minerva, Pausan. iii. 9., ix. 34.

[29] Aristodemus, the son of Hercules and founder of the royal family of Sparta, flourished B. C. 1102; so that the gates of Agesilaus' palace, if set up by Aristodemus, had then stood upward of seven hundred years. Corn. Nepos for 'Aristodemus' substitutes his son 'Eurysthenes.'

ladies. These carriages, called Canathra, and used by the virgins in their solemn processions, were a kind of wooden chaises, made in the form of griffins or goat-stags[30]. Xenophon has not told us, what this daughter of Agesilaus was called; and Dicæarchus is greatly dissatisfied, that neither her name, nor that of the mother of Epaminondas has been preserved. But we find by some Lacedæmonian inscriptions, that the wife of Agesilaus was called Cleora, and his daughters Apolia and Prolyta[31]. We see also at Lacedæmon the spear he fought with, which differs not from others.

As he observed that many of the citizens valued themselves upon breeding horses for the Olympic games, he persuaded his sister Cynisca to make an attempt that way, and to try her fortune in the chariot-race in person. This he did, to prove to the Greeks that a victory of that kind depended not upon any extraordinary spirit or abilities, but only upon riches and expense.

Xenophon, the philosopher, spent much of his time with him, and was treated by him with the utmost respect. He also desired him to send for his sons, that they might have the benefit of a Spartan education, by which they would acquire the best knowledge in the world, that of knowing how to command and how to obey.

After the death of Lysander, he detected a conspiracy, which that general had formed against him immediately upon his return from Asia. And he was inclined to convince the public what kind of man Lysander really was, by exposing an oration found among his papers; which had been composed for him by Cleon of Halicarnassus, and was to have been delivered to the people, in order to facilitate the innovations which he was then meditating in the constitution. But one of the senators having the per-

30 In the original, τραγελαφων. *Cervorum est species tragelaphus, barbâ tantum et armorum villo distans.* Plin.

31 'Eupolia' and 'Proauga.' (Cod. Vulcob.)

usal of it, and finding it a very plausible composition, advised him "not to dig Lysander out of his grave, "but rather to bury the oration with him." This advice appeared judicious, and he suppressed the paper [32].

As for those who most strenuously opposed his measures, he made no open reprisals upon them, but he found means to employ them as generals or governors. When invested with power, they soon discovered what unworthy and avaricious men they were, and were in consequence called to account for their proceedings. He then used to assist them in their distress, and laboured to get them acquitted, by which he converted them from adversaries into friends and partisans; so that, at last, he had no opposition to contend with. For his royal collegue Agesipolis [33], being the son of an exile, very young, and of a mild and modest disposition, interfered but little in the affairs of government: and Agesilaus contrived to make him still more tractable. The two kings, when they were in Sparta, ate at the same table. Agesilaus knew that Agesipolis was open to the impressions of love as well as himself, and he therefore constantly turned the conversation upon some amiable young person. He even assisted him in his views that way, and brought him at last to fix upon the same favourite with himself. For, at Sparta, there is nothing criminal in these attachments; on the contrary (as we have observed in the Life of Lycurgus) such love is productive of the greatest modesty and honour, and it's characteristic is an ambition to improve the object in virtue.

Agesilaus, thus powerful in Sparta, had the address to get Teleutias, his brother by the mother's side, appointed admiral. After which he marched

[32] For the history of this circumstance and also for an account of the cause of Pausanias' exile, see the Life of Lysander, Vol. III. p. 227.

[33] Agesipolis I. was the son of Pausanias.

against Corinth[34] with his land-forces, and took the Long Walls, Teleutias assisting his operations by sea. The Argives, who were at that time in possession of Corinth, were then celebrating the Isthmian Games: and Agesilaus coming upon them as they were engaged in the sacrifice, drove them away, and seized upon all that they had prepared for the festival. The Corinthian exiles, who attended him, desired him to undertake the exhibition as president; but not choosing that, he ordered them to proceed with the solemnity, and stayed to protect them. After he was gone, however, the Argives celebrated the games over again; and some, who had gained the prize before, had the same good fortune a second time: others, who were then victorious, were now in the list of the vanquished. Lysander took the opportunity of remarking, how great the cowardice of the Argives must be; who, while they reckoned the presidency at those games so honourable a privilege, did not dare to risk a battle for it! He was indeed of opinion, that a moderate regard for this kind of diversions was best, and applied himself to embellish the choirs and public exercises of his own country. When he was at Sparta, he honoured them with his presence, and supported them with the utmost zeal and spirit, never missing any of the exercises of the young men or the virgins. As for other entertainments, so much admired by the world, he seemed not even to know what they were.

One day Callipides, who had acquired high reputation among the Greeks as a tragedian, and was universally caressed, approached and paid his respects to him; after which he mixed with a pompous air in his train, expecting that he would take some ho-

[34] There were two expeditions of Agesilaus against Corinth, which Plutarch in this place confounds; but Xenophon, Hellen. iv., has distinguished them very clearly. The enterprise, in which Teleutias assisted, did not succeed; for Iphicrates, the Athenian general, preserved Corinth and it's territories from feeling the effects of Agesilaus' resentment.

nourable notice of him. At last he said, "Don't "you know me, Sir?" The king, casting his eyes upon him, answered slightly; "Are you not Calli- "pides, the stage-player?" At another time, being asked to go and hear a man who mimicked the night- ingale, he refused, and said; "I have heard the "nightingale herself."

Menecrates the physician, having succeeded in some desperate cases, got the surname of Jupiter. Of this appellation he was so vain, as to adopt it in a letter to the king: "Menecrates Jupiter to king "Agesilaus, Health." The reply began thus: "King Agesilaus to Menecrates, Sanity."

While he was in the territories of Corinth, he took the temple of Juno: and as he stood looking upon the soldiers, who were carrying off the prisoners and the spoils, embassadors came from Thebes with pro- posals of peace. He had ever hated that city; and now thinking it necessary to express his contempt for it, he pretended not to see the embassadors or to hear their address, though they were before him. Heaven, however, avenged the insult. Before they were gone, intelligence was brought to him, that a battalion of Spartans had been cut in pieces by Iphi- crates. This was one of the greatest losses, which his country had for a long time sustained: and beside being deprived of a number of brave men, there was this farther mortification involved in it, that her heavy-armed soldiers had been beaten by the light- armed, and Lacedæmonians by mercenaries.

Agesilaus immediately marched to their assist- ance; but finding it too late, he returned to the tem- ple of Juno, and let the Bœotian embassadors know, that he was ready to give them audience. Glad of an opportunity of returning the insult, they came, but made no mention of the peace. They only de- sired a safe conduct to Corinth. Agesilaus, pro- voked at the demand, replied; "If you are desir- "ous to see your friends in the elevation of success, "to-morrow you shall do it with all the security

"which you can desire." Accordingly, the next day he laid waste the territories of Corinth, and taking them along with him advanced to the very walls. Thus, having shown the embassadors that the Corinthians did not dare to oppose him, he dismissed them. He then collected such of his countrymen as had escaped in the late action, and marched to Lacedæmon; setting off every day before it was light, and encamping after it was dark, in order to prevent the insults of the Arcadians, to whose aversion and envy he was no stranger.

After this, to gratify the Achæans[35], he led his forces along with theirs into Acarnania, where he made an immense booty and defeated the Acarnanians in a pitched battle. The Achæans desired him to stay till winter, in order to prevent the enemy from sowing their lands. But he told them, "He "should adopt a measure directly the reverse; for "they would be the more afraid of war, when they "had their fields covered with corn." The event justified his opinion. Next year, as soon as an army appeared upon their borders, they made peace with the Achæans.

When Conon and Pharnabazus, with the Persian fleet, had rendered themselves masters of the sea, they ravaged the coasts of Laconia; and the walls of Athens were rebuilt with the money, which Pharnabazus supplied. The Lacedæmonians then thought proper to conclude a peace with the Persians, and sent Antalcidas to make their proposals to Tiribazus. Antalcidas, upon this occasion, acted an infamous part toward the Greeks in Asia; and delivered up to the king of Persia those cities, for whose liberty Agesilaus had combated. No part of the dishonour,

[35] The Achæans were in possession of Calydon, which had previously belonged to the Ætolians. The Acarnanians, now assisted by the Athenians and Bœotians, attempted to make themselves masters of it. But the Achæans applied for succour to the Lacedæmonians, who employed Agesilaus in that business. (Xenoph. Hellen. iv.)

indeed, fell upon the Spartan monarch. Antalcidas was his enemy, and he hastened the peace by every possible means, because the war contributed to the reputation and power of the man whom he hated. Nevertheless, when Agesilaus was told, "the Lace-"dæmonians were turning Medes;" he replied, "No, the Medes are turning Lacedæmonians." And as some of the Greeks were unwilling to be comprehended in the treaty, he compelled them to accept the prince's terms, by threatening them with war[36].

His view in this was, to weaken the Thebans; for it was one of the conditions, that the cities of Bœotia should be independent. Subsequent events rendered the matter perfectly clear. When Phœbidas had most unjustifiably seized the citadel of Cadmea in the time of full peace, the Greeks in general expressed their indignation, and many of the Spartans did the same; particularly those, who were at variance with Agesilaus. These asking him, in an angry tone, "By whose orders Phœbidas had done so un-"just a thing?" with the hope of throwing the blame upon himself; he scrupled not to say, in behalf of Phœbidas, "You should examine the tendency of "the action: consider, whether or not it be advan-"tageous to Sparta. If it be so, it was glorious to "do it without any orders." Yet in his discourse he was always magnifying justice, and giving her the first rank among the virtues. "Unsupported by "justice," said he, "valour is good for nothing[37]; "and, if all men were just, there would be no need of

[36] The king of Persia's terms were: 'That the Greek cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should remain to him: that all the other states, small and great, should be left free, excepting only Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros; which, having been from time immemorial subject to the Athenians, should remain so: and that such, as refused to embrace the peace, should be compelled to admit it by force of arms.' (Id. ib. v.)

This Peace of Antalcidas was made B. C. 387.

[37] This is not the only instance, in which we find it a maxim among the Lacedæmonians, that a man ought to be strictly just in

"it." If any one in the course of conversation happened to say, "Such is the pleasure of the Great "King;" he would answer, "How is he greater "than I, if he is not more just?" Which implies a maxim indisputably right, that justice is the royal instrument, by which we are to take the different proportions of human excellence.

After the peace was concluded, the king of Persia sent him a letter, of which the purport was, to propose a private friendship and the rights of hospitality between them; but he declined it, observing, "The public friendship was sufficient; and while "that lasted, there was no need of a private one." Yet by these honourable sentiments he did not invariably regulate his conduct: on the contrary, he was frequently carried away by his ambition and resentment. Particularly in this affair of the Thebans, he not only screened Phœbidas from punishment, but persuaded the Spartan commonwealth to become an accomplice in his crime, by holding the Cadmea for themselves, and placing the Theban administration in the hands of Archias and Leontidas, who had betrayed the citadel to Phœbidas. Hence it was natural to suspect, that though Phœbidas was the instrument, the design had been formed by Agesilaus; and subsequent proceedings confirmed this conjecture beyond contradiction. For when the Athenians had expelled the garrison[38], and restored the Thebans to their liberty, he declared war against the latter for having put to death Archias and Leontidas, whom he called polemarchs, but who in fact were tyrants. Cleombrotus[39], who upon the death

his private capacity, but that he may take what latitude he pleases in a public one, provided his country be a gainer by it.

For a noble contrast, see an instance in the Life of Aristides, Vol. II.

[38] See Xen. Hellen. v.; whence it appears that the Cadmea was recovered by the Athenians, not the Thebans, as here stated in the original text.

[39] Cleombrotus was the youngest son of Pausanias, and the brother of Agesipolis.

of Agesipolis had succeeded to the throne, was sent with an army into Bœotia. For Agesilaus, who was now forty years above the age of puberty, and therefore legally exempted from service, was very willing to decline this commission. As he had lately indeed made war upon the Phliasians in favour of exiles, he was ashamed now to appear in arms against the Thebans in behalf of tyrants.

There was then a Lacedæmonian named Sphodrias, of the party which opposed Agesilaus, lately appointed governor of Thespiæ. This man wanted neither courage, nor ambition; but he was governed rather by sanguine hopes, than by sense and prudence. Greedy therefore of an illustrious name, and reflecting how Phœbidas had distinguished himself in the lists of fame by his Theban enterprise, he was persuaded that it would be a much greater and more glorious performance, if without any directions from his superiors he could seize upon the Piræus, and deprive the Athenians of the empire of the sea by a sudden attack at land.

This, it is said, was a train laid for him by Pelopidas and Gelon, first magistrates in Bœotia[39]. They sent persons to him, who pretended to be deeply in the Spartan interest; and who, by magnifying him as the only man fit for such an exploit, worked up his ambition, till he undertook a thing equally unjust and detestable with the affair of the Cadmea, but conducted with inferior valour and attended with less success. He hoped to have reached the Piræus in the night, but day-light overtook him upon the plains of Thriasia[40]: and some light, we are told, appearing to the soldiers to stream from the temples of

[39] The Lacedæmonians, they feared, were too strong for them, and therefore incited Sphodrias to this act of hostility against the Athenians, in order to draw them into the quarrel. (L.) See Xen. Hellen. v., and the Life of Pelopidas, Vol. II. where the latter magistrate is respectively called Mellon and Melon.*

[40] One of the Attic boroughs, of the tribe Œneïs, in the neighbourhood of Eleusis.*

Eleusis, they were struck with a religious horror. Sphodrias himself lost his spirit of adventure, when he found that his march could no longer be concealed; and, having collected some trifling booty, returned with disgrace to Thespiæ.

Upon this, the Athenians sent deputies to Sparta, to complain of him; but they found, that the magistrates had proceeded against him without their complaints, and that he was already under a capital prosecution. He had not dared to appear, and take his trial: for he dreaded the rage of his countrymen, who were ashamed of his conduct to the Athenians, and who were willing to resent the injury as done to themselves, rather than to have it supposed that they had joined in doing an injury to others.

Sphodrias had a son named Cleonymus, young and handsome, and a particular favourite of Archidamus the son of Agesilaus. Archidamus, as it is natural to suppose, shared in all the uneasiness of the young man for his father; but he knew not how to assist him, or to appear openly in his behalf, because Sphodrias had been a bitter adversary to Agesilaus. Cleonymus, however, applying to him, and entreating him with many tears to intercede with Agesilaus, as the person whom they had most reason to dread, he undertook the commission. Three or four days passed, during which he was restrained by a reverential awe from mentioning the matter to his father; but he followed him up and down in silence. At last, when the day of trial was at hand, he summoned up courage to say, "Cleonymus was "a suppliant to him for his father." Agesilaus, knowing his son's attachment to that youth, did not lay any injunctions upon him against it: for Cleonymus, from his infancy, had given hopes that he would one day rank with the worthiest men in Sparta. Yet he did not give him room to expect any great favour in this case; he only replied, "He "would consider, what would be the consistent and "honourable part for him to act."

Archidamus therefore, ashamed of the inefficacy of his interposition, discontinued his visits to Cleonymus, though he had previously been accustomed to call upon him many times in a day. Hence Sphodrias' friends gave up the matter for lost; till an intimate acquaintance of Agesilaus, named Etymocles, in a conversation which passed between them, discovered the sentiments of that prince. He told him, "He highly disapproved Sphodrias' "attempt; but he still looked upon him as a brave "man, and was sensible that Sparta had occasion "for such soldiers as he." Such was the way indeed, in which Agesilaus, in order to oblige his son, constantly spoke of the cause. By this Cleonymus immediately perceived, with how much zeal Archidamus had served him, and Sphodrias' friends appeared with greater courage in his behalf. Agesilaus was, certainly, a most affectionate father. It is said, when his children were small, he would join in their sports; and a friend happening to find him one day riding among them upon a stick, he desired him, "not to mention it, till he was a father "of children himself."

Sphodrias was acquitted; upon which, the Athenians prepared for war. This drew the censures of the world upon Agesilaus, who to gratify an absurd and childish inclination of his son obstructed the course of justice, and subjected his country to the reproach of such flagrant offences against the Greeks. As he found his collegue Cleombrotus[41] disinclined to continue the war against the Thebans, he dropped the exemption which the law furnished him, though he had previously availed himself of it, and marched into Bœotia. The Thebans suffered much from his operations, and he suffered as much from theirs in return. So that Antalcidas one day, seeing him come off wounded, observed to him; "The The-

[41] Xenophon says, the Ephori thought Agesilaus, as a more experienced general, would conduct the war better than Cleombrotus. Τοῦ υἱοῦ has nothing to do in the text. (Ib.)

" bans pay you well for teaching them to fight, when " they had neither inclination nor skill for it." The Thebans, it is certain, were at this time much more formidable in the field than they had ever been, after having been trained and exercised in so many wars with the Lacedæmonians. For the same reason their ancient sage Lycurgus, in one of his three ordinances called ' Rhetræ,' forbade them to go to war frequently with the same enemy, viz. to prevent the enemy from learning their art[42].

The allies of Sparta likewise complained of Agesilaus, " That it was not in any public quarrel, " but from an obstinate spirit of private resent- " ment[43], that he sought to destroy the Thebans. " For their part (they said) they were unnecessarily " wearing themselves out, by going in such num- " bers upon this or that expedition every year, at " the will of a handful of Lacedæmonians." Upon this Agesilaus, desirous to show them that the number of their warriors was not so considerable, ordered all the allies to sit down promiscuously on one side, and all the Lacedæmonians on the other. After which, the cryer summoned the trades to stand up one after another: first the potters, next the brasiers, then the carpenters, and the masons; in short, all the mechanics. In consequence of this, almost all the allies stood up, but not one of the Lacedæmonians; for they were forbidden to learn, or to exercise, any manual art: upon which Agesilaus smiled, and said, " You see, my friends, we send " more warriors into the field than you do."

When he was come as far as Megara on his return from Thebes, as he was going up to the senate-house in the citadel[44], he was seized with spasms and an

[42] See the Life of Lycurgus, Vol. I. It was by transgressing this rule, that ' the Swedish madman,' Charles XII., taught his great rival to conquer him at Pultowa.*

[43] This private resentment, which Agesilaus entertained against the Thebans, nearly ruined both himself and his country.

[44] Xenophon says, it was as he was going from the temple of Venus to the senate-house. (Ib.)

acute pain in his right leg. The limb immediately swelled, the vessels were distended with blood, and there appeared every sign of a violent inflammation. A Syracusan physician opened a vein below the ancle, upon which the pain abated; but the blood flowed so fast, that it was not stopped without great difficulty, nor till he fainted away and his life was in danger. He was carried to Lacedæmon in a weak condition, and continued for a long time incapable of service.

In the mean time, the Spartans received several checks both by sea and land. Their most considerable loss was at Leuctra[45], which was the first pitched battle gained over them by the Thebans. Before the last-mentioned action, all parties were disposed to peace, and the states of Greece sent their deputies to Lacedæmon to treat about it. Among these was Epaminondas, a man celebrated for erudition and philosophy, but who had not yet given any proof of his capacity for commanding armies. The other deputies, he saw, were awed by the presence of Agesilaus; and he himself was the only one, who preserved a proper dignity and freedom, both in his manner and in his propositions. He made a speech in favour, not only of the Thebans, but of Greece in general; in which he showed that war tended to aggrandise Sparta at the expense of the other states, and insisted that the peace should be founded upon justice and equality: because then only it would be lasting, when all were put upon an equal footing.

Agesilaus, perceiving that the Greeks listened to him with wonder and deep attention, asked him, "Whether or not he thought it just and equitable,

[45] Some MSS. have it 'Tegyra;' but there is no necessity, though Palmerius insists so much upon it, to alter the received reading. For that of Leuctra was certainly the first pitched battle, in which the Thebans defeated the Spartans; and they effected it at the first career. Besides, it appears from Xenophon, that Agesilaus was not then recovered from the sickness mentioned in the text. (L.) M. Ricard, however, contends for 'Tegyra.' *

" that the cities of Bœotia should be declared inde-
" pendent?" Epaminondas, with great readiness and spirit, answered him by another question, " Do
" you think it just, that all the cities of Laconia
" should be declared independent?" Agesilaus incensed at this answer started up, and insisted upon his declaring peremptorily, " Whether or not he
" agreed to the independence of Bœotia?" to which Epaminondas replied as before, " On condition that
" you agree to the independence of Laconia." Agesilaus now exasperated to the last degree, and glad of a pretext against the Thebans, struck their name out of the treaty, and declared war against them upon the spot. After the rest of the deputies had signed such points, as they could amicably settle among themselves, he dismissed them; leaving others, of a more difficult nature, to be decided by the sword.

As Cleombrotus had at that crisis an army in Phocis, the Ephori sent him orders to march against the Thebans. At the same time they despatched their commissaries to assemble the allies, who were ill-inclined to the war, and considered it as a great burthen upon them, though they durst not contradict or resist the Lacedæmonians. Many inauspicious signs and prodigies[46] appeared, as we have already observed in the Life of Epaminondas; and Prothoüs[47], the Spartan, opposed the war to the

[46] Among others, it was announced that the doors of the Bœotian temples had opened of themselves, that their priestesses had concurred in anticipating some signal victory for their countrymen, and that all the armour suspended in the temple of Hercules had suddenly disappeared, as if that demi-god had himself set off to be present at an impending battle. (Xen. ib. vi.) The Life of Epaminondas, here mentioned, is unfortunately lost.*

[47] Prothoüs proposed, that the Spartans should disband their army according to their engagement, and that all the states should carry their contributions to the temple of Apollo, to be employed only in making war upon such as should oppose the liberty of the cities. 'This,' he said, 'would give to their cause the sanction of heaven, and the states of Greece would at all times be ready to embark in it.' But the Spartans only laughed at this advice; for

utmost of his power: but Agesilaus could not be driven from his purpose. He succeeded in procuring the commencement of hostilities; in hopes, that while the rest of Greece was in a state of freedom and alliance with Sparta, and the Thebans alone excepted, he should have an excellent opportunity of chastising that people. That the war was undertaken to gratify his resentment, rather than upon rational motives, is obvious; because the treaty was concluded at Lacedæmon on the fourteenth of Scirophorion, and the Lacedæmonians were defeated at Leuctra on the fifth of Hecatombœon, which was only twenty days afterward. A thousand citizens of Lacedæmon were there slain, among whom fell their king Cleombrotus, and along with him the flower of their army. The beautiful Cleonymus, the son of Sphodrias, was of the number: he was thrice struck down as he was fighting in defence of his prince, and as often recovered himself; and was at last killed with his sword in his hand[48].

After the Lacedæmonians had sustained this unexpected blow, and the Thebans were crowned with more glorious success than Greeks had ever boasted in a battle with Greeks before, the spirit and dignity

(Xenophon adds), 'It appeared, as if the gods were already urging on the Lacedæmonians to their ruin.'

[48] Epaminondas placed his best troops in one wing, and those upon which he least depended in the other. The former he commanded in person; the latter he directed, if they found the enemy's charge too heavy, to retire leisurely, so as to expose to them a sloping front. Cleombrotus and Archidamus advanced to the charge with great vigour: but, as they pressed on the Theban wing which retired, they gave Epaminondas an opportunity of charging them both in flank and front: which he did with so much bravery that the Spartans began to give way, especially after the death of Cleombrotus, whose dead body however they recovered. At length, they were totally defeated, chiefly by the skill and conduct of the Theban general. Four thousand Spartans were killed on the field of battle, whereas of the Thebans there did not fall above three hundred. Such was the fatal battle of Leuctra, B. C. 371, by which the Spartans lost their superiority in Greece, after having held it for nearly five hundred years.

of the vanquished was notwithstanding more to be admired and applauded than that of the conquerors. And indeed if, as Xenophon says, "Men of merit in their convivial and playful conversations let fall some expressions and observations, which deserve to be remembered;" certainly the noble behaviour and remarks of such persons, when struggling with adversity, have a much higher claim to our notice. When the Spartans received the news of the overthrow at Leuctra, it happened that they were celebrating a festival, and the city was full of strangers; for the troops of the young men and maidens were at their exercises in the theatre. The Ephori, though they immediately perceived that their affairs were ruined and that they had lost the empire of Greece, would not suffer the sports to break off, nor any of the ceremonies of the festival to be omitted; but having sent the names of the killed to their respective families, remained to see the exercises, dances, and every other part of the exhibition concluded [49].

Next morning, the names of the killed and of the survivors being perfectly ascertained, the fathers and other relations of the former class appeared in public, and embraced each other with an air of cheerfulness and dignity; while the relations of the latter shut themselves up, as in time of mourning. And if any one was forced to go out upon business, he displayed, both in his speech and in his countenance, all the tokens of sorrow and humiliation. Among the matrons, the difference was still more remarkable. They, who expected to receive their sons alive from the battle, were melan-

49 And where was the merit of all this? What could such a conduct have for it's support, but either affectation or insensibility? If they found any reason to rejoice in the glorious deaths of their friends and fellow-citizens, the ruin of the state was certainly an object sufficiently serious to call them from the pursuits of festivity! But *Quos Jupiter vult perdere, prius dementat*; The infatuation of ambition and jealousy drew upon them the Theban war, and it seemed to continue even after they had felt it's fatal consequences.

choly and silent; whereas those, who had an account that their sons were slain, immediately repaired to the temples to return thanks, and visited each other with every mark of elevation and joy.

The people who were now deserted by their allies, and expected that Epaminondas in the pride of victory would enter Peloponnesus, called to mind the oracle, which they again applied to the lameness of Agesilaus. Their scruples upon this occasion extremely discouraged them; and they were afraid that the divine displeasure had brought upon them the late calamity, for having expelled a sound man from the throne, and preferred a halt and lame one, in spite of the extraordinary warnings which heaven had given them against it. Nevertheless, in consideration of his virtue, authority, and renown, they still looked upon him as the only man who could retrieve their affairs; for, beside marching under his banners as their prince and general, they applied to him in every internal disorder of the commonwealth. At present, they were at a loss what to do with those, who had fled from the battle. The Lacedæmonians call such persons Tresantes [50]. In this case they did not choose to set those marks of disgrace upon them, which the laws directed; because they were so numerous, and so powerful, that there was reason to apprehend it might occasion an insurrection. For persons of this description are not only excluded from all offices, but it is infamous to intermarry with them: any man, that meets them, is at liberty to strike them: they are obliged to appear in a forlorn and dejected manner, and in a vile garb covered with motley patches; and to wear their beards half-shaved and half unshaved. To have carried so rigid a law as this into execution, at a time when the offenders were so many, and when the commonwealth had so much occasion for soldiers, would have been both impolitic and dangerous.

[50] That is, 'persons governed by their fears.'

In this perplexity they had recourse to Agesilaus, and invested him with new powers of legislation. But he without making any addition, retrenchment, or change, went into the assembly, and told the Lacedæmonians, "The laws should sleep that day, and "the day following resume their authority for ever." Thus he preserved to the state it's laws entire, as well as the obnoxious persons from infamy. He then, in order to raise the young Spartans out of their depression and melancholy, marched into Arcadia at their head. He avoided a battle indeed with great care, but he took a small town of the Mantineans [51], and ravaged the flat country. This in some degree restored Sparta to her spirits, and gave her reason to hope that all was not lost.

Soon after this, Epaminondas and his allies entered Laconia. His infantry amounted to forty thousand men, exclusive of the light-armed, and of those who without arms followed merely for plunder. For, if the whole were numbered, there were not fewer than seventy thousand concerned in this irruption. Full six hundred years had elapsed, since the first establishment of the Dorians in Lacedæmon; and this was the first time, during that long period, that they had seen an enemy in their territories: none had ever dared to set foot in them before [52]. But now a new scene of hostilities appeared; the confederates advanced without resistance, laying all waste with fire and sword, as far as the Eurotas and the very suburbs of Sparta. For, as Theopompus informs us, Agesilaus would not suffer the Lacedæmonians to engage with such an impetuous torrent of war. He contented himself with placing his best infantry in the middle of the city, and other important posts: and bore the menaces and insults of the Thebans, who called him out by name, as the firebrand that had lighted up the war; bidding him

[51] See Xenoph. Hellen. vi.

[52] Plato finely observes of Sparta, 'that she was like the temple of the Furies, which no one had courage to approach.'*

fight for his country, upon which he had brought so many misfortunes.

Agesilaus was equally disturbed at the tumult and disorder within the city, the outcries of the old men, who moved backward and forward expressing their grief and indignation, and the wild behaviour of the women who were terrified even to madness at the shouts of the enemy and the flames which ascended around them. He was in pain, likewise, for his reputation. Sparta was a great and powerful state, at his accession; and he now saw her glory wither, and his own braggart spirit, which had so often boasted, "That no Spartan woman ever saw the smoke of an "enemy's camp," completely humiliated. In like manner, when an Athenian disputed with Antalcidas on the subject of valour, and said, "We have "often driven you from the banks of the Cephisus;" Antalcidas replied, "But we never drove you from "those of the Eurotas." Near akin to this was the repartee of a Spartan of less note to an Argive, who said, "Many of you sleep on the plains of Argos;" to which the other retorted, "But not one of you "sleeps on the plains of Lacedæmon."

Some say, Antalcidas was at that time one of the Ephori; and that, fearing Sparta would be taken, he conveyed his children to Cythera[53]. As the enemy were preparing to pass the Eurotas in order to attack the town itself, Agesilaus relinquished the other posts, and drew up all his forces on an eminence in the middle of the city. It happened that the river was much swoln with the snow which had fallen in great quantities, and the cold was more troublesome to the Thebans than the rapidity of the current; yet Epaminondas forded it, at the head of his infantry. As he was crossing, somebody pointed him out to Agesilaus; who, after having viewed him for some time, only let fall this expression, "O ad- "venturous man!" All the ambition of Epaminon-

[53] An island near the coast of Laconia.

das was to come to an engagement in the city, and to erect a trophy there; but, finding he could not draw down Agesilaus from the heights, he decamped and laid waste the country.

There had long existed a disaffected party in Lacedæmon; and about two hundred of that party leagued together, and seized upon a strong post called the Issorium, in which stood the temple of Diana[54]. The Lacedæmonians were solicitous to have the place immediately stormed; but Agesilaus, apprehensive of an insurrection in their favour, took his cloke and one servant with him, and told them aloud, "That they had mistaken their orders. I "did not order you," said he, "to take post here, "nor all together in any one place; but some there "(pointing to another place), and some in other "quarters." When they heard this, happy in thinking that their design was undiscovered, they came out, and went to the several posts to which he directed them. At the same time he lodged another corps in the Issorium, took about fifteen of the mutineers, and put them to death in the night.

Soon after this, he received information of another and a much more alarming conspiracy of Spartans, who met privately in a house belonging to one of them, to concert a plan for changing the form of government. It was dangerous, either to bring them to trial in a time of so much trouble, or to let their cabals pass wholly unnoticed. Agesilaus therefore, having consulted with the Ephori, put them to death without the formality of a trial, though no Spartan had ever suffered in that manner before.

As many of the neighbouring burghers, and of the Helots who were enlisted, slunk away from the town and deserted to the enemy, and this greatly discouraged his forces, he ordered his servants to go

[54] This passage is accompanied with some minute topographical difficulties, which however it would be more tedious than useful, with M. Ricard, to remove.*

early in the morning to the quarters; and where they found any had deserted, to hide their arms, that their numbers might not transpire.

As to the time, when the Thebans quitted Laconia, historians do not agree. Some say, the winter quickly forced them to retire; the Arcadians being impatient of a campaign at that season, and falling off in a most disorderly manner: while others affirm, that the Thebans stayed full three months, in which time they laid waste almost the whole country. Theopompus writes, that at the very juncture when the governors of Bœotia had sent them orders to march home, there came a Spartan named Phrixus on the part of Agesilaus, who gave them ten talents to leave Laconia. So that, according to him, they not only executed all that they had intended, but received money from the enemy to defray the expenses of their return. For my part, I cannot conceive how Theopompus learned this particular, of which other historians appear to have been totally ignorant.

It is universally agreed, however, that Agesilaus saved Sparta by controlling his native passions of obstinacy and ambition, and confining himself to such measures as were safe ones. He could not indeed, after the late blow, restore her to her former glory and power. As healthy bodies, long accustomed to a strict and regular diet, often find the slightest deviation from that regimen fatal [55], so one single miscarriage brought that flourishing state to decay. Neither is this to be wondered at. Their constitution was admirably formed for peace, and virtue, and harmony; but when they sought to enlarge their dominions by force of arms, and to make acquisitions which Lycurgus had deemed unnecessary to their happiness, they fell into a ruinous mistake.

Agesilaus now, on account of his advanced age,

[55] This, Dacier informs us, is taken from Hippocrates; who, to obviate the inconvenience of occasionally-necessary changes of diet, dissuaded too strict an attention to regimen in healthy subjects. See, also, the Life of Lycurgus, Vol. I.*

declined the service. But his son Archidamus, having received some succours from Dionysius the Silician tyrant, fought the Arcadians, and gained the battle emphatically called 'the Tearless Battle;' for he killed immense numbers of the enemy, without losing a single man.

Nothing could afford a more signal proof of the weakness of the Spartans, than this victory. Before, it had been so common and so natural for them to conquer, that upon such occasions they offered no greater sacrifice than a cock; those who fought were not elated, nor those who received the tidings of triumph overjoyed. Even after the important action at Mantinea, which Thucydides has so well described [56], the Ephori presented the person, who brought them the first intelligence of their success, with only a mess of meat from the public table. But now, when an account of this battle arrived, and Archidamus approached the town, they were not able to contain themselves. First, his father advanced to meet him with tears of joy; and, after him, the magistrates. Multitudes of old men and of women flocked to the river, stretching out their hands and blessing the gods, as if Sparta had washed off her late unworthy stains, and seen her glory beam afresh. Till that hour, the men were so much ashamed of their former defeat, that (it is said) they could not even encounter the eyes of their women.

When Epaminondas however re-established Messene, and the ancient inhabitants returned to it from all quarters, the Spartans had not courage to resist the measure by opposing him in the field. But it gave them deep concern, and they could not look upon Agesilaus without anger, when they considered that under him they had lost a country quite as extensive as Laconia, and superior in fertility to all the provinces of Greece; a country, whose revenues they had long regarded as their own. For this rea-

[56] V. 73. This action was fought Ol. xc. 3., B. C. 418.*

son, Agesilaus rejected the peace offered him by the Thebans; not choosing formally to cede to them that, which they in fact possessed. But while he was contending for what he could not recover, he was near losing Sparta itself, through the superior generalship of his adversary. The Mantineans had again separated from their alliance with Thebes, and called in the Lacedæmonians to their assistance. Epaminondas, being apprised that Agesilaus was upon his march to Mantinea, decamped unknown to the Mantineans from Tegea in the night, and took a different road to Lacedæmon from that by which Agesilaus was marching; so that nothing was more likely than that he would have come upon the city in a defenceless state, and taken possession of it with ease. But Euthynus of Thespiæ, as Callisthenes states, or some Cretan (according to Xenophon) communicated the project to Agesilaus, who sent a horseman to alarm the city, and not long afterward entered it himself.

In a little time, the Thebans passed the Eurotas, and attacked the town. Agesilaus defended it, with a vigour beyond his years. He saw that this was not the time, as on the former instance, for safe and cautious measures, but rather for the boldest and most desperate efforts; and by those means alone, which he had never before either trusted or adopted, he repelled the present danger, and snatched the town out of Epaminondas' hands. Upon this occasion he erected a trophy, and showed the children and the women, how gloriously the Spartans rewarded their country for their education. Archidamus eminently distinguished himself that day, both by his courage and his agility, flying through the bye-lanes to meet the enemy where they pressed the hardest, and every where repulsing them with his little band.

But Isadas, the son of Phœbidas, was the most extraordinary and striking spectacle, not only to his countrymen but to the enemy. He was tall and

beautiful in his person, and just shooting from a boy into a man, the precise time at which the human flower has the greatest charm. He was without either arms or clothes, naked and newly anointed with oil; having nothing but a spear in one hand, and a sword in the other. In this condition he rushed out of his house, and having made his way through the combatants, dealt his deadly blows among the enemy's ranks, striking down every man whom he encountered. Yet he himself received not a single wound; whether it was, that heaven preserved him out of regard to his valour, or he appeared to his adversaries as somewhat more than human. The Ephori, it is said, honoured him with a chaplet for his gallant achievement, but at the same time fined him a thousand drachmas for having dared to appear without his armour[57].

Some days after this, another battle took place before Mantinea. Epaminondas, after having routed the first battalions, was very eager in the pursuit; when a Spartan named Anticrates[58] turned short, and gave him a wound, with a spear according to Dioscorides, or as others say, with a sword. And indeed the descendents of Anticrates are to this day called by the Lacedæmonians 'Machæriones,' as if their ancestor had struck him with a sword*. This action appeared so important, and was so acceptable to the Spartans on account of their fear of Epaminondas, that they decreed great honours and rewards to Anticrates, and an exemption from taxes to his posterity; one of whom, named Callicrates[59], is at present in possession of that privilege.

After this battle and the death of Epaminondas,

57 This story is introduced by Budgell, in his paper upon 'The mixture of virtue and vice in the human character.' Spectat. 564.*

58 Diodorus Siculus attributes this action to Grillus, the son of Xenophon, who (he says) was killed immediately afterward. But Plutarch's account seems better grounded.

* Gr Μαχαιρα.

59 Nearly five hundred years afterward.

the Greeks concluded a peace. But Agesilaus, under pretence that the Messenians were not a distinct state, insisted that they should not be comprehended in the treaty. All the rest, however, admitted them to take the oath, as one of the states; and the Lacedæmonians withdrew, intending to continue the war, in hopes of recovering Messenia. Agesilaus could not therefore be considered otherwise than as violent and obstinate in his temper, and insatiably fond of hostilities, since he seized every method of obstructing the general peace, and protracting the war; though at the same time, through want of money, he was forced to borrow from his friends, and to demand unreasonable subsidies of the people. This was at a time, likewise, when he had the fairest opportunity of extricating himself from all his distresses. Besides, after he had let slip such an enormous power, lost so many cities, and seen his country deprived of the superiority both at sea and land, should he have wrangled about the property and revenues of Messene?

He suffered still more in his reputation by accepting a command under Tachos, the Egyptian chief. It was deemed inconsistent with one of the greatest characters in Greece, a man who had filled the whole world with his renown, to hire out his person, to barter his name and his interest for a pecuniary consideration, and to act as captain of a band of mercenaries, for a barbarian in arms against the king his master. Had he, now he was upward of eighty, with his body full of wounds and scars, again received the appointment of captain-general to fight for the liberties of Greece, even then his ambition in that advanced period of life would not have been quite unexceptionable. For even honourable pursuits themselves must have their times and seasons, to give them a propriety; or rather propriety, and the avoiding of all extremes, is the characteristic, which distinguishes honourable from dishonourable pursuits. But Agesilaus was not moved

by this consideration, neither did he look upon any public service as unworthy of him: he thought it much more so to lead an inactive life at home, and to sit down in patient expectation of a natural death. He therefore raised a body of mercenaries, and fitted out a fleet with the money which Tachos had sent him, and then set sail; taking with him thirty Spartans, as formerly, for his counsellors.

Upon his arrival in Egypt, all the state-officers immediately came to pay him their court. The name and character indeed of Agesilaus had raised great curiosity and expectation in the Egyptians in general, and they crowded to the shore to get a sight of him. But when they beheld no pomp or grandeur of appearance, and saw only a little plain old man in mean shabby attire seated upon the grass by the sea-side, they could not help regarding the matter in a ridiculous light, and observing that this was the very thing represented in the fable[60]: 'The mountain had brought forth a mouse.' They were still more surprised at his want of politeness, when they brought him such presents as were commonly made to strangers of distinction; and he took only the flour, the veal, and the geese, refusing the pasties, the sweetmeats, and the perfumes: and, on their pressing and teazing him to accept them, replied, "They might carry them to his Helots." Theophrastus informs us, he was pleased with the papyrus, on account of it's thin and pliant texture, which made it very convenient for chaplets; and, when he left Egypt, he begged some of it from the king.

Tachos was preparing for the war; and Agesilaus, upon joining him, was much disappointed to find that he had not the command of all the forces given him, but only that of the mercenaries. Chabrias, the Athenian, was placed at the head of the navy;

[60] Athenæus makes Tachos say this, and Agesilaus answer, 'You will find me a lion by and by.'

and Tachos reserved to himself the chief direction, both at sea and land. This was the first disagreeable circumstance, which occurred to Agesilaus; and others quickly followed. The vanity and insolence of the Egyptian gave him great pain, but he was forced to bear them. He consented to sail with him against the Phœnicians, and contrary to his dignity and nature submitted to the barbarian, till he could find an opportunity of shaking off his yoke. This soon presented itself. Nectanabis, Tachos' cousin, who commanded part of the forces, revolted, and was proclaimed king by the Egyptians.

In consequence of this, Nectanabis sent embassadors to Agesilaus, to entreat his assistance. The same application he made to Chabrias, and promised them both immense rewards. Tachos was apprised of these proceedings, and implored them not to abandon him. Chabrias listened to his request, and endeavoured also to appease Agesilaus' resentment, and to retain him in the cause, in which he had embarked. Agesilaus answered, "As for you, "Chabrias, you came hither as a volunteer, and "therefore you may act as you think proper; but "I was sent by my country, upon the applica- "tion of the Egyptians for a general. It would "not then be right to commence hostilities against "the people, to whom I was sent as an assistant, "except Sparta should issue orders to me so to "do." At the same time he despatched some of his officers home, with instructions to accuse Tachos, and to defend the cause of Nectanabis. The two rival kings also applied to the Lacedæmonians; the one as an ancient friend and ally, and the other as one who had a stronger regard for Sparta, and who would show her more substantial proofs of his attachment.

The Lacedæmonians gave the Egyptian deputies an audience, and this public answer, "That they "should leave the business to the care of Agesilaus." But their private instructions to him were, "to do

" what should appear most advantageous to Sparta." Agesilaus had no sooner received this order, than he withdrew with his mercenaries and went over to Nectanabis, covering this strange and scandalous proceeding with the pretence of consulting the interest of his country[61]: when that slight veil is taken off, it's right name is treachery and base desertion. The Lacedæmonians, it is true, by placing a regard to those interests in the first rank of honour and virtue, left themselves no criterion of justice but the aggrandisement of Sparta.

Tachos, thus abandoned by the mercenaries, took to flight. But at the same time there rose up in Mendes another competitor, to dispute the crown with Nectanabis; and that competitor advanced with a hundred thousand men, whom he had readily assembled. Nectanabis, in order to encourage Agesilaus, represented to him, that though the numbers of the enemy were considerable, they were only a mixed multitude, many of them mechanics, who were thoroughly despicable on account of their utter ignorance of war: " It is not their numbers," said Agesilaus, " that I fear, but that ignorance and " inexperience, which render them incapable of " being encountered by art or stratagem; for those " can be successfully exercised only upon such as, " having skill enough to suspect the designs of their " enemy, form schemes to countermine him, and in " the mean time are caught by new contrivances. " But he, who has neither expectation nor suspicion " of that kind, gives his adversary no more oppor- " tunity, than he who stands still gives to a wrestler."

[61] Xenophon has succeeded tolerably well in defending Agesilaus, with respect to his undertaking the expedition into Egypt. He represents him as pleased with the hopes of making Tachos some requital for his numerous services to the Lacedæmonians, of restoring through his means the Greek cities in Asia to their liberty, and of returning the ill-offices done to the Spartans by the king of Persia. But it was in vain for that historian to attempt to exculpate him with respect to his desertion of Tachos, which Plutarch justly treats as an act of ' treachery.'

Soon afterward, the adventurer of Mendes sent persons to sound Agesilaus. This alarmed Nectanabis; and when Agesilaus advised him to give battle immediately, and not to protract the war with men who had seen no service, but who by the advantage of numbers might draw a line of circumvallation about his trenches, and forestal him in most of his operations, his fears and suspicions increased and suggested to him the expedient of retiring into a large and well-fortified town. Agesilaus was offended, and could not well digest this instance of distrust; yet he was ashamed to change sides a second time, and at last return without having effected any thing. He therefore followed his standard, and entered the town along with him.

When the enemy however came up, and began to open their trenches in order to enclose him, the Egyptian, afraid of a siege, was inclined to risk an immediate engagement; and the Greeks were of his opinion, because there was no great quantity of provisions in the place. But Agesilaus opposed it; and the Egyptians on that account regarded him in a worse light than before, not scrupling to call him a traitor to their king. These censures he now bore with patience, because he was waiting a favourable moment for carrying into execution the following design. The enemy, as we have observed, with the view of shutting up Nectanabis, were drawing a deep trench round the walls. When they had proceeded so far in the work, that the two ends were almost ready to meet, as soon as night came on, Agesilaus ordered the Greeks to arm: he then went to the Egyptian, and said; "Now is the time, young man, "for you to save yourself, which I did not choose "to mention before, lest it should be divulged and "lost. The enemy with their own hands have work-"ed out your security, by labouring so long upon "the trench, that the part which is finished will pre-"vent our suffering by their numbers, and the space "which is left puts it in our power to fight them

" upon fair and equal terms. Come on then, and " show your courage; sally out vigorously along " with us, and save both yourself and your army. " The enemy will not dare to stand us in front, and " our flanks are secured by the trench." Nectanabis, admiring his capacity, immediately placed himself in the middle of the Greeks, and advancing to the charge, easily routed all that opposed him.

Agesilaus, having thus gained the prince's confidence, availed himself once more of the same stratagem, as a wrestler occasionally uses the same slight twice in one day. By sometimes pretending to fly, and sometimes facing about, he drew the enemy's whole army into a narrow place, enclosed with two ditches which were very deep and full of water. When he saw them thus entangled, he advanced to the charge with a front equal to theirs, and secured by the nature of the ground from being hemmed in or surrounded. The consequence was, that they made but little resistance; numbers were killed, and the rest fled, and were entirely put to the rout.

The Egyptian, thus successful in his affairs and firmly established in his kingdom, had a grateful sense of the services of Agesilaus, and pressed him to spend the winter with him. But he hastened his return to Sparta, on account of the war which she had upon her hands at home; for he knew that her finances were low, though at the same time she found it necessary to employ a body of mercenaries. Nectanabis dismissed him with signal marks of honour, and beside other presents furnished him with two hundred and thirty talents of silver, for the expenses of the Grecian war. But as it was winter, he met with a storm which drove him upon a desert shore in Africa, called the 'Haven of Menelaus[62];' and there he died at the age of eighty-four years, of which he had reigned forty-one in Lacedæmon. For above

[62] An African port in the Mediterranean, between Egypt and Cyrenaica.*

thirty years of that time he made a most splendid figure, both as to reputation and power; having been considered, till the battle of Leuctra, as commander-in-chief, and as it were king of Greece.

It was the custom of the Spartans to bury persons of ordinary rank in the place where they expired, when they happened to die in a foreign country, but to carry the corpses of their kings home. Agesilaus' attendants, however, not having honey to preserve the body, embalmed it with melted wax, and in this manner conveyed it to Lacedæmon. His son Archidamus succeeded to the crown, which descended in his family to Agis, the fifth from Agesilaus. This Agis, the third of that name, was assassinated by Leonidas, for attempting to restore the ancient discipline of Sparta[63].

[63] Plutarch has written his Life.*



THE

LIFE

OF

POMPEY

SUMMARY.

Hatred entertained by the Romans against Strabo the father of Pompey; and their attachment to the son. Flora's extraordinary regard for him. He is accused of having had too much commerce with married women. His frugality. He saves his father's life, and quells a mutiny: is prosecuted on a charge brought against his father. Assassination of Cinna. Pompey collects his troops, and marches to join Sylla: gains several advantages over the opposite party: is received by Sylla with great respect: goes to Metellus' assistance in Gaul: divorces his wife Antistia, in order to marry Æmilia: passes over into Sicily; and thence into Africa, where he defeats Domitius, and reduces the whole country in forty days. Sylla recalls him, and gives him the surname of 'the Great.' He attains a triumph, in opposition to the wishes of that general, who becomes jealous of his renown: drives Lepidus out of Italy: and marches into Spain against Sertorius. Battle of Sucro. He writes to the Senate for money. The war terminated. Sertorius' death. Pompey cuts in pieces the fugitive slaves: is elected consul with Crassus: re-establishes the authority of the Tribunes: is reconciled to Crassus. Their conduct after the consulship. Origin of 'the War of the Pirates.' Their successes and insolent behaviour. Pompey is appointed general against them. Fruitless protest of the more respectable citizens against the unlimited power granted to him upon this occasion. His rapid successes. He returns to Rome, passes over to Athens, and puts an end to the war. His conduct with regard to the

pirates in Crete. He is chosen to continue the war against Mithridates. In what manner he receives the notification of this appointment. His shameful treatment of Lucullus. Mithridates, enclosed by Pompey, makes his escape: but is overtaken, and defeated. Tigranes sets a price upon that prince's head. Pompey makes peace with Tigranes: defeats the Albanians and Iberians; over the former of whom he gains a second victory. Stratonice surrenders to him the fort, containing Mithridates' chief treasures. He takes another castle, in which he finds his private papers: subdues Syria, and Judæa. Insolence of his freedman Demetrius. He is informed of Mithridates' death. Presents sent to him by Pharnaces. He visits Mitylene, and Rhodes: counteracts the reports spread at Rome in his dispraise. Cato refuses him his two nieces, whom he asks in marriage for himself and his son. His triumph. Measures which lead to his fall. His seditious speeches, and conduct. Clodius' insolence. Pompey procures Cicero's recal from exile. Is entrusted with the care of importing corn to Rome, and procures it in great abundance. Cæsar arrives in Italy. The First Triumvirate. Pompey and Crassus acquire the consulship by violence, and obtain for Cæsar a prorogation of his government of Gaul. Death of Julia. Quarrel between Pompey and Cæsar. The former declared sole consul: marries Cornelia: obtains a continuation of his government for four years: demands the consulship for Cæsar, at that time absent. His extravagant presumption; and preparations against Cæsar, who passes the Rubicon. Pompey placed at the head of the commonwealth, with a discretionary power. General consternation at Rome. Cæsar arrives there, and makes himself master of the whole of Italy. Pompey collects his land and sea-forces. His illustrious associates. Overture proposed by Cæsar, and rejected by Pompey, who neglects an opportunity of improving a victory. His confidence. He pursues Cæsar. Complaint raised against him. His hesitation about fighting. Order of battle of both generals. Reflections upon their ambition and folly. The battle of Pharsalia. Pompey flies: is received by Peticius on board his ship, and joins Cornelia at Lesbos: advises the inhabitants of Mitylene to surrender themselves to Cæsar: makes some efforts to draw together his scattered forces: retires to Egypt. Ptolemy determines to have him assassinated; sends Achillas to meet him. Pompey is murthered. His freedman Philip burns his corpse. Cæsar avenges his death.

THE people of Rome appear from the first to have been affected toward Pompey, nearly in the same manner as Prometheus, in Æschylus, was toward Hercules; when, after that hero had delivered him from his chains, he says,

The sire I hated, but the son I loved [1].

For never did the Romans entertain a stronger and more rancorous hatred for any general, than for Strabo, the father of Pompey. As long as he lived indeed, they were afraid of his abilities as a soldier, because he had eminent talents for war; but upon his death, which happened by a stroke of lightening, they dragged his corpse 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 begun at a more early period, more disinterested in all the stages of his prosperity, or more faithful in the decline of his fortune, than Pompey himself.

The sole cause of their hatred of the father was his insatiable avarice; but there were many causes of their affection for the son: his temperate manner of living, his application to martial exercises, his persuasive address, his strict honour, and his invariable accessibility [2]; for no man was ever less impor-

[1] Of the tragedy of 'Prometheus Released,' whence this line is taken, we have only some fragments remaining. Jupiter had confined Prometheus to the rocks of Caucasus by chains, from which Hercules the son of Jupiter set him free.

[2] See, for a fine amplification of this character, Velleius Paterculus, ii. 29. *Formâ excellens, non eâ quâ flos commendatur ætatis, sed ex dignitate constanti, quæ in illam conveniens amplitudinem fortunam quoque ejus ad ultimum vitæ comitata est diem. Innocentiâ eximus, sanctitate præcipuus, eloquentiâ medius, potentiæ (quæ honoris causâ ad eum deferretur, non ut ab eo occuparetur) cupidissimus; dux bello peritissimus, civis in togâ, nisi ubi vereretur ne quem haberet parem, modestissimus: amicitiarum tenax, in offensis exorabilis, in reconciliandâ gratiâ fidelissimus, &c.* Almost all the Roman writers, indeed,

tunate in asking, or more gracious in conferring, favours. When he gave, it was without arrogance; and when he received, it was with dignity.

In his youth he had a most 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[3], produced a reputed, rather than an actual likeness of Alexander the Great, as represented in his statues. So that some at first gave him the name of Alexander, and he not refusing it, others applied it to him by way of ridicule. Even Lucius Philippus[4], a man of consular dignity, as he was one day pleading for him, said, "It was no "wonder that he, being a Philip, should be attached "to an Alexander."

We are told that Flora the courtesan took a pleasure, in her old age, in speaking of the commerce which she had had with Pompey; and used to declare, that she could never quit his embraces without giving him a bite. She added, that Geminius one of Pompey's acquaintance had a passion for her, and occasioned her much trouble by his importunities. At last she told him, she could not consent on account of Pompey. Upon which he applied to Pompey for his permission, and he gave it him; but, though he seemed to retain a regard for her, he himself never approached, nor had any intercourse with her afterward. She bore the loss of him, not with the slight uneasiness of a prostitute, but was

agree in the above-mentioned drawback upon his excellence, his intolerance of an equal.*

[3] Ὑγρότης signifies not only 'moisture,' but 'flexibility.' Lucian has ὑγρότης μελῶν. And των περι τα ομμωδια ῥυτηρων ὑγρότης seems more applicable to the latter sense.

[4] Lucius Marcius Philippus, one of the greatest orators of his time. He was Augustus' father-in-law, having married his mother Atia. Horace mentions him, Ep. I. vii. 46., and Cicero also, de Clar. Orat. 47.

long sick through sorrow and regret. This Flora, it is said, was so celebrated for her bloom and beauty, that when Cæcilius Metellus adorned the temple of Castor and Pollux with statues and paintings, he gave her picture a place among them.

Demetrius one of Pompey's freedmen, who had great interest with him, and who died worth four thousand talents, had a wife of irresistible beauty. Pompey, upon that account, behaved to her with less politeness than was natural to him, that he might not appear to be captivated by her charms. But, though he took his measures with so much care and caution in this respect, he could not escape the censure of his enemies; who accused him of a commerce with married women, and alleged that, for the sake of gratifying his mistresses, he often neglected or gave up points essential to the public welfare.

As to the simplicity of his diet, there is a remarkable saying of his on record. In a severe illness, when his appetite was nearly lost, the physician ordered him a thrush. His servants, upon inquiry, found there was not one to be purchased, as the season was past. They were informed, however, that Lucullus had them in his menageries all the year round. This being reported to Pompey, he said, "Does Pompey's life depend upon the luxury of "Lucullus?" He then, without any regard to the physician, ate something which was easy to be procured*. But this took place at a later period of his life.

While he was very young and served under his father, who was carrying on the war against Cinna[5], one Lucius Terentius was his comrade, and slept in the same tent with him. This Terentius, gained by Cinna's money, undertook to assassinate Pompey, while others set fire to the general's tent.

* See the Life of Lucullus, Vol. III. p. 385, and not. (55.)

[5] A. U. C. 666. And as Pompey was born in the same year with Cicero, viz. A. U. C. 647, he must in this war with Cinna have been nineteen years old.

Pompey received information of this, when he was at supper, but it did not throw him into the least confusion. He even drank more freely, and caressed Terentius more than usual; but when they were to have retired to rest, he stole out of the tent, and went 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 bed-clothes 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 implored them with tears to stay, and at last threw himself upon his face in the gateway. There he lay weeping, and bidding them trample upon him, if they were resolved to go out. Upon this they were ashamed to proceed, and all except eight hundred returned, and were reconciled to their commander.

After the death of Strabo, a charge was preferred against him, 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 his freedmen, had secreted most of the money; and he informed the magistrates of every particular. He was himself, however, accused of having reserved some hunting-nets and books out of the spoils of Asculum: and it is true, his father gave them to him upon taking that place; but he lost them on Cinna's return to Rome, when that general's creatures broke open and pillaged his house. In this affair, he strenuously maintained the combat with his adversary at the bar, and showed a degree of acuteness and intrepidity beyond 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 was, accordingly, made to his friends: Pompey accepted it, and the treaty was privately concluded. The people, however, conceived some notion of the thing, from Antistius' exertions in his favour; and at last, when he pronounced the sentence in the name of all the judges, by which Pompey was acquitted, the multitude, as it were upon a signal given, broke out into the old marriage-acclamation of 'Talasio.'

The origin of this term is said to have been as follows: When the principal Romans seized the daughters of the Sabines, who were come to see the games they were celebrating in order to entrap them, some herdsmen and shepherds laid hold of a virgin remarkably tall and handsome, and lest she should be taken from them as they carried her off, they cried all the way they went, 'Talasio.' Talasius was a young man, universally beloved and admired: all who heard them therefore, delighted with the intention, joined in the cry, and accompanied them with plaudits. The marriage of Talasius, we are told, proved fortunate; and thence all bridegrooms, by way of mirth, were welcomed with that acclamation. This is the most probable account of the term, that I can discover[6].

Pompey in a little time married Antistia, and subsequently repaired to Cinna's camp. But, finding some unjust charges laid against him there, he availed himself of the first private opportunity to withdraw. As he was nowhere 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 endure his cruelties, attacking his quarters, he fled for his life; and being overtaken by one of the inferior officers, who pursued him with a drawn sword, fell upon his

[6] See more of this, in the Life of Romulus, Vol. I.*

knees, and offered him his very valuable ring: but the officer with great ferocity replied, "I am come "not to sign a contract, but to punish an impious "and lawless tyrant;" and killed him upon the spot.

Such was the end of Cinna; after whom Carbo, a tyrant still more savage, seized and held the reins of government. It was not long however before Sylla returned to Italy, to the high satisfaction of most of the Romans, who in their present unhappy circumstances thought a change of master no small advantage. To such a desperate state had their calamities reduced them, that no longer hoping for liberty, they sought only the most tolerable servitude.

Pompey was then in the Picene [7], whither he had retired, partly because he had lands there, but chiefly on account of an old attachment which the cities in that district had to his family. Observing however, 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 stood in need of 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, rejecting Carbo's applications, readily repaired to his standard. Upon this occasion one Vindius happening to say, "Pompey is just come from under the hands of the "pedagogue, and is all on a sudden become a dema-"gogue among you;" they were so much provoked, that they immediately laid hold on him, and cut him in pieces.

Thus Pompey at the age of twenty-three, without a commission from any superior authority, erected himself into a general; and having placed

[7] *Hod.* The March of Ancona, to the N. E. of Rome, on the coast of the Adriatic.*

his tribunal in the most public part of the large city of Auximum, by a formal decree commanded the Ventidii, two brothers who opposed him in behalf of Carbo, to depart the city. He enlisted soldiers; and appointed tribunes, centurions, and other officers, according to the established custom. He did the same in all the neighbouring cities; for the partisans of Carbo retired, and gave place to him, and the rest were glad to range themselves under his banners. So that within a little time he had raised three complete legions, and furnished himself with provisions, beasts of burthen, and carriages; in short, with the whole apparatus of war.

In this form he moved toward Sylla, not by hasty marches, or as if he sought to conceal himself: for he stopped by the way to harass the enemy, and attempted to draw off from Carbo all those parts of Italy, through which he passed. At last, three generals of the opposite party, Carinna, Cœlius, and Brutus, came against him all at once; not in front or in one body, but hemming him in with their three armies, in hopes of effecting his entire destruction.

Pompey, far from being terrified, assembled his whole 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 to the ground 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 different routes. In consequence of which the cities, concluding that the fears of the enemy had caused them to separate, adopted Pompey's interests.

Not long afterward, 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:

upon which, Scipio himself was obliged to fly. At last, Carbo sent a large body of cavalry against Pompey, near the river Arsis. These however met with so warm a reception, that they were soon broken, and forced in the pursuit 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 rumours of Pompey's being engaged with so many adversaries and such respectable generals, dreading the consequence, he set off with all expedition to his assistance. Pompey, having received 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; but he obtained still greater. Sylla no sooner saw Pompey advancing to meet him with an army in excellent condition, both as to the 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[8],' he returned his salutation with the same title: though no one imagined that he would have honoured a young man, not yet admitted into the senate, with a title for which he was himself at that time contending with the Scipios and the Mariuses. The rest of his behaviour was as respectful, as that in the first interview. He used to rise up and uncover his head, whenever Pompey came to visit him; which he was rarely observed to do for any other, though he was surrounded by a number of persons of distinction.

Pompey was not elated with these honours. On the contrary, when Sylla wished to send him into Gaul, where Metellus had achieved nothing worthy

[8] This story is repeated in the Life of Crassus, Vol. III.*

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 con- "duct of the war, it was at his service." Metellus accepted the proposal, and wrote to request he would come; upon which he entered Gaul, and not only signalised his own valour and capacity, but revived in Metellus the spirit of adventure, which was almost extinguished by age: just as brass in a state of fusion is said to melt that which is solid and cold, sooner than fire itself. But as it is not usual, when a champion has distinguished himself in the lists, and gained the prize in all the games, to commemorate or record the performances of his younger years; so have I been afraid to stir up the actions of Pompey at this period of his life, as, though in themselves extraordinary, they were yet eclipsed by the number and importance of his later expeditions: lest, by dwelling upon his first essays, I should leave myself no room for those greater and more critical events, which mark his character and turn of mind.

After Sylla had rendered himself master of Italy, and was declared dictator, he rewarded his principal officers with riches and honours, making them liberal grants of whatever they solicited. But he was most struck with the excellent qualities of Pompey, and was persuaded that he owed more to his services, than to those of any other man. He therefore resolved, if possible, to take him into his alliance; and as his wife Metella was entirely of the same opinion, they persuaded Pompey to divorce Antistia, and to marry Æmilia the daughter-in-law of Sylla, whom Metella had had by Scaurus, and who was at that time pregnant by another husband *.

Nothing could be more tyrannical, than this new contract. It was suitable, indeed, to the times of Sylla; but it ill became Pompey's character, to take

* Manius Glabrio. See the Life of Sylla, Vol. III. p. 279.*

Æmilia in her state of pregnancy from another, and bring her into his house; and at the same time shamefully and cruelly to divorce Antistia, distressed as she must be for a father, whom on account of this very husband she had lately lost. For Antistius was killed in the senate-house, because it was thought his regard for Pompey had attached him to Sylla's party. And her mother, upon this divorce, laid violent hands on herself. This was an additional scene of misery, in that tragical marriage; as was also the fate of Æmilia, who died in Pompey's house in child-bed.

Soon afterward, Sylla received an account that Perpenna had taken possession of Sicily, where he afforded an asylum to the survivors of the opposite faction. Carbo was hovering with a fleet about that island: Domitius had entered Africa; and many other persons of distinction, who had escaped the fury of the proscriptions by flight, had sought refuge there. Upon which, a considerable armament was sent against them under Pompey, who quickly compelled Perpenna to quit the island; and having recovered the cities, which had been much harassed by preceding armies, behaved to them all with great humanity, except the Mamertines who were seated in Messina. That people had refused to appear before his tribunal, and to acknowledge his jurisdiction; alleging, that they were excused by an ancient privilege received from the Romans. His reply was, "Will you never have done with citing privileges to "men who wear swords?" His behaviour also to Carbo, in his misfortunes, appeared inhuman. For if it were 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, who 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 upon him, to the regret of all the spectators, and ordered him to be led away to

execution. As they were fulfilling his orders, Carbo, upon seeing the sword drawn, was so much disordered by it, that he was forced to beg a moment's respite, and a private place for the necessities of nature.

Caius Oppius[9] the friend of Cæsar states, that Pompey treated Quintus Valerius likewise with great inhumanity. For knowing him to be a man of letters, and that few were to be compared with him in respect of knowledge, he took him (he says) aside; and after he had walked with him, till he had satisfied himself upon several points of learning, commanded his servants to drag him to the block. But we must be very cautious how we give credit to Oppius, when he speaks of the friends and enemies of Cæsar. Pompey, indeed, was under the necessity of punishing the principal enemies of Sylla, particularly when they were publicly taken: but others he suffered to escape, and some he even assisted in getting off.

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 asking him, "Who was "the guilty person;" he replied, "I am the man. "I persuaded my friends, and compelled my ene-"mies, to take the measures they did." Pompey, delighted with his frank confession and noble spirit, forgave him first, and subsequently 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.

9 The same, who drew up an Account of the Spanish war. He was also a biographer, and wrote (among others) the Lives of Caius Marius, Pompey, and the elder Scipio Africanus. See A. Gell. vii. 1., Sueton. Jul. Cæs. 52., and Voss. de Hist. Lat. i. 67. But his works of that kind are lost. He was mean enough to compose a Treatise, to prove that Cæsario was not the son of Cæsar. Many have ascribed to him likewise the latter books of the Gallic war, which are by others assigned to Hirtius.*

While he was making these and other regulations in Sicily, he received a decree of the senate and letters from Sylla, commanding him to cross over into 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 had carried not long before from Africa to Italy, when he made himself master of Rome, and from a fugitive became a tyrant. Pompey soon finished his preparations for this expedition; and leaving the command in Sicily to Memmius, his sister's husband, set sail with a hundred and twenty armed vessels, and eight hundred store-ships laden with provisions, arms, money, and machines of war. Part of his fleet landed at Utica [10], and part at Carthage: immediately after which, seven thousand of the enemy came over to him; and he had brought over with him six legions complete.

Upon his arrival, he met with a whimsical adventure. Some of his soldiers (it seems) found a treasure, and shared considerable sums. The thing becoming public, the rest of the troops concluded that the place was full of money, which the Carthaginians had hid there in some time of public distress. Pompey therefore could make no use of them for several days, as they were searching for treasures: and he had nothing to do but to walk about, and amuse himself with the sight of so many thousands digging and turning up the ground. At last they gave up the point, and bade him lead them wherever he pleased, for they were sufficiently punished for their folly.

Domitius advanced to meet him, and ranged his troops in order of battle. There happened to be a channel between them, craggy, and difficult to pass. In the morning likewise it began to rain, and the

[10] *Hod.* Satcor, at the mouth of the river Bagrada, the next city in point of magnitude to Carthage, and after it's destruction the capital of the country. It became afterward additionally eminent, as the scene of the Younger Cato's suicide.*

wind blew with great violence, so that Domitius, not imagining there would be any action that day, ordered his army to retire. Pompey, however, looked upon this as his opportunity, and passed the defile with the utmost expedition. The enemy stood upon their defence, but it was in a disorderly and tumultuous manner, and their resistance was neither general nor uniform. Besides, the wind and rain beat in their faces. The storm also incommoded the Romans, for they could not well distinguish each other. Nay, Pompey was himself in danger of being killed by a soldier, who asked him the word, and did not receive a speedy answer. But, at length, he routed the enemy with considerable slaughter; not above three thousand of them, out of twenty thousand, escaping. The soldiers then saluted Pompey 'Imperator,' but he told them he would not accept the title, so long as the enemy's camp stood untouched: if they chose therefore to confer such an honour upon him, they must first make themselves masters of the entrenchments.

Upon this, they advanced with great fury against them. Pompey fought without his helmet, under the apprehension of an accident similar to that, which he had recently 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 made Iarbas one of Domitius' confederates prisoner, and bestowed his crown upon Hiempsal. Advancing with the same tide of fortune, and while his army had all the spirits inspired by conquest, he entered Numidia, and continued his march for several days; subduing all that came in his way, and reviving the terror of the Roman name, which the barbarians had begun to disregard. Nay, he chose not to leave the savage beasts in the deserts, without having given them likewise a specimen of Roman valour and success. Accordingly, he spent a few days in hunting lions and elephants. The whole time he passed in Africa,

we are told, was not above forty days; in which he defeated the enemy, reduced the entire country, and brought the affairs of it's kings under proper regulations, though he was only in his twenty-fourth year.

On his return to Utica, he received letters from Sylla, by which he was ordered to send home the rest of his army, and to wait there with a single legion for a successor. This gave him deep concern, though he kept it to himself, but the army expressed their indignation aloud; insomuch, that when he entreated them to return to Italy, they broke out into abusive terms against Sylla, and declared they would never abandon Pompey, nor 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. They went however, 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 exhorting them to obey Sylla's orders, and to form no new faction. At last, perceiving 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 with difficulty induced them to desist.

The first intelligence 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 had true information of the affair, and observed that all the people flocked out to receive Pompey, and to conduct him home with marks of high regard, he resolved to exceed them, if possible, in his attentions. 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, ordering all those about him to give him the same appellation. Others say, it was given him by the whole army in Africa, but did not generally prevail, till it had been authorised by Sylla. It is certain, he was himself the last to take it, and made no use of it till a long time afterward, when he was sent into Spain with the dignity of proconsul against Sertorius. He then began to sign himself in his letters, and in all his edicts, 'Pompey the Great:' for the world had become 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 upon their eminent men such honourable names and titles, not only for military achievements, but also for the lofty qualities and arts which adorn civil life. Thus the people gave the surname of Maximus (i. e. 'the Greatest') to Valerius [11], for having reconciled them to the senate after a violent dissension; and to Fabius Rullus, for having expelled some persons descended from enfranchised slaves [12], who had been admitted into the senate on account of their large 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 had not been either "consul or prætor [13]. Hence it was that the first "Scipio, when he returned victorious from greater "wars and conflicts with the Carthaginians in Spain,

[11] Marcus Valerius, brother to Valerius Publicola the dictator. This happened, A. U. C. 260. (Liv. ii. 31.) See also Cic. Brut. 14.

[12] It was not his having expelled the descendents of enfranchised slaves from the senate, nor yet his glorious victories, which procured for Fabius the surname of Maximus; but his having reduced into four tribes the populace of Rome, who were before dispersed among the whole, and had thereby too much influence in elections and other public affairs. These were called 'Tribus Urbanæ.' (Liv. iv. 46.)

[13] The senate, as Livy informs us (xxxi. 20.), refused L. Cornelius Lentulus a triumph for the same reason, although they thought his achievements worthy of that honour.

" did not demand a triumph; for he had held nei-
" ther of these offices. If Pompey then (he added)
" who was yet but 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 power of the dictator and the honours
" of his friend." These arguments Sylla adduced, in order to show him that he would not allow of his triumph, and that if 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 own power was increasing, while that of Sylla was 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; and when he was informed, in admiration of Pompey's spirit he cried out, " Let him " triumph! Let him triumph!"

As Pompey perceived a strong spirit of envy and jealousy upon this occasion, it is said that, the more to mortify those in whom it appeared, he intended to have had his chariot drawn by four elephants; for he had brought with him a number from Africa, which he had taken from the kings of that country. But finding the gate too narrow, he renounced his design, and contented himself with horses.

His soldiers, not having obtained all that they expected, were inclined to disturb the procession, but he took no pains to satisfy them; affirming that, " He " had rather give up his triumph, than submit to " flatter them." Upon which Servilius, one of the most considerable men in Rome, and one who had been the most vigorous in opposing his triumph, declared, " He now found Pompey really 'the Great,' " and worthy of the indulgence."

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 glory in a more uncom-

mon track. It would have been nothing strange, that Pompey should have been a senator before the prescribed age; but it was a very extraordinary instance of honour, to 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, classing 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[14] to the consulship, by assisting him with all his interest in the election. Upon which Sylla, seeing him conducted home by the people through the Forum, thus addressed him: "I observe, young "man, you are proud of your victory. And un- "doubtedly it was a great and extraordinary thing, "so to manage the people that Lepidus, the worst "man in Rome, should be returned senior to Ca- "tulus, one of the very best. But awake, I charge "you, and be upon your guard. For you have now "made your adversary stronger than yourself."

The displeasure, which Sylla entertained in his heart against Pompey, appeared most plainly from 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 the utmost 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 neither indirect,

[14] Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who by Pompey's interest was declared consul with Q. Lutatius Catulus, A. U. C. 676. See the Life of Sylla, III. 280.

nor veiled with specious pretences. He immediately took up arms, and assembled the disaffected remains of the factions, which Sylla had not been able entirely to suppress. The uncorrupted part of the senate, and of the people, indeed, were strongly attached to his collegue Catulus, and in respect to prudence and justice there was not a man in Rome who had a higher character; but he was more able to direct the civil government, than the operations of war. The crisis therefore called for Pompey, and he did not hesitate a moment which side to 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 [15], 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 much alarmed at the number of his forces; but their fears were dissipated by a letter from Pompey, in which he assured them, that he had terminated the war without striking a blow. For Brutus, whether he betrayed his army or was betrayed by them, had surrendered himself to Pompey; and, having received a party of horse 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. Immediately after Brutus came over to him, he had informed the senate by letter, that it was a measure which that general had voluntarily adopted; and yet on the very next day he put him to death, and wrote other letters containing heavy charges against him. This was the father of that Brutus, who in concert with Cassius slew Cæsar.

[15] *Hod.* Modena.*

But the son, as appears from the Life which we have written of him, bore no resemblance to the sire, either in war or in his death. Lepidus, being soon driven out of Italy, fled into Sardinia; where he died of grief, not in consequence of the ruin of his affairs, but from having accidentally found a billet (as we are told) by which he discovered, that his wife had dishonoured his bed.

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 concentrated in him, just as in a dangerous disease all the vicious humours flow to a distempered part. He had already defeated several generals of less distinction, and was then engaged with Metellus Pius, a man of great character in general, and more particularly in war; but age seemed to have abated in him that vigour, which is necessary for seizing and improving critical occasions. On the other hand, nothing could exceed the ardour and expedition, with which Sertorius snatched those occasions from him. He came on in the most daring manner, and more like a captain of banditti, than a commander of regular forces; annoying with ambuscades, and other unforeseen alarms, a champion who proceeded by the common rules, and whose skill consisted in the management of heavy-armed forces.

At this juncture Pompey, having an army without employment, endeavoured to prevail upon the senate to send him to Metellus' assistance. In the mean time, Catulus ordered him to disband his forces; but he found various pretences for remaining in arms in the neighbourhood of Rome: till at last, upon the motion of Lucius Philippus, he obtained the desired command. On this occasion one of the senators, we are told, somewhat surprised at the motion, asked him who made it, whether his meaning was to send out Pompey [*pro consule*] as the representative of a consul? "No," he replied,

" but [*pro consulibus*] as the representative of con-
" suls :" intimating, by this, the incapacity of both the consuls of that year.

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; and said, " He should " want no other weapons than a rod and a ferula " to chastise the boy with, were it not that he feared " the old woman;" meaning Metellus. In fact however it was Pompey, of whom he was afraid, and on his account he carried forward his operations with much greater caution. For Metellus had fallen into a course of luxury and pleasure, which no one could have expected, and changed his soldier-like simplicity for a life of pomp and parade. Hence Pompey gained additional honour and interest, for he cultivated plainness and frugality more than ever; though he had not, in that respect, much to correct in himself, being naturally sober and regular in his desires.

The war appeared in many forms; but nothing affected him so much as the loss of Lauron, which Sertorius took before his eyes[16]. Pompey thought he had blocked up the enemy, and spoke of it in high terms; when suddenly he found himself surrounded, and being afraid of moving, had the mortification to see the city laid in ashes in his presence. In an engagement however near Valencia he defeated Herennius and Perpenna, officers of considerable rank, who had sided with Sertorius and acted as his lieutenants, and killed above ten thousand of their men.

Elated with this advantage, he hastened to attack

[16] See the Life of Sertorius, p. 24, and not. (70).*

Sertorius, that Metellus might have no share in the victory. He found him near the river Sucro, and they engaged about the close of day. Both were afraid, that Metellus should come up; Pompey anxious to fight alone, and Sertorius to have but one general to fight with. The issue of the battle was doubtful, one wing in each army being victorious. But of the two generals Sertorius gained the higher honour, for he routed the battalions which opposed him. As for Pompey, he was attacked on horseback by one of the enemy's infantry, a man of gigantic size. While they were closely engaged with their swords, the strokes happened to light on each other's hand, but with different success; Pompey receiving only a slight wound, whereas he lopped off the hand of the other. Numbers then fell upon Pompey, for his troops in that quarter were already broken: but he unexpectedly escaped, by relinquishing his horse with it's gold trappings and other valuable furniture to the barbarians, who quarrelled about the division of the spoil.

Next morning at break of day, both again drew up to decide the victory, to which both laid claim. But upon Metellus' arrival Sertorius retired, and his army dispersed. Nothing was more common than for his forces to disperse in that manner, and afterward to reunite; so that he was often seen wandering about alone, and as often like a torrent swelled by sudden rains, advancing again at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men.

After the battle, Pompey went to wait upon Metellus; and upon approaching him ordered his lictors to lower the fasces, by way of compliment to Metellus, as his superior. But Metellus would not suffer it: and indeed in all respects he behaved to Pompey with the utmost politeness, assuming nothing on account of his consular dignity or his seniority, except when they encamped together, to give the parole. And they had frequently separate camps; for the enemy by his artful and various measures, by

making his appearance at different places almost at the same instant, and by drawing them from one action to another, obliged them to divide their forces. He cut off their provisions, he laid waste their country, he made himself master of the sea: the consequence of which was, that they were both compelled to quit their own provinces, and to have recourse to those of others for supplies.

Pompey, having exhausted most of his own fortune in support of the war, applied to the senate for money to pay the troops; declaring, that he would return with his army into Italy, if they did not send it him. Lucullus, who was then consul, though he was upon bad terms with Pompey, took care to furnish him with the money as speedily as possible[17]; because he wished himself to be employed in the Mithridatic war, and was therefore afraid to give Pompey a pretext for leaving Sertorius and soliciting the command against Mithridates, which was a more honourable and yet appeared a less difficult commission.

In the mean time Sertorius was assassinated by his own officers; and Perpenna, who was at the head of the conspirators, attempted to supply his place. He had indeed the same troops, the same magazines, and the same supplies; but he had not the same understanding, to make a proper use of them. Pompey immediately took the field, and having received intelligence that Perpenna was much embarrassed in his measures, threw out ten cohorts as a bait for him, with orders to spread themselves over the plain. Then, as soon as Perpenna had engaged in the pur-

[17] See the Life of Lucullus, Vol. III. p. 333. Sertorius' death, mentioned below, took place three years after the consulship of Lucullus, B. C. 73. The subsequent account of Pompey's conduct, with regard to Perpenna's papers, recurs in the Life of Sertorius, p. 36.; as does that of his 'cutting up the Servile war by the roots' in the Life of Crassus, Vol. III. Throughout the biographies indeed of the three members of the First Triumvirate, occur (as might naturally be expected) frequent co-incidences, which it may suffice once for all to have suggested in this place.*

suit of them, he suddenly made his appearance with the main body, attacked and entirely defeated him. 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. Nevertheless, Pompey is not to be accused of ingratitude, neither are we to suppose him (as some will have it) forgetful of the services, which he had received from that officer in Sicily. On the contrary, he acted with a wisdom and dignity of mind, which proved very salutary to the public. Perpenna, having gotten the papers of Sertorius into his hands, showed him letters, by which some of the most powerful men in Rome, who were desirous to raise fresh commotions and overturn the establishment, had invited Sertorius into Italy. But Pompey, fearing that those letters might excite greater wars even than that which he was then on the point of finishing, put Perpenna to death, and burned the papers without having given them a perusal. He stayed just long enough in Spain to compose the troubles, and to remove such uneasiness as might tend to break the peace; after which he marched back to Italy, where he accidentally arrived, just as the Servile War was at it's height.

Crassus, who had the command in that war, upon the arrival of Pompey, (who, he feared, might snatch the laurels from his brow), resolved to come to a battle, however hazardous it might prove. He succeeded, and killed twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy. Yet fortune, in some sort, interwove this with the honours of Pompey; for he killed five thousand of the slaves, whom he fell in with, as they were flying after the battle. Upon which, to be beforehand with Crassus, he wrote to the senate, "That "Crassus had indeed beaten the gladiators in a "pitched battle, but that he himself had cut up the "war by the roots." The Romans took a pleasure in speaking of this one among another, on account of their regard for Pompey; which was such, that

no part of the success in Spain against Sertorius was ascribed by a single individual, either in jest or earnest, to any but Pompey.

Yet these honours, and this high veneration for the man, were mixed with some fears and jealousies, that he would not disband his army; but treading in Sylla's steps raise himself to sovereign power, and maintain himself in it by the sword [18]. Hence the number of those, who went out of fear to meet him and congratulate him upon his return, was equal to that of those who went out of love. But when he had removed this suspicion, by declaring that he would dismiss his troops immediately after the triumph, there remained only one more subject for envious tongues, viz. that he paid more attention to the commons, than to the senate; and that, in order to win the affections of the people, he had determined to re-establish the authority of the tribunes, which Sylla had destroyed. This was true: For there never was any thing upon which they so much set their hearts, or so extravagantly coveted, as to see the tribunitial power restored. So that Pompey deemed it a peculiar happiness, that he had an opportunity of bringing that affair about; knowing that, if any one should be beforehand with him in this design, he should never find any other means of making so agreeable a return for the people's regard.

A second triumph was decreed him [19], together

[18] Cicero, in his Epistles to Atticus, says, Pompey made no mystery of this unjustifiable ambition. The passages are remarkable: *Mirandum enim in modum Cneius noster Syllani regni similitudinem concupivit: Εἰδως σοι λεγω, nihil ille unquam minus obscurè tulit.* (vii. 9.) And again, *Hoc turpe Cneius noster biennio ante cogitavit; ita syllaturit animus ejus, et proscripturit.* (Ib. 10.) Hence we see how happy it was for Rome, that in the civil wars Cæsar, and not Pompey, proved the conqueror.

[19] He triumphed toward the end of A. U. C. 682, and at the same time was declared consul for the year ensuing. This was a peculiar honour, to gain the consulate without having first borne the subordinate offices; but his two triumphs, and his great services, excused that deviation from the common rules.

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 the 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 having first asked his leave. Pompey, who had long been wishing for an opportunity to lay him under an obligation, received the application with pleasure, and made strong interest with the people in his behalf; declaring, that he should take their giving him Crassus for a collegue, as kindly as their favour to himself.

Yet after their election they disagreed in every thing, and were embroiled in all their measures. Crassus had the greatest interest with the senate, and Pompey with the people. For he had restored to them the tribunitial power, and had suffered a law to be enacted, that judges should again be appointed out of the equestrian order[20]. The spectacle, however, the most agreeable 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 prescribed 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. Upon 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 which became their dignity, to review the whole equestrian order; when Pompey was seen at a distance, with all the badges

[20] 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.

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 lictors 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 elder of whom addressed him as follows; "Pompey the "Great, I demand of you, whether or not you have "served all the campaigns required by law?" With a loud voice he replied, "I have served them all; "and all under myself as generalissimo." 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.

When the end of the consulship approached, and his difference with Crassus was daily increasing, Caius Aurelius[21] a man of the equestrian order, who had never intermeddled with state-affairs, one day after the people were met in full assembly ascended the Rostra, and said; "Jupiter had appeared to him "in a dream, and commanded him to acquaint the "consuls, that they must take care to be reconciled "before they laid down their office." Pompey stood still, and held his peace; but Crassus went up and gave him his hand, and saluted him in a friendly manner. At the same time, he addressed the people as follows: "There is nothing, my fellow-citizens, "in my judgement, dishonourable or mean in making "the first advances to Pompey, whom you dignified "with the title of 'the Great,' when he was yet but "a beardless youth, and to whom you voted two "triumphs before he was a senator." Thus reconciled, they laid down the consulship.

Crassus continued his former mode of life; but

[21] Ovatius Aurelius.

Pompey now seldom chose to plead the causes of those who applied to him, and by degrees left the bar. He rarely indeed appeared in public, and when he did, it was always with a long train of friends and attendants; so that it was not easy either to speak to him, or to see him, except 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 grandeur and majesty; and he was persuaded that dignity should be preserved unsoiled by the familiarity, and even 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 extremely liable to fall into contempt, when they resume the robe of peace. The soldier is desirous to maintain that rank in the Forum, which he held in the field; and he, who cannot distinguish himself in the field, thinks it intolerable to give place in the administration of civil affairs. When therefore the latter has gotten the man, who shone in camps and triumphs, into the assemblies at home [and finds him claiming the same pre-eminence there], of course 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 quickly appeared from subsequent events.

The power of the pirates[22] had it's foundation in Cilicia. Their progress was the more dangerous, because at first it had been but little noticed. In the Mithridatic war they assumed new confidence and courage, on account of some services which 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; not only attacking

[22] For an account of this war see Flor. iii. 6., who concludes it with asking, *Quid prius in hâc mirere victoriâ? velocitatem, quòd quadragesimo die parta est? an felicitatem, quòd ne una quidem navis amissa est? an perpetuitatem, quòd amplius piratæ non fuerunt?*

ships, but islands and maritime towns. Many persons distinguished for their wealth, birth, and 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 triumphed in their villainy. Music resounded, and drunken revels were exhibited on every coast. Here generals were made prisoners; and there the cities, which the pirates had seized upon, were paying their ransom, to the great disgrace of the Roman power. The number of their galleys amounted to a thousand, and the cities taken to four hundred.

Temples, which till then had stood inviolably sacred, became subject to their rapine. They ruined that of Apollo at Claros, that where he was worshipped under the title of Didymæus[23], that of the Cabiri in Samothrace, that of Ceres[24] at Hermiona, that of Æsculapius at Epidaurus, those of Neptune in the Isthmus, at Tænarus, and in Calauria, those of Apollo at Actium and in the isle of Leucas, and

[23] So called from Didyme, in the territories of Miletus, in Ionia. Claros was an island in the Ionian, and Samothrace in the Ægean sea.*

[24] Pausanias (Lacon. iii. 14.) informs us, the Lacedæmonians worship Ceres under the name of 'Chthonia;' and (Corinth. ii. 35.) he gives us the origin of that name: 'The Argives say, that Chthonia the daughter of Colontas, having been saved from a conflagration by Ceres and conveyed to Hermiona, built a temple to that goddess, who was worshipped there under the name of Chthonia.' (L.) Hermiona and Epidaurus were both cities in Argolis: Tænarus, a promontory in Laconia, *hod.* Cape Matapan; Calauria, a small island near Crete; Actium stood on the Gulf of Ambracia; Leucas lay at a little distance to the south; and Samos was situated in an island of the same name, off the Ionian coast.*

those of Juno at Samos, Argos, and the promontory of Lacinium[25].

They likewise offered strange sacrifices (those of Olympus, I. mean[26]) and celebrated certain secret Mysteries, among which those of Mithra, originally instituted by them, continue to this day[27]. They not only insulted the Romans at sea, but infested the great roads, and plundered the villas near the coast: They carried off Sextilius and Bellinius two prætors, in their purple robes, with all their servants and lictors. They seized the daughter of Antony, a man who had been honoured with a triumph, as she was going to her country-house[28], and he was forced to pay a large ransom for her release.

But the most contemptuous circumstance was, when they had taken a prisoner, and he cried out that he was a Roman and told them his name, they pretended to be struck with terror, smote their thighs, and fell upon their knees to beg his pardon. The poor man, seeing them thus humble in their entreaties, supposed them in earnest, and promised he would forgive them: for some were so officious as to put on his shoes, and others to help him on with his gown, that his quality might not again be mistaken. When they had carried on this farce, and enjoyed it for some time, they let a ladder down into the sea, and bade him "go in peace;" and if he refused to do it, they pushed him off the deck, and drowned him.

[25] The printed text gives us the erroneous reading of 'Leucanium,' but two MSS. read 'Lacinium.' Livy often mentions Juno Lacinia, xlii. 28, &c. &c. See also Cic. de Div. i. 24.

[26] Not mount Olympus, but the city of that name, near Phaselis in Pamphylia, which was one of the receptacles of the pirates. What sort of sacrifices they used to offer there, is not known.

[27] According to Herodotus, the Persians worshipped Venus under the name of Mithres or Mithra; but the sun, which is an object of adoration in that country, is here probably meant by this word, as it's vernacular signification is 'Lord.'

[28] At Misenum. See Cic. pro. Leg. Manil. 12.

Their power extended over the whole Tuscan sea, so that the Romans found their trade and navigation entirely intercepted: in consequence of which their markets were ill supplied, and they had reason to apprehend a famine. This, at last, made them project sending Pompey to clear the sea of pirates. Gabinius one of Pompey's intimate friends proposed the decree[29], which created him, not admiral but monarch, and invested him with absolute power. It bestowed upon 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 include; it comprehended likewise the most considerable of the barbarous nations, and the most powerful kings. Beside 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 of rowers was left entirely to his discretion.

When this decree was read in the assembly, the people accepted it with inconceivable pleasure. The most respectable part of the senate saw, indeed, that such an absolute and unlimited power was above envy, but they considered it as a real object of fear. They all therefore, except Cæsar, opposed it's passing into a law. That chieftain was for it, not out of regard to Pompey, but in order to insinuate himself into the good graces of the people, whom he had long been courting. The rest were very severe in their expressions against Pompey; and one of the

[29] This law was made A. U. C. 686. The crafty tribune, when he proposed it, did not name Pompey. That general was now in the thirty-ninth year of his age. His friend Gabinius, as appears from Cicero (De Prov. Consular.), was a man of infamous character.

consuls venturing to say[30], "If he imitates Romulus, "he will not escape his fate," incurred the risk of being torn in pieces by the populace.

When Catulus indeed rose up to speak against the law, out of reverence for his person, they listened to him with great attention. After he had freely given Pompey all due honour, and said much in his praise, he advised them to spare him, and not to expose such a man to so many dangers; "for what "other will you have," said he, "if you should lose "him?" With one voice they exclaimed, "Your-"self." Finding his arguments had no effect, he retired. Upon this, Roscius mounted the Rostrum, but not one of them would listen to him. He made signs to them however, with his fingers, that they should not appoint Pompey alone, but give him a collegue. Incensed at the proposal they set up such a shout, that a crow which was flying over the Forum, was stunned with the force of it and fell down among the crowd[31]. Hence we may conclude, that when birds fall upon such occasions, it is not because the air is so divided with the shock, as to leave a vacuum; but rather because the sound strikes them like a blow, when it ascends with such force, and produces so violent and so surge-like an agitation.

The assembly then broke up, without having come to any resolution. Upon the day appointed for receiving their suffrages, Pompey retired into the country; and on learning that the decree was passed, he returned to the city by night, in order to prevent the envy, which the multitudes of people coming to meet him would have excited. Early the next morning, however, he made his appearance, and attended the sacrifice. After which he sum-

[30] The consuls of this year were Calpurnius Piso, and Acilius Glabrio.

[31] Another instance of this we have in the Life of Flaminius, Vol. III. p. 44.

moned an assembly, and obtained a grant of almost as much more as the first decree had bestowed. 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 allowed. As the price of provisions immediately fell, the people were highly pleased, and it gave them occasion to say, "That "the very name of Pompey had terminated the "war."

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 vessels as had got out in time, and could escape the general chace, retired to Cilicia, like so many bees into a hive. Against these he proposed to go himself, with sixty of his best galleys; but he resolved first to scour the Tuscan sea, and the coasts of Africa, Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily of all piratical adventurers; which he effected in forty days*, by his own indefatigable endeavours and those of his lieutenants. As the consul Piso however was indulging his malignity at home, in wasting his stores and discharging his seamen, he sent his fleet round to Brundusium, and went himself by land through Tuscany to Rome.

As soon as the people were informed of his approach, they sallied out 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 unexpected speed, with which he had executed his commission, and to the superabundant plenty which reigned in the markets.

* See p. 152. not. (22.)

For this reason Piso was in danger of being deposed from the consulship, and Gabinius had a decree ready drawn up for that purpose: but Pompey would not suffer him to bring it forward. On the contrary his speech to the people was full of candour; and after having provided such things as he wanted, he set off for Brundusium, and put to sea again. Though he was straitened for time, and in his haste sailed past many cities without stopping, yet he went ashore at Athens, entered the town, and sacrificed to the gods; after which he addressed the people, and then prepared immediately to re-embark. As he went out of the gate, he observed two inscriptions, each comprised in one line: That within the gate was,

But know thyself a man, and be a god[32].

That without,

We wish'd, adored; we saw, and we attend.

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 entertained hopes of similar kindness, and avoiding his lieutenants surrendered themselves to Pompey, with their wives and children. These were all spared; and it was principally by their means, that he detected and seized many, who had been guilty of unpardonable crimes, and therefore still concealed themselves.

Still however there remained a great number, and indeed the most powerful part of these corsairs, who sent their families, treasures, and useless hands into castles and strong fortresses upon Mount Taurus. They then 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 be-

[32] *Dîs te minorem quòd geris, imperas.* (Hor. O. III. vi.)*

sieged, 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 their situation were nearly impregnable. Thus the war was finished within three months at the farthest, and the whole force of the pirates destroyed.

Beside the other vessels, Pompey took ninety ships with beaks of brass, and his prisoners amounted to twenty thousand. Those he did not choose to put to death; yet 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 probably re-unite and cause future trouble. He reflected, that man is by nature neither a savage nor an unsocial creature, and that when he becomes so, it is by vices contrary to nature: yet that even then he may be humanised by changing his place of abode, and accustoming him to a new manner of life; as beasts which are naturally wild put off their fierceness, when they are kept in a domestic way. He determined, therefore, to remove the pirates to a considerable distance from the sea[33], and bring them to taste the sweets of civil life, by living in cities and by the culture of the ground. With this view he placed some of them in the little towns of Cilicia, which were almost desolate, and which received them with pleasure, because at the same time he gave them an additional proportion of lands. He repaired the city of Soli[34], which had lately been dismantled and deprived of it's inhabitants by Tigranes king of Armenia, and peopled it with a number of these corsairs. The

33 This project is highly commended by Flor. iii. 6.*

34 This place (situated near the mouth of the Cydnus, and named after it's reputed founder, Solon), he called, after himself, 'Pompeiopolis.' (L.) It was from this city, peopled originally in part by Athenians, who quickly lost the purity of their Attic dialect, that the name 'solecism', characteristic of certain barbarisms of language, was derived.*

remainder, a considerable body, he planted in Dyma a city of Achaia, which though it had a large and fruitful territory, was in want of inhabitants.

Such, as looked upon Pompey with envy, found fault with these proceedings; but his conduct with respect to Metellus, in Crete, was far from agreeable to his best friends. This was a relation of that Metellus, who had commanded in conjunction with him in Spain; and he had been sent into Crete, some time before Pompey was employed in this war. For Crete was, next after Cilicia, the greatest nursery of the pirates. Metellus had destroyed many nests of them there; and the remainder, who were at this time besieged by him, suppliantly addressed themselves to Pompey, and invited him into the island as included in his commission, and falling within that distance from the sea, to which he was authorised to carry his arms. He listened to their application, and by letter enjoined Metellus to take no farther steps in the war. At the same time, he ordered the cities of Crete not to obey that general, but Lucius Octavius one of his own lieutenants, whom he sent to take the command.

Octavius went in among the besieged, and fought on their side: a circumstance, which rendered Pompey not only odious, but ridiculous. For what could be more absurd, than to suffer himself to be so blinded by his envy and jealousy of Metellus, as to lend his name and authority to a crew of profligate wretches, to be used as a kind of amulet for their preservation! Achilles was thought to behave not like a man, but like a frantic youth, carried away by an extravagant passion for fame, when he made signs to his troops not to touch Hector,

> Lest some strong arm should snatch the glorious prize
> Before Pelides[35].

But Pompey fought for the common enemies of

[35] Hom. Il. xxii. 207.*

mankind, in order to deprive a prætor, who was labouring to destroy them, of the honours of a triumph. Metellus however pursued his operations, till he took the pirates, and put them all to death. As for Octavius, he exposed him in the camp as an object of contempt, and loaded him with reproaches, after which he dismissed him.

When intelligence 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, transferring to him all the provinces and forces under Lucullus, and adding likewise Bithynia, which was at that time 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. For the provinces, which the former decree did not bestow upon him, viz. Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, the Upper Colchis, and Armenia, were granted by this; together with all the forces, which under Lucullus had defeated Mithridates and Tigranes.

By this law, Lucullus was deprived of the honours which he had dearly earned, and was superseded rather in his triumph, than in the war; but that was not, what affected the patricians the most deeply. They were persuaded, indeed, that Lucullus had been treated with injustice and ingratitude; but it was a much more painful circumstance, to observe in the hands of Pompey a power, which they could call by no other name than that of 'tyranny[36].'

[36] 'We have at last then,' said they, 'a sovereign; the republic is changed into a monarchy: the services of Lucullus, the honour of Glabrio and Marcius, two zealous and worthy senators, are to be sacrificed to the promotion of Pompey. Sylla never carried his *tyranny* so far as this.' Two great men spoke in favour of the law, namely, Cicero and Cæsar. Of these, the former aimed at the consulate, which Pompey's party could more easily procure for him,

They therefore exhorted and encouraged each other to oppose the law, and maintain their liberty. Yet when the time came, their fear of the people prevailed, and no one spoke upon the occasion except Catulus. He urged many arguments against the bill: and when he found they had no effect upon the commons, he addressed himself to the senators, and frequently exhorted them from the Rostrum, "to "seek[37] some mountain, as their ancestors had done, "some rock whither they might fly for the preserva- "tion of their liberty."

The bill however, it is said, was passed by all the tribes, and almost the same universal authority conferred upon Pompey in his absence, which Sylla was able to gain only by the sword, and by carrying war into the bowels of his country. When Pompey received the letters which notified his high promotion, and his friends who happened to be present congratulated him on the occasion, he knit his brows (we are told), smote his thigh, and expressed himself, as if he was already overburthened and wearied with the weight of power[38]: "Alas! and is there then no end "of my conflicts? How much better would it have "been, to remain one of the undistinguished many, "than to be perpetually engaged in war? Shall I "never be able to fly from envy to a rural retreat, "and conjugal endearments?" Even his friends were unable to bear the dissimulation of this speech.

than that of Catulus and the senate; and the latter was delighted to see the people insensibly lose that republican spirit and love of liberty, which might one day obstruct his vast designs.

[37] In this, as Catulus was addressing himself to the senators, he alludes more probably (according to M. Dusoul) to the retreat into the Capitol at the time of the irruption of the Gauls, than to the secession of the plebeians to the Mons Sacer; though the latter, in it's accompanying circumstances, seems to bear a stronger analogy to the case in question.*

[38] Is it possible to read this, without recollecting the similar character of our Richard III?

> Alas! why would you heap these cares on me?
> I am unfit for state and majesty:—&c.
>
> Shaksp. Rich. III. iii. 7.

They knew, that the flame of his native ambition and lust of power was blown up to a greater height by the difference between himself and Lucullus, and that he rejoiced the more in the present preference upon that account.

But his actions speedily unmasked the man. He caused public notice to be given in all places within his commission, that the Roman troops were to repair to him, as well as the kings and princes their allies. Wherever he went, he annulled Lucullus' acts, remitting the fines which he had imposed, and taking away the rewards which he had bestowed. In short, he let slip no opportunity of showing the partisans of that general, that all his authority was gone.

Of this treatment Lucullus naturally complained; and their common friends were of opinion, that it would be best for them to have an interview; accordingly, they met in Galatia. As they had both given distinguished proofs of military merit, the lictors had entwined the rods of each with laurel. Lucullus had marched through a country full of flourishing groves, but Pompey's route had led him through chill and naked wastes. His laurels, therefore, were parched and withered; which Lucullus' attendants no sooner observed, than they freely supplied them with fresh ones, and crowned his fasces with them. This seemed to be an omen, that Pompey would bear away the honours and rewards of Lucullus' victories*. Lucullus had been consul before Pompey, and was the older man, but Pompey's two triumphs gave him the advantage in point of dignity.

Their interview had, at first, the appearance of much politeness and courtesy. They began with mutual compliments and congratulations: But they soon lost sight even of candour and moderation, and proceeded to scurrility; Pompey reproaching Lu-

* See the Life of Lucullus, Vol. III. p. 380.

cullus with lust of money, and Lucullus accusing Pompey of lust of power, insomuch that their friends found it difficult to prevent violence. After this, Lucullus bestowed upon 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 himself, as they had been ill-affected to their old general. Nay, he scrupled not to disparage Lucullus' conduct, and to represent his actions in a despicable light. "His "battles," he said, "had been only mock-battles, "and he had fought with nothing but the shadows of "kings: for himself it was reserved to contend with "real strength, and well-disciplined armies; since "Mithridates had now betaken himself to swords "and shields, and learned how to make a proper use "of his cavalry."

On the other hand, Lucullus defended himself by observing, "That it was nothing new to Pom- "pey, to fight with phantoms and shadows of war: "for, like a dastardly bird, he had been accus- "tomed to prey upon those whom he had not "killed, and to tear the poor remains of a dying "opposition. Thus he had arrogated to himself the "conquest of Sertorius, of Lepidus, and of Sparta- "cus, which originally belonged to Metellus, to "Catulus, and to Crassus. He was not surprised "therefore, that he was now come to claim the ho- "nour of finishing the wars of Armenia and Pontus, "after he had thrust himself into a triumph over the "fugitive slaves."

In a little time, Lucullus departed for Rome; and Pompey having secured the sea from Phœnicia to the Bosporus, marched in quest of Mithridates, who had an army of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse, but durst not risk an engagement.

That 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 encamped in the same place: and conjecturing from the nature of the plants and the crevices in the mountain that springs might be found, he ordered a number of wells to be dug, and the camp was in a short time plentifully supplied with water[39]. He was not a little surprised, that this had never occurred to Mithridates, during the whole time of his lying there encamped.

Pompey now 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 disabled. 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, prefiguring what was to befal him. He thought he was upon the Pontic sea sailing with a favourable wind, and in sight of the Bosporus; so that he felicitated his friends in the ship, like a man perfectly safe and 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 this dream produced, his friends awakened him with the information that Pompey was at hand. He was consequently 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 have surrounded them, so as to prevent their flight; and what inclined him still more to wait for day-light, was

[39] Paulus Æmilius had done the same thing long before, in the Macedonian war. See his Life, Vol. II.

the consideration, that his troops were much better than those of the enemy. The oldest of his officers however 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 she was so low, and on the backs of the Romans; because she projected their shadows so far before them, that the others could form no just estimate of their distance, but thinking them at hand, darted their javelins before they could do any execution.

The Romans, perceiving their mistake, advanced to the charge with all the alarm of voices. This threw the enemy into such consternation, that they made not the least stand, and vast numbers were slain in their flight. They lost above ten thousand men, and their camp was taken. Mithridates himself broke through the Romans with eight hundred horse in the beginning of the engagement. That corps, however, did not follow him far before they dispersed, and left him with only three of his people; one of whom was his concubine Hypsicratia, a woman of such a masculine and daring spirit, that the king used to call her 'Hypsicrates.' Mounted and attired like a Persian cavalier, she did not in the least complain of the length of their journies; though in addition to the fatigue of them she waited upon the king, and took care of his horse, till they reached the castle of Inora[40], where his treasure and other moveables of the greatest value were deposited. Mithridates took out thence many rich robes, and bestowed them upon those, who repaired to him after their flight. He furnished each of his

[40] It seems from a passage in Strabo (xii.) that instead of 'Inora,' we should read, 'Sinoria;' for that was one of the seventy-five fortresses, which Mithridates had built (partly, as his treasuries) between the Greater and the Less Armenia.

friends likewise with a quantity of poison, that none of them against their will might come alive into the enemy's hands.

From Inora, his design was to go to Tigranes in Armenia. But Tigranes had abandoned the cause, and set a price of no less than a hundred talents upon his head. He therefore changed his route, and having passed the source of the Euphrates directed his flight through Colchis.

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. This river takes it's rise near the source of the Euphrates, but bends it's course eastward, and empties itself into the Caspian sea. Pompey and young Tigranes, in their march, received the homage of the cities through which they passed. As for Tigranes the father, he had been lately defeated by Lucullus; and now, being informed that Pompey was of a mild and humane disposition, he received a Roman garrison into his capital, and taking his friends and relations with him went to surrender himself. As he rode up to the entrenchments, two of Pompey's lictors advanced, 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, 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 about to prostrate himself, and embrace his knees. But Pompey preventing it took him by the hand, and placed him on one side, 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, Gala-"tia, and Sophene[41]. But what you preserved till

[41] This country lay to the north of Comagene and Mesopotamia.*

" my time, I will restore to you, on condition that " you pay the Romans a fine of six thousand talents " for the injury, which you have done them. Your " son I will make king of Sophene."

Tigranes thought himself so fortunate in these terms, and in finding that the Romans saluted him ' King,' that in the joy of his heart he promised every private soldier half a mina, every centurion ten minæ, and every tribune a talent. But his son was displeased at the determination; and, when he was invited to supper, said, " He had no need of such " honours from Pompey; for he could find another " Roman." Upon this, he was bound, and reserved in chains for the triumph. Not long afterward, 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 himself and the Roman empire. Pompey answered, " That " Tigranes was certainly nearer to his father, than " to his father-in-law; and, as for the boundary, jus- " tice should decide the matter."

When he had despatched this affair, he left Afranius to take care of Armenia, and marched himself to the countries bordering upon mount Caucasus, through which he must necessarily pass in search of Mithridates. The Albanians and Iberians are the principal nations in those parts. The territories of the latter touch upon the Moschian mountains, and the kingdom of Pontus; the former stretch more toward the east, and extend to the Caspian sea. These, at first, granted Pompey a passage: But, as winter overtook him in their dominions, they seized the opportunity of the Saturnalia (which the Romans religiously observe) to assemble their forces, to the number of forty thousand men, with the resolution of attacking them; and for that purpose they passed the Cyrnus [42]. The Cyrnus rises in the Iberian moun-

[42] Strabo xi. and Pliny call this river ' Cyrus,' and so Plutarch probably wrote it. (L.) It was anciently called ' Corus,' and had it's name changed by Cyrus. (Amm. Marcell. xxiii. 6.)*

tains, and being joined in it's course by the Araxes from Armenia, discharges itself by twelve mouths into the Caspian sea. Some say, the Araxes does not unite with it[43], but flows in a separate channel, and empties itself near it into the same sea.

Pompey suffered them to pass the river, though it was in his power to have prevented it; and then attacked and routed them, having killed immense numbers upon the spot. Their king sent embassadors to beg for mercy; upon which Pompey forgave him his offence, and entered into alliance with him. This done, he marched against the Iberians, who were equally numerous and more warlike, and who were anxious to signalise their zeal for Mithridates by repulsing Pompey. The Iberians had never been subject to the Medes, or to the Persians: They had escaped even the Macedonian yoke, because Alexander was obliged to quit Hyrcania in haste. Pompey, however defeated them in a great battle, in which he slew not less than nine thousand, and took above ten thousand prisoners.

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 considerable difficulties; for he had concealed himself among the nations settled about the Bosporus and the Palus Mæotis[44]. Besides, intelligence was brought to Pompey, that the Albanians had revolted. The desire of revenge determined him to march back, and chastise them. But it was with infinite trouble and danger, that he repassed the Cyrnus, the barbarians having fenced it on their side with palisades to a great distance along the banks. And when he had effected his passage, he had a wide country to traverse, which afforded no water. This last difficulty however he obviated, by filling ten thou-

43. This is Strabo's opinion, in which he is followed by the modern geographers.

44. *Hod.* The Straits of Caffa, and the Sea of Asoph.*

sand bottles: and pursuing his march, he found the enemy drawn up on the banks of the river Abas[45], to the number of sixty thousand foot and twelve thousand horse; but many of them ill-armed, and provided with nothing of the defensive kind except the skins of beasts.

In the beginning of the engagement Cosis their commander, the king's brother, singled out Pompey, and rushing in upon him, struck his javelin into the joints of his breast-plate. Pompey in return ran him through with his spear, and laid him dead upon the spot. It is said that the Amazons, from the mountains near the river Thermodon, came to the assistance of the barbarians in this battle. The Romans, amidst the plunder of the field, did indeed find some bucklers in the form of a half-moon[46], and such buskins as the Amazons wore: but not a single female was discovered among the dead. These heroines inhabit that part of Mount Caucasus, which stretches toward the Hyrcanian sea, and are not next neighbours to the Albanians, for Gelæ and Leges lie between: but they annually meet that people, and spend two months with them on the banks of the Thermodon; after which they retire to their own country, where they live without the company of men.

After this action, Pompey designed to make his way to the Caspian sea, and march by it's coasts into Hyrcania[47]: but he found the number of venomous serpents so troublesome, that he was forced

[45] This river takes it's rise in the mountains of Albania, and falls into the Caspian sea. Ptolemy calls it 'Albanus.' (L.) In Plutarch's account of the vast number and little discipline of the Albanian forces, Strabo completely concurs.*

[46] See Virg. Æn. i. 490., xi. 663.*

[47] Ελαυνειν επι την Ὑρκανιαν, και Κασπιαν θαλασσαν. Here Plutarch mentions the Caspian sea after Hyrcania. But as that sea lies very near Albania, there was no necessity for Pompey to go through Hyrcania to reach it. He meant, perhaps, it's farther extremity. (L.) Of the venomous serpents abounding in this country, Strabo (xi.) informs us, some inflict death accompanied by laughter, and some by tears.*

to return, when three days' additional march would have carried him as far as he proposed. His next route was into Armenia the Less, where he gave audience to embassadors from the kings of the Elymæans[48] and the Medes, and dismissed them with letters expressive of his regard. In the mean time, the king of Parthia had entered Gordyene, and was committing great ravages among the subjects of Tigranes. Against him Pompey sent Afranius, who put him to the rout, and pursued him as far as the province of Arbelitis.

Of all the concubines of Mithridates who were brought before Pompey, he did not touch one, but sent them to their parents or husbands; for most of them were either daughters, or wives, of the state-officers and principal persons of the kingdom. Stratonice, however, who was the first favourite, and had the care of a fort where the most valuable 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 took her to his bed that night, and sent the old man home in no very good humour, because he had not spoken a single kind word to himself. But when he waked the next morning, he saw tables covered with vessels of gold and silver, a crowded retinue of eunuchs and pages who offered him rich robes, and before his gate a horse[49] with the magnificent housing provided for those who are called 'the king's friends.' All this he thought nothing but mockery and insult, and therefore was preparing himself for flight; when the servants

[48] Strabo (xvi.) places the Elymæans in that part of Assyria which borders upon Media, and mentions three provinces belonging to them, Gabiane, Messabatice, and Corbiane. They were so confident, he adds, in the bravery of their highland archers and their great population, as to have refused submission to the king of Parthia. Gordyene, mentioned below, was a Persian province.

[49] That the present of a horse, royally apparelled, was usually made by Eastern princes to their favourites, we may learn (among other passages) from Esth. vi. 8, 10.*

stopped him, and assured him that the king had bestowed upon him the house of a rich nobleman lately deceased, and that what he saw was only the first-fruits, a mere earnest of the favours and possessions intended for 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; when 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 him many magnificent presents: he took nothing however, except 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 him to accept them as tokens 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[50]; and he perused them with great pleasure, because they laid open that prince's real character. From these memoirs it appeared, that he had destroyed many persons by poison, among whom were his own son Ariarathes, and Alcæus of Sardis. His pique against the latter took it's rise, merely from his having better horses for the race than he. There were also interpretations, both of his own dreams, and of those of his wives; and the lascivious letters, which had passed between Monime and himself. Theophanes pretends to say, that there was found among those papers a memorial composed

[50] We learn likewise from Esther (ii. 23., vi. 1., &c.) that it was the custom of Oriental sovereigns to keep exact registers of whatever was transacted at their courts.*

by Rutilius[51], exhorting Mithridates to massacre all the Romans in Asia. But most people believe, that this was maliciously invented by Theophanes to blacken Rutilius, whom probably he hated, as being a perfect contrast to himself; or it might have been fabricated by Pompey, whose father was represented in Rutilius' histories as one of the worst of men.

From Cænon Pompey marched to Amisus, where his ambition impelled him to some very obnoxious measures. He had severely censured Lucullus, for having disposed of provinces at a time when the war still subsisted, and for having bestowed other considerable gifts and honours, which conquerors usually grant only after their wars are absolutely terminated. And yet while Mithridates was master of the Bosporus, and had re-assembled a respectable army, he himself was guilty of the very same thing: as if he had finished the whole, he conferred governments, and distributed other rewards to his friends. Upon that occasion many princes and generals, and among them twelve barbarian kings, made their appearance before him; and to gratify those princes, when he wrote to the king of Parthia, he refused to give him the title of 'King of Kings,' by which he was ordinarily addressed.

It was his prime ambition to recover Syria, and passing thence through Arabia, to penetrate to the Red Sea, that he might extend his conquests in every direction to the ocean which surrounds the world. In Africa, he was the first, whose conquests extended to the Great Sea; in Spain, he had 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 include the Red Sea likewise in the circle of his wars,

[51] P. Rutilius Rufus was consul in A. U. C. 649. Cicero in several parts of his works, particularly in Orat. pro. Font. 13., gives him a high character. He was subsequently banished into Asia, and when Sylla recalled him, refused to return. He wrote a Roman History in Greek, of which Appian made great use.

he began his march; the rather, because he perceived it would be difficult to hunt out Mithridates with a regular force, and that he was much harder to manage in 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 directed a number of ships to cruise about, and prevent any vessels from entering the Bosporus with provisions; and ordained that death should be the punishment of such, as were taken in the attempt.

As he was upon his march with the largest part of his army, he found the bodies of those Romans, who fell in the unfortunate battle between Triarius[52] and Mithridates, still uninterred, and gave them an honourable burial: the omission of this, indeed, seems not a little to have contributed to the hatred, which the army entertained for Lucullus.

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 it's king Aristobulus prisoner[53]. He founded some cities, and set others free, punishing the tyrants by whom they had been enslaved. But the greatest part of his time was spent in administering justice, and in deciding disputes between cities and princes. Where he could not go himself, he sent his friends: The Armenians and Parthians, for in-

[52] Triarius was defeated by Mithridates, three years before Pompey's march into Syria. He had 'a hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes' killed in that battle; and his camp was taken. See the Life of Lucullus, Vol. III. p. 378.

[53] After killing no less than twelve thousand Jews in an action, Pompey took the temple of Jerusalem. But though contrary to their law, he entered it, he had the moderation not to touch any of the holy utensils, or of the treasure belonging to it. Aristobulus presented him with a golden vine, valued at five hundred talents, which he subsequently consecrated in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

stance, having referred their difference about some territory to his decision, he despatched three arbitrators to settle the affair. His reputation as to power stood high, and it was equally respectable as to virtue and moderation. This was what palliated most of his faults, as well as those of his friends and acquaintances. He did not know how to restrain, or to punish the offences of those, whom he employed; but he gave so gracious a reception to such as came to complain of them, that they went away not repining at what they had suffered from their avarice and oppression.

His first favourite was his freedman Demetrius, a youth who in other respects did not want understanding, but who made an insolent use of his good fortune. The following story is related of him: Cato the philosopher then a young man, but already eminent for his virtue and magnanimity, went to see Antioch, when Pompey was not there. This journey, according to his custom, he performed on foot, but his friends accompanied him on horseback. When he approached the city, he perceived an immense number of people before the gates all in white, and on the way a troop of young men ranged on one side, and of boys on the other. The sight gave him pain; for he thought it a compliment and an attention intended for himself, which he did not desire. He ordered his friends, however, to alight and walk with him. As soon as they were near them, the master of the ceremonies, with a crown upon his head and a staff of office in his hand, came up and asked them; "Where they had left Demetrius, and when "he might be expected?" Cato's companions laughed, but Cato himself exclaimed, "Alas, poor city!" and so passed onward.*

Others, indeed, might the better endure the insolence of Demetrius, because Pompey bore with it himself. Frequently, when he was waiting to re-

* This story is repeated in the Life of Cato, Vol. V.

ceive company, Demetrius seated himself in a disrespectful manner at table, with his cap of liberty[54] pulled over his ears. Before his return to Italy he had purchased the pleasantest villas about Rome, with magnificent apartments for entertaining his friends[55]; and some of the most elegant and expensive gardens were known by his name. Yet Pompey himself was satisfied with an indifferent house, till his third triumph. He afterward built that beautiful and celebrated theatre in Rome; and, as an appendage to it, a house much handsomer than the former, but still not ostentatiously large: for he, who succeeded him in the possession of it, was surprised at his first entrance, and asked; "Where is the room, in which "Pompey the Great used to sup?" Such is the account, which we have of these matters.

The king of Arabia Petræa had, hitherto, considered the Romans in no formidable light; but he felt real apprehensions of Pompey, and sent letters to acquaint him, that he was ready to obey all his commands. Pompey, in order to try the sincerity of his professions, marched against Petra. Many censured this expedition, looking upon it as no better than a pretext to be excused from pursuing Mithridates; against whom they would have had him turn, as against the ancient enemy of Rome, and one who (according to all accounts) had so far recovered his strength, as to propose marching through Scythia and Pæonia[56] into Italy. On the other hand, Pompey

[54] The word ἱματιον here signifies 'the cap of liberty worn by freedmen,' not the flaps of a robe, which was all that the other Romans had to cover their heads with. They commonly, indeed, went bare-headed.

[55] The Latin translator renders των ᾠδητηριων τα καλλιστα, *pulcherrima gymnasia;* and Dacier, *les plus beaux parcs pour les exercices de la jeunesse;* but Athenæus (x.) gives us a more apposite sense of the word ᾠδητηρια, καλεισθαι τα συμποσια. Dining-rooms might be called ᾠδητηρια, because youth and mirth convey similar ideas.

[56] A province of Macedon; but some, and among them Amyot, read 'Pannonia,' *hod.* Hungary.*

was of opinion, that it was much easier to ruin him when he was at the head of an army, than to take him in his flight; and he 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 speedily 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; who obviously 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 receive 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 usual method) they piled a number of pack-saddles one upon another, on which Pompey mounted, and gave them this information: "Mithridates "is dead. He killed himself, upon the revolt of his "son Pharnaces. And Pharnaces has taken posses-"sion of all that belonged to his father, which he "declares he has done jointly for himself and for "the Romans." At this intelligence the army, as might naturally be expected, gave a loose to their joy, which they expressed in sacrifices to the gods and in reciprocal entertainments, as if in Mithridates ten thousand of their enemies had been destroyed.

Pompey, having thus brought the campaign and the whole war to a conclusion so happy, and so far beyond his hopes, immediately quitted Arabia, 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. His face indeed could not easily be

known, because the embalmer had not taken out the brain, and by it's corruption the features were disfigured: yet some, who were curious to examine it, distinguished it by the scars. As for Pompey, he would not see the body, but in order to propitiate the avenging deity [57], sent it to Sinope. He viewed, however, and admired the magnificence of his habit, and the size and beauty of his arms. The scabbard of the sword, which had cost four hundred talents, was stolen by one Publius, who sold it to Ariarathes. And Caius the foster-brother of Mithridates took the diadem, which was of most exquisite workmanship, and gave it privately to Faustus the son of Sylla, who had begged it of him. This escaped Pompey's knowledge, but Pharnaces discovering it afterward punished the persons, who had been guilty of the theft.

Pompey, having thoroughly settled the affairs of Asia, proceeded in his return to Rome with more pomp and solemnity. On arriving at Mitylene, he declared it a free city, for the sake of Theophanes, who was a native of that place. He was present at the anniversary exercises of the poets, whose sole subject that year was, the achievements of Pompey; and he was so much pleased with their theatre, that he took a plan of it, with a design to build one like it, but greater and more noble, at Rome. When he came to Rhodes, he attended the declamations of all the sophists, and presented each of them with a talent. Posidonius committed to writing the discourse, which he made before him against the position of Hermagoras another professor of rhetoric, concerning Invention in general [58]. To the

[57] Nemesis.

[58] Hermagoras, who was of the school of Aristotle and Theophrastus, was for reducing Invention under two general heads, the reason of the process, and the state of the question; which limitation Cicero disapproved, as much as his master Posidonius. (De Inv. Rhet. i. 6.) This Posidonius, who was of Apamea, in Syria, is not to be confounded with Posidonius of Alexandria, the disciple of Zeno.

philosophers at Athens, he behaved with equal munificence, and he gave the people fifty talents for the repair of their city.

He hoped to land in Italy the greatest and the happiest of men, and that his family would meet his affection with equal ardour. But the deity, whose care it is invariably to mix some portion of evil with the highest and most splendid favours of fortune, had long been preparing for him a melancholy welcome on his return. Mucia[59], in his absence, had dishonoured his bed. As long as he was at a distance, he disregarded the report; but upon his approach to Italy, after a more mature examination into the affair, without assigning his motive either then or afterward he sent her a divorce. The true reason is to be found in Cicero's Epistles.

People talked variously at Rome, concerning Pompey's intentions. Many disturbed themselves by thinking that he would immediately march his army thither, and make himself it's sole and absolute master. Crassus took his children and his money, and withdrew; whether it was that he had some real apprehensions, or rather that he chose to countenance the calumny, and add force to the sting of envy: the latter seems the more probable. But Pompey had no sooner disembarked, than he called an assembly of his soldiers, and after a kind and proper address ordered them to disperse to their respective cities, and attend to their own affairs till his triumph, upon which occasion they were again to repair to him.

As soon as it was known, that his troops were disbanded, an astonishing change appeared in the face

[59] Mucia was the sister of Metellus Celer, and Metellus Nepos, and was debauched by Cæsar. Hence when Pompey married Cæsar's daughter, all the world blamed him for turning off a wife, by whom he had had three children, to espouse the daughter of a man whom he had often, with a sigh, called 'his Ægisthus.' Mucia's disloyalty must have been very public, since Cicero in one of his letters to Atticus says, *Divortium Muciæ vehementer probatur.* (I. xii.)

of things. The cities seeing Pompey the Great unarmed and attended by a few friends, as if he were returning merely from a common tour, poured out their inhabitants after him, who conducted him to Rome with the sincerest pleasure, and with a much larger force than that which he had dismissed; so that there would have been no need of the army, if he had formed any designs against the state.

As the law did not permit him to enter the city before his triumph, he desired the senate to defer the election of consuls on his account, that he might by his presence support the interest of Piso: but Cato opposed it, and the motion miscarried. Pompey, admiring the liberty and firmness, with which Cato maintained the rights and customs of his country, at a time when no other man would appear so openly in their behalf, determined to gain him if possible; and, as Cato had two nieces, he offered to marry the one, and proposed his son for the other. Cato however suspected the bait, and looked upon it as intended to corrupt his integrity. He therefore refused it, to the deep regret of his wife and his sister, who could not but be displeased at his rejecting such advances from Pompey the Great. In the mean time Pompey, being desirous to procure the consulship for Afranius, distributed money for that purpose among the tribes, and the voters went to receive it in his own gardens. The transaction was so glaring, that he was much censured for rendering venal an office, which he had himself obtained by his illustrious actions, and opening a way by purchase to the highest honour in the state for those who had not merit to deserve it. Cato then observed to the ladies of his family, that they must all have shared in this disgrace, if they had accepted Pompey's alliance; upon which they acknowledged, that he was a better judge of honour and propriety than themselves.

The triumph was so magnificent, that though it was divided into two days, the time was far from

being sufficient for the display of 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 stated, there had been not fewer than a thousand castles, and near nine hundred cities taken, eight hundred galleys captured from the pirates, and thirty-nine desolate cities repeopled. It farther appeared from the tablets that, whereas the revenues of the Roman empire before these conquests had amounted only to fifty millions of drachmas, by the new acquisitions they were advanced to eighty-five; and that Pompey had brought into the public treasury, in money and in gold and silver vessels, to the value of twenty thousand talents, beside 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 Tigranes king of Armenia 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 either in person or by his lieutenants had gained victories, the number of which was not inconsiderable.

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 united seemed to declare him conqueror of the world.

Those, who desire to make the parallel between him and Alexander perfect, assert that he was at this time not quite thirty-four, whereas in fact he was entering upon his fortieth year[69]. Happy had it been for him, if he had ended his days, while he was blessed with Alexander's good fortune! Throughout the rest of his life, every instance of success brought it's proportion of envy, and every miscarriage was irretrievable. For the authority, which he had gained by his merit, he employed for others in a way not very creditable; and his reputation consequently sinking, as they grew in strength, he was insensibly ruined by the weight of his own power. As, in a siege, every strong work which is taken adds to the besieger's force; so Cæsar, when raised by Pompey's influence, turned that strength, which enabled him to trample upon his country, against Pompey himself. This happened in the following manner: Lucullus, who had been so unworthily treated by Pompey in Asia, upon his return to Rome met with the most honourable reception from the senate; and, after Pompey's arrival, they gave him still higher marks of their esteem, endeavouring to rouse his ambition, and prevail upon him to stand forward in the administration. But his spirit and activity were, by this time, on the decline: and he had abandoned himself to the pleasures of ease, and the enjoyments of affluence. He bore up however against Pompey with some vigour at first, and procured a confirmation of those acts of his own, which had been annulled by his adversary; having a majority in the senate, through the assistance of Cato.

Pompey, thus worsted in the senate, had recourse to the tribunes of the people and to the young

[69] It should be 'forty-sixth year.' Pompey was born in the beginning of the month of August, or (according to Pigh. Ann., Plin. xxxvii. 2.) the last of September, A. U. C. 647, and his triumph was in the same month, A. U. C. 692.

plebeians. Clodius, the most daring and profligate of them all, received him with open arms, but at the same time subjected him to all the humours of the populace. He made him dangle after him in the Forum, in a manner far beneath his dignity; and insisted upon his supporting every bill that he proposed, and every speech that he made, to flatter and ingratiate himself with the people. And, as if the connexion with him had been an honour instead of a disgrace, he demanded still higher wages; viz. that Pompey should give up Cicero, who had ever been his fast friend, and of the utmost use to him in the administration. These wages he obtained. For when Cicero was involved in danger, and requested Pompey's assistance, he refused to see him, and shutting his gates against those who came to intercede for him, went out at a back-door. Cicero therefore, dreading the issue of his trial, privately left Rome.

At this time Cæsar returning from his province[61] undertook an affair, which rendered him extremely popular at present, and in it's consequences gained him power, but proved a great prejudice to Pompey and to the whole commonwealth. He was then soliciting his first consulship, and as Crassus and Pompey were at variance, perceiving that if he should join the one, the other would of course become his enemy, he set himself to reconcile them. An effort, which appeared honourable in itself, and calculated for the public good: but the intention was insidious, though deeply laid and covered with the most refined policy. For while the power of the state was divided, it preserved an equilibrium, as the burthen of a ship properly distributed keeps it from inclining to one side more than another; but when that power was all collected into one part,

[61] 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 A. U. C. 693, and Cicero quitted Rome A. U. C. 695.

having nothing for a counterbalance, it overset and destroyed the commonwealth. Hence, when some were remarking that the constitution was ruined by the difference which afterward took place between Cæsar and Pompey, Cato said, "You are under an "egregious mistake: It was not their late disagree-"ment, but their former union and connexion, "which gave the constitution it's first and deadliest "blow."

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 collegue Bibulus opposed him, and Cato was preparing to support Bibulus in the most strenuous manner; when Cæsar placed Pompey by his side upon the tribunal, and asked him before the whole assembly, "Whether he ap-"proved his laws?" and upon his answering in the affirmative, demanded farther, "If any one then "shall with violence oppose them, will you come to "the assistance of the people!" Pompey replied, "Most certainly; 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 allege, by way of apology, that it was an expression which had escaped him; but from subsequent events it appeared, that he was then entirely at Cæsar's devotion. For within a few days, to the surprise of all Rome, he married Julia, the daughter of that general, who had been promised to Cæpio, and was upon the point of being given to him. To appease Cæpio's resentment, he bestowed upon him his own daughter, who had been previously 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 by open force. Upon Bibulus the consul's making his appearance in the Forum in company with Lucullus and Cato, the soldiers suddenly fell upon him, and broke his fasces. Nay, one of them had the impudence to empty a basket of dung upon Bibulus' head; and two tribunes of the people, who attended him, were wounded. The Forum thus cleared of all opposition, the law passed for the division of lands. The people, caught by this bait, became perfectly tractable; and, without questioning the expediency of any of their measures, silently gave their suffrages to whatever was proposed. The acts of Pompey, which Lucullus had contested, were confirmed; and the two Gauls on this and the other side of the Alps, and Illyria, were allotted to Cæsar with four complete legions for five years. At the same time Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, and Gabinius one of the most abandoned flatterers of Pompey, were selected as consuls for the ensuing year.

Bibulus, finding matters thus carried, shut himself up in his house, and for the eight following months remained wholly inattentive to the functions of his office[62]; contenting himself with publishing manifestos, full of bitter invectives against Pompey and Cæsar. Cato upon this occasion, as if inspired with a spirit of prophecy, announced in full senate the calamities, which would befal the commonwealth and Pompey himself. Lucullus, for his part, renounced all thoughts of state-affairs, and betook himself to repose, as if age had disqualified him for the concerns of government. Upon which Pompey observed, "That it was more unseasonable for an old "man to abandon himself to luxury, than to bear a "public employment." Yet notwithstanding this

[62] Hence the wits of Rome, instead of saying, 'Such a thing happened in the consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus,' said, 'It happened in the consulship of Julius and Cæsar.' (Sueton. Jul. 20.)

observation, he quickly suffered himself to be enfeebled by the love of a young woman: he gave up his whole time to her, and spent with her entire days in his villas and gardens, to the complete neglect of public affairs; insomuch that even Clodius the tribune began to hold him in contempt, and to engage in the boldest designs against him. For after he had banished Cicero, and sent Cato to Cyprus, under pretence of giving him the command in that island; when Cæsar was set off upon his expedition into Gaul, and the tribune found the people entirely devoted to him, because he flattered their inclinations in all his measures, he attempted to annul some of Pompey's ordinances: he took his prisoner Tigranes from him, kept him in his own custody, and impeached some of his friends, in order to try in them the strength of Pompey's interest. At last, when Pompey appeared against one of these prosecutions, Clodius, with a crew of profligate and insolent wretches about him, ascended an eminence, and put the following questions: "Who is the licen-"tious lord of Rome? Who is the man, that seeks "for a man[63]? Who scratches his head with one "finger[64]?" And his creatures like a chorus instructed in their part, upon his shaking his gown, answered aloud to every question, "Pompey[65]."

These proceedings occasioned Pompey great uneasiness, because it was a new thing to him to be reviled, and he was entirely unexperienced in that species of warfare. What afflicted him most, how-

[63] Τις ανηρ ζητει ανδρα; this was a proverbial expression, brought from Athens to Rome, and originally taken from Æsop's seeking an honest man with a lanthorn at noon-day; from which it gradually came to signify that loss of the manly character, which Pompey was allowed to have sustained in the embraces of Julia.

[64] *Uno scalpere digito* was likewise a proverbial expression for a Roman *petit-maitre*.

[65] Plutarch does not here keep exactly to the order of time. This happened in A. U. C. 697, as appears from Dio (xxxix.), that is, two years after what he is going to mention concerning that tribune's slave being taken with a sword.

ever, was his perceiving that the senate were pleased to see him the object of reproach, and punished for his desertion of Cicero. But when parties ran so high that they came to blows in the Forum, and several were wounded on both sides, and one of Clodius' servants was observed creeping in among the crowd toward Pompey with a drawn sword in his hand, he was furnished with an excuse for not attending the public assemblies. Besides, he was really afraid to encounter the impudence of Clodius, and all the torrent of abuse which might be expected from him; and he therefore made his appearance no more during his tribuneship, but consulted in private with his friends, how he might best disarm the anger of the senate and the valuable part of the citizens. Culleo advised him to divorce Julia, and to exchange Cæsar's friendship for that of the senate, but he would not listen to the proposal. Others proposed he should recall Cicero, who was not only an avowed enemy to Clodius, but the senate's favourite; and to that overture [66] he agreed. Accordingly, with a strong body of his retainers he conducted into the Forum Cicero's brother, who was to apply to the people in his behalf; and after a scuffle, in which several were wounded and some slain, he overpowered Clodius, and obtained a decree for the restoration of Cicero. Immediately upon his return the orator reconciled the senate to Pompey, and by effectually recommending the law, which was to entrust him with the care of supplying Rome with corn [67], rendered Pompey once more master of the Roman empire both by sea and land. For by this law the ports, the markets, the disposal of provisions, in a word, the

[66] See Dio, ib. 6.*

[67] This law likewise gave Pompey proconsular authority for five years, both in and out of Italy. (Id. ib. 9.) (L.) See also Cic. Ep. ad. Att. iv. i. He had, before, procured for him this absolute power by the Manilian law.*

whole business of the merchant and the husbandman were brought under his jurisdiction.

Clodius, on the other hand, alleged, "That the "law was not enacted on account of the real scar- "city of provisions; but that an artificial scarcity "had been caused for the sake of procuring the "law, and that Pompey by a new commission might "bring his power, from it's present state of deli- "quium, to fresh life and vigour." Others say, it was the contrivance of the consul Spinther, in order to procure Pompey a superior employment, that he might himself be sent to re-establish Ptolemy in his kingdom[68].

The tribune Canidius however brought in a bill, proposing that Pompey should be sent without an army, and with only two lictors, to reconcile the Alexandrians to their king. Pompey himself did not appear displeased at the bill; but the senate threw it out, under the honourable pretence of not hazarding his person. Nevertheless, papers were found scattered in the Forum and before the senate-house, representing it as Ptolemy's earnest wish, that Pompey might be employed to act for him instead of Spinther. If we may believe Timagenes, that prince had quitted Egypt without any necessity at the persuasion of Theophanes, who was desirous to give Pompey new occasions of enriching himself, and the honour of new commands. But the baseness of Theophanes does not so much support this story, as the disposition of Pompey discredits it; for his ambition had in it nothing of such a mean and illiberal description.

The whole care of providing and importing corn being committed to Pompey, he despatched his deputies and agents into various parts, and went in

[68] Ptolemy Auletes the son of Ptolemy Lathyrus, hated by his subjects and forced to fly, applied to the consul Spinther, who was to have the province of Cilicia, to re-establish him in his kingdom. (Id. ib. 12., &c.)

person into Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa, where he collected immense 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 he ordered them to weigh anchor with these decisive words, "It is "necessary to go; it is 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 had lifted Cæsar to the highest sphere of greatness. The scene of action was at a considerable distance from Rome, and he seemed to be wholly engaged with the Belgæ [69], the Suevi, and the Britons; but his genius was all the while privately at work among the Romans, and he was undermining Pompey in his most essential interests. His war with the barbarians was not his principal object. He exercised his army indeed in those expeditions, as he would have done his own body in hunting and other diversions of the field: by which he prepared them for more important conflicts, and rendered them not only formidable, but invincible.

The gold and silver, and other rich spoils, which he took from the enemy in great abundance, he sent to Rome; and by distributing them freely among the ædiles, prætors, consuls, and their wives, he gained a strong party. When therefore he passed the Alps and wintered at Lucca, among the crowd of men and women, who hastened to pay him their respects, there appeared two hundred senators, including Pompey and Crassus in the number; and the fasces of not fewer than a hundred and twenty proconsuls and prætors were to be seen at his gates.

[69] The Belgæ inhabited the Low Countries, and the Suevi, the tracts beyond the Elbe.*

He made it his business in general to give them hopes of high things, and his money was at their devotion; but he entered into a special 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 large 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 then had for five additional years.

When this treaty became public, it gave deep offence to the principal persons in Rome. Marcellinus, at that time consul, placed himself amidst the people, and asked Pompey and Crassus, "Whether "or not they intended to stand for the consulship?" Pompey spoke first, and said [70], "Perhaps he might, "perhaps he might not." Crassus, with more moderation, replied; "He should do, what appeared "most expedient for the commonwealth." As Marcellinus continued the discourse against Pompey, and seemed to bear hard upon him, Pompey said; "Where is the honour of that man, who has "neither gratitude nor respect for him that made "him an orator, that rescued him from want and "raised him to affluence?"

Others declined soliciting the consulship, but Lucius Domitius was persuaded and encouraged by Cato not to give it up: "For the dispute," he told him, "was not for the consulship, but in defence of "liberty against tyrants." Pompey and his adherents saw the vigour, with which Cato acted, and that all the senate was on his side. They were therefore afraid that, so supported, he might bring over the uncorrupted part of the people. Hence they resolved not to suffer Domitius to enter the

[70] Dio makes him return an answer more suitable to his character; 'It is not on account of the virtuous and the good, that I desire any share in the magistracy, but that I may be able to restrain the ill-disposed and the seditious.'

Forum, and despatched a party of men well-armed, who killed Melitus his torch-bearer, and put the rest to flight. Cato retired the last, and not till after he had received a wound in his right elbow in defending Domitius.

Thus they obtained the consulship by violence, and the rest of their measures were conducted with equal irregularity. For in the first place, when the people were about to choose Cato prætor, at the very moment of taking their suffrages, Pompey, under the pretext that he had seen an inauspicious flight of birds[71], dismissed the assembly. Afterward the tribes, corrupted with money, declared Antias and Vatinius prætors. They then, in pursuance of their agreement with Cæsar, induced Trebonius one of the tribunes to propose a decree, by which the government of the Gauls was prolonged to Cæsar for five additional years; Syria, and the command against the Parthians, were given to Crassus; and Pompey was to have all Africa and both the Spains[72], with four legions, two of which on Cæsar's request he lent him for the war in Gaul.

Crassus, upon the expiration of his consulship, repaired to his province. Pompey, remaining at Rome, opened his theatre; and, in order to render the dedication more magnificent, exhibited a variety of gymnastic games, entertainments of music, and battles with wild beasts, in which five hundred lions were killed; but the battle of elephants afforded the

[71] 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, very properly attempted to put a stop to this mode of dismissing an assembly. He preferred a bill, that no magistrate should make any observations in the heavens, while the people were actually assembled.

[72] The Hither and the Farther, separated by the Ebro. It was subsequently divided by Augustus into three parts, Tarraconensis, Bœtica, and Lusitania, of which the latter now forms the kingdom of Portugal.*

most astonishing spectacle[73]. These things gained him the love and admiration of the public: but he again incurred their displeasure, by leaving his provinces and armies entirely to his friends and lieutenants, and roving about Italy with his wife from one villa to another. Whether it was his passion for her or hers for him, that kept him so much with her, is uncertain. For the latter has been supposed to be the case, and nothing was more talked of, than the fondness of such a young woman for her husband, at an age when his person could hardly be any great object of desire. But the charm of his fidelity was the cause, together with his conversation, which notwithstanding his natural gravity, if we may allow the courtesan Flora to be a sufficient evidence, was particularly agreeable to the women. This strong attachment of Julia appeared upon occasion of an election of ædiles. The people came to blows, and some were killed so near Pompey, that he was covered with blood, and obliged to change his clothes. There was an immense crowd and tumult about his door, when his servants went home with the bloody robe; and Julia who was with child, happening to see it, fainted away, and was with difficulty recovered. Such however 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 subsequently pregnant, and brought him a daughter, but she unfortunately died in child-bed; neither did the child long survive her. Pompey was preparing to bury her near a seat of his at Alba, but the people seized the corpse, and interred it in the Campus Martius. This they did, out of regard ra-

[73] Dio (xxix. 38.) says, the elephants fought with armed men. There were no fewer than eighteen of them; and some of them, he adds, seemed to appeal with piteous cries to the people, who compassionately saved their lives. If we may believe him, an oath had been taken before they left Africa, that no injury should be done to them. (Plin. H. N. viii. 1.)

ther to the young woman, than to either Pompey or Cæsar; yet in the honours which they paid her remains, their attachment to Cæsar, though at a distance, had a more considerable share, than any respect for Pompey who was upon the spot.

Immediately after Julia's death, the people of Rome were in extreme agitation, and there was nothing in their speeches and actions which did not tend to a rupture. The alliance, which had rather covered, than restrained the ambition of the two noble competitors for power, was now no more[74]. To add to the misfortune, intelligence was soon afterward brought, that Crassus had been slain[75] by the Parthians; and, in him, another great obstacle to a civil war was removed. Out of fear of him, they had hitherto 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 capacity of the human mind, when such a weight[76] of power and extent of command could not satisfy the ambition of two men! They had heard and read, that the gods

> The world by lot in triple sway controll'd,
> Each happy in the realm 'twas his to hold[77]:

[74] *Morte tuâ discussa fides, bellumque movere*
Permissum est ducibus: stimulos dedit æmula virtus.
(Luc. 1.)*

[75] *Crassus erat belli medius mora.* (Id. ib.)*

[76] 'Weight' is not the literal signification of βαθος, but approaches as nearly as we could make it; for 'depth' of power would not read so well. Τοσουτον βαθος ηγεμονιας is an expression similar to that of St. Paul (Rom. xi. 33.) Ω ΒΑΘΟΣ πλουτου και σοφιας και γνωσεως Θεου.

[77] Plutarch alludes here to Hom. (Il. xv. 189.), where Neptune gives Iris an account of the partition-treaty between himself and his imperial brothers, Jupiter and Pluto.*

and still these men could not think the Roman empire sufficient for their two selves.

Yet Pompey, in an address to the people at that time, assured them; "He had received every commission, with which they had honoured him, sooner than he had himself expected; and laid it down sooner, than had been expected by the world." And, indeed, the dismission 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 high employments at home; and this, without attempting any other innovation. For he would not appear to distrust, on the contrary, he rather affected to despise him. When he saw the great offices of state however not disposed of agreeably to his desire, but that the people were influenced and his adversaries preferred by 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. Lucilius, one of the tribunes, was the first who ventured to propose it in form to the people, and he exhorted them to elect Pompey to this office. Cato however 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, that he neither solicited nor desired the dictatorship. Cato, upon this, paid the highest compliments to Pompey, and entreated him to assist in the support of order and the constitution. Pompey could not but accede to such a proposal, and Domitius and Messala were chosen consuls [78].

[78] A. U. C. 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 unblushingly distributed it among the heads of factions, and those who received it employed force and violence in their favour; so that scarcely any office was bestowed, which had not been previously disputed with the sword, and cost the lives of many citizens.

The same anarchy and confusion at a subsequent period again took place, and numbers began more boldly to suggest the creation of a dictator. Cato, now fearing that he should be overborne, thought it better to give Pompey some office whose authority was limited by law, than to entrust him with absolute power. Bibulus, although he was Pompey's declared enemy, moved in full senate that he should be appointed sole consul: "For thus," said he, "the commonwealth will either recover from her "disorder, or if she must serve, she will serve a "man of the highest merit." The whole house was surprised at the motion; and, when Cato rose up, it was expected that he was about to oppose it. A profound silence ensued, when he observed, "He "should never have been the first to propose such "an expedient, but as it had been proposed by "another, he thought it adviseable to embrace it; "for he preferred any kind of government to "anarchy, and he knew no man fitter than Pompey "to rule in a time of so much trouble." The senate adopted his opinion, and a decree was issued, that Pompey should be appointed sole consul; and that if he should have need of a collegue, he might choose one himself, provided it were not before the expiration of two months.

Pompey, being declared sole consul by the Interex Sulpitius, made his compliments to Cato, acknowledged himself much indebted to him for his support, and desired his private advice as to the measures to be pursued in his administration. Cato replied, "That Pompey was not under the least "obligation to him; for what he had said, was not "out of regard to him, but to his country. If you "apply to me," continued he, "I shall give you my "advice in private; if not, I shall take care to in-"form you of my sentiments in public." Such was Cato upon all occasions.

Pompey then went into the city, and married Cor-

nelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio [79]. She was not a virgin, but a widow, having been married when very young to Publius the son of Crassus, who had lately fallen 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 considerably improved herself by the precepts of philosophy. What is more, she had nothing of that petulance and affectation, which such studies are apt to generate in women of her age: and her father's family and reputation were unexceptionable.

Many however were displeased at this match, on account of the disproportion of years; thinking Cornelia would have been more suitable to his son, than to himself. Such as were capable of deeper reflection, thought he neglected the concerns of the commonwealth, which had chosen him for her sole physician and director in her distresses. It grieved them to see him crowned with garlands, and offering sacrifice amidst the festivities of marriage, when he ought to have considered his consulship as a public calamity; since it would never have been conferred upon him in a manner so contrary to the laws, had his country been in a state of prosperity.

His first step was to bring to account those, who had gained employments by bribery and corruption; and he made laws, by which the proceedings in their trials were to be regulated. In other respects, he behaved with the utmost dignity and honour; and restored security, order, and tranquillity to the courts of judicature, by presiding there in person with a band of soldiers. But when Scipio his father-in-law was impeached, he sent for the three hundred and sixty judges to his house, and desired their assistance. The accuser, seeing Scipio conducted out

79 The son of Scipio Nasica, but adopted into the family of the Metelli. (Suppl. Liv. cvii. 46.)

of the Forum to his house by the judges themselves, dropped the prosecution. This again exposed Pompey to censure; but he was censured still more, when after having made a law against encomiums on persons accused, he broke it himself by appearing in behalf of Plancus, and pronouncing an eulogium upon his character. Cato, who happened to be one of the judges, stopped his ears; declaring, "It "was not right for him to hear such illegal panegy-"rics." For this he was challenged and set aside, before sentence was passed. To the great confusion of Pompey, however, Plancus was condemned by the other judges[80].

A few days afterward, Hypsæus a man of consular dignity, being under a criminal prosecution, watched Pompey's going from the bath to supper, and embraced his knees in the most suppliant manner. But Pompey passed on with disdain, and simply answered, "That his importunities served only "to spoil his supper." This partial and unequal behaviour was, justly, the object of reproach: but all the rest of his conduct merited praise, and he had the happiness to re-establish good order in the commonwealth. For the remaining five months, he took his father-in-law as collegue. His governments were continued to him four years longer, 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 likewise be had of him, and of his many signal and laborious exertions for his country. They said, he certainly deserved either another consulship, or to have the term of his commission prolonged; that he might keep the

[80] Cicero, who managed the impeachment, was much delighted with the success of his eloquence, as appears from his epistle to Marius. (Ep. Fam. vii. 2.) The circumstance of a legislator's breaking a law of his own suggesting is not without it's modern parallel; but the mode above-mentioned, of regulating courts of judicature by a band of soldiers, sounds oddly to an English ear.*

command in the provinces which he had conquered, and enjoy his honour undisturbed, and that no successor might rob him of the glory of his exploits. A dispute arising upon the affair, Pompey, as if inclined to deprecate 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 [81]. Cato opposed this with all his power, 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 contest the point, but easily acquiesced, it was suspected that he had no real friendship for Cæsar. This appeared the more clearly, when he sent for the two legions which he had lent him, under pretence of wanting them for the Parthian war. Cæsar, though he well knew for what purpose they were demanded, sent them home laden with rich presents.

After this, Pompey had a dangerous illness at Naples, from which however he recovered. Praxagoras then 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 single town or village, which did not solemnise the occasion with festivals. No place could furnish room for the crowds, that came in 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

[81] There was a law against any absent person's being admitted a candidate; but Pompey had introduced a clause, which empowered the people to except any man by name from personal attendance.

said to have been one of the principal causes of the civil war. For the joy which he conceived upon this occasion, added to his own high opinion of his achievements, intoxicated him so far, that bidding adieu to the prudence which had hitherto placed his good fortune and his actions upon a sure footing, he indulged the most extravagant presumption and even contempt of Cæsar; insomuch that he declared, "He had no need of arms, or of any extraordinary preparations against him, since he could "pull him down with much more ease than he had "set him up."

Besides, when Appius returned from Gaul with the legions which had been lent to Cæsar, he endeavoured to disparage the actions of that general, and to represent him in a mean light. "Pompey," he said, "did not know his own strength and the "influence of his name, if he sought any other defence against Cæsar, upon whom his own forces "would turn, as soon as they set their eyes on his "adversary; such was their hatred of the one, and "their affection for the other."

With this account Pompey was so much elated, and his confidence made him so extremely negligent, that he laughed at those who seemed to fear the war. And when they said, that if Cæsar should advance in a hostile manner against Rome, they did not see what forces they had to oppose him, with an open and smiling countenance he bade them give themselves no pain; "For if," said he, "I do but stamp "upon the ground in any part of Italy, both infantry and cavalry will instantly spring up."

In the mean time, Cæsar was making the greatest exertions. He was now not far from Italy, and he not only sent his soldiers to vote in the elections, but by private pecuniary applications corrupted many of the magistrates. Paulus the consul was of the number, having received fifteen hundred talents[82] for changing sides. So were likewise Curio

[82] 290,625*l.* sterling. With this money (which proves the im-

one of the tribunes of the people, for whom he paid off an immense debt, and Mark Antony, who out of friendship for that officer had stood engaged with him for the money.

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 continuation of his command, he laid his hand upon his sword, and said; "But this shall "give it."

All the actions and preparations, indeed, 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 retain his. "If they are both reduced to a private "station," said he, "they will agree upon reason-"able terms; or, if each retains his respective "power, they will be satisfied. But he who weakens "the one, without doing the same by the other, "doubles the force which he fears will subvert the "government[83]."

Upon this, 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. Curio however, together with Antony and Piso, prevailed that the sense of the senate should again be taken upon the subject. He first proposed, that such as were of opinion, "That Cæsar "should disband his army and Pompey keep his," should separate to one part of the house; and there appeared a majority on that side of the question. His next proposal was, that the number of those should be taken who thought it right, "That both

mense extent of his exactions in Gaul, abundantly retaliated of late by Gallic exactions in Italy) he built the stately Basilica, which subsequently bore his name.

[83] Cornelius Scipio one of Pompey's friends remonstrated, that in the present case, a very 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.

" should lay down their arms, and neither remain " in command;" when Pompey had only twenty-two, and Curio all the rest[84]. 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[85] rose up and said, " I will no " longer sit to hear the matter canvassed; but, as I " see ten legions have already crossed 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 your present " troops, and levy what new ones you please." Lentulus, one of the consuls elect for the 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 chief part cried out, " A peace! A " peace!" For Antony, notwithstanding the injunctions of the senate to the contrary, had read to the people a letter of Cæsar's, well calculated to draw them over to his side. 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.

Lentulus, who by this time had entered upon his

[84] Dio, on the contrary, affirms that upon this question the senate were almost unanimous for Pompey; only two voting for Cæsar, viz. Marcus Cæcilius, and Curio. (xli. 2.)

[85] This illustrious Roman, who was again consul in the following year (A. U. C. 704.) with Lentulus, was one of Cæsar's most inveterate enemies, and after the battle of Pharsalia retired to Athens. Yet Cæsar pardoned him: upon which, see Cic. pro Marcell.*

office, refused to assemble the senate; for Cicero, who was now returned from his government in Cilicia, was endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation. He proposed, that Cæsar should resign Gaul and disband the greatest part of his army, and keeping only two legions and the province of Illyricum, wait for another consulship. As Pompey received this proposal very ill, Cæsar's friends were persuaded to agree that he should keep only a single legion. But Lentulus was against it, and Cato crying out, "That Pompey was committing a second error, in "suffering himself to be so imposed upon," the negociation was unsuccessful.

At the same time intelligence arrived, that Cæsar had seized Ariminum[86], a considerable city in Italy, and that he was marching directly toward Rome with all his forces. The last circumstance, however, proved false. He had advanced with only three hundred horse, and five thousand foot: the rest of his forces were on the other side of the Alps; and he would not wait for them, choosing rather to throw his adversaries into confusion by a sudden and unexpected attack, than to fight them when better prepared. On coming to the river Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province, he stood silent a long time, weighing within himself the magnitude of his enterprise. At last, like one who plunges down from the top of a precipice into a gulf of immense depth, he silenced his reason, and shut his eyes upon the danger; and crying out in the Greek language, "Let the die be cast[87]," marched over with his army.

Upon the first report of this at Rome, the city was in greater disorder and astonishment, than had ever been known. The senate and the magistrates ran immediately to Pompey. Tullus[88] asked him, what forces he had ready for the war; and as he hesi-

[86] *Hod.* Rimini, on the coast of the Adriatic.
[87] Or, as we should vulgarly say, 'Here goes!'*
[88] Lucius Volcatius Tullus, a man of consular dignity.

tated in his answer, and only said at last, in a tone of no high assurance, "That he had the two le-"gions lately returned to him by Cæsar, and that "out of the new levies he believed he should shortly "be able to complete a body of thirty thousand "men;" Tullus exclaimed, "O Pompey, you have "deceived us!" and gave his opinion, that embassadors should immediately be despatched to Cæsar. Upon this one Favonius, a man otherwise of no bad character, but who by an insolent brutality affected to imitate the noble freedom of Cato, bade Pompey "stamp upon the ground, and call forth the armies "which he had promised."

This ill-timed reproach Pompey bore with the utmost mildness; and, when Cato reminded him of his warnings as to Cæsar from the first, he replied, "Cato indeed had spoken more like a prophet, but "he himself had acted more like a friend." 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 state-officers departed for theirs.

Nearly the whole of Italy was now in motion, and nothing could be more perplexed than the entire face of things. Those who lived out of Rome fled to it from all quarters, and those who lived in it, fled as fast away from it; clearly perceiving, that in such a tempestuous and disorderly state of affairs the well-disposed part of the city wanted strength, while the ill-disposed would be refractory and unmanageable. 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, or sorrow, or doubt, they endeavoured to inspire him with the same; insomuch, that he frequently on the same day adopted a change of measures. Neither could he gain any certain intelligence of the enemy's mo-

tions, because many persons brought him every casual report, and were angry if they did not obtain implicit belief.

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[89]. After which, he signified that he should look upon those who remained in the city as the partisans of Cæsar, and then quitted it in the dusk of the evening. The consuls also fled, without having offered the sacrifices, which their customs required before a war. In this alarming extremity, however, Pompey could not but be considered as happy in the affections of his countrymen. Though many blamed the war, there was not a single individual who hated the general. Nay, the number of those who followed him, out of attachment to his person, was more considerable than that of the adventurers in the cause of liberty.

A few days afterward, Cæsar marched into Rome. When he was in possession of the city, he behaved in general with great moderation and mildness to it's remaining inhabitants. Only when Metellus, one of the tribunes of the people, forbade him to touch the money in the public treasury, he threatened him with death; adding an expression more terrible than the threat itself, "That it was easier for him to do "it, than to say it." Metellus being thus frightened away, Cæsar took what sums he wanted, and then went in pursuit of Pompey: being anxious to drive him out of Italy, before his forces could arrive from Spain.

Pompey, who was master of Brundusium and had a sufficient number of transports, desired the consuls to embark without loss of time, and sent them be-

[89] The Latin word *tumultus*, which Plutarch has rendered ταραχή, is a very incomprehensive one. The Romans did not call the commotions, which happened among or near them before direct hostilities were commenced, by the name of 'war;' they distinguished them by the term, *tumultus*.

fore him with thirty cohorts to Dyrrhachium. At the same time he despatched his father-in-law Scipio and his son Cnæus 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 he then 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.

When Cæsar came and saw the walls left destitute of defence [90], he concluded that Pompey had taken to flight; and, in his eagerness to pursue him, would certainly have fallen upon the sharp stakes in the trenches, had not the Brundusians informed him of them. He then avoided the streets [91], and took a circuit round the town, by which he discovered that all the vessels were set out, except two that had not many soldiers aboard.

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 thus have resigned and deserted Italy. Cicero [92] likewise blamed

[90] Cæsar besieged the place nine days, during which he not only invested it on the land-side, but undertook to shut up the port by a staccado of his own invention. Before the work however could be completed, Pompey made his escape. See the details in Cæs. B. C. i.

[91] This passage may perhaps mean, 'That he avoided the principal streets, and came by many windings and turnings to the haven.'

[92] Ep. ad Att. vii. 11.

him for having imitated the conduct of Themistocles, rather than that of Pericles, when the posture of his affairs more resembled the circumstances of the latter. On the other hand, the measures which Cæsar adopted showed, that he was afraid of a protraction of the war: For having taken Numerius[93], one of Pompey's friends, he had sent him to Brundusium, with offers of coming to an accommodation upon reasonable terms. But Numerius, instead of bringing back an answer, sailed away with Pompey.

Cæsar thus made himself master of all Italy in sixty days, without the least bloodshed; and he would have been glad to have proceeded immediately in pursuit of his adversary. But as he was in want of shipping, he gave up that design for the present, and marched to Spain with an intent to gain the forces there.

In the mean time, Pompey assembled a large army, and at sea he was altogether invincible: for he had five hundred ships of war, and the number of his shallops and pinnaces was still more considerable. With regard to his land-forces, he had seven thousand horse, the flower of Rome and Italy[94], all men of family, fortune, and courage. His infantry, though numerous, were a mixture of raw undisciplined soldiers: He therefore exercised them during his stay at Berœa, where he was by no means idle, but performed all the exercises of a soldier, as if he had been in the vigour 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 and on

[93] Cæsar calls him 'Cn. Magius.' He was master of Pompey's Board of Works.

[94] 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 assigns to their respective countries. (B. C. iii. 4.)

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 exactness, but with such force, that few of the young men could dart it to a farther distance.

Many kings and princes repaired to his camp, and the number of Roman officers who had commanded armies was sufficient to compose a complete senate. Labienus[95], who had been honoured with Cæsar's friendship, and served under him in Gaul, now joined Pompey. Even Brutus, the son of that Brutus, who had been killed by him (not in the most honourable manner) in the Cisalpine Gaul[96], a man of spirit that had never spoken to Pompey before, because he considered him as his father's murtherer, now ranged himself under his banners as the defender of the liberties of his country. Cicero likewise, though he had written and advised otherwise, was ashamed not to appear in the number of those, who hazarded their lives for Rome. Tidius Sextius too, though extremely old and maimed of one leg, repaired among the rest to his standard in Macedon; and though others only laughed and scoffed at his decrepid appearance, Pompey no sooner cast his eyes upon him, than he rose up and ran to meet him; considering it as an illustrious proof of the justice of

[95] 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 assigns this reason for it: 'Labienus, elated with his immense wealth and proud of his preferments, forgot himself to such 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 toward him, and treated him with some reserve: this Labienus resented, and went over to Pompey.' (xli. 4.)

[96] The former English translator renders this 'Galatia.' He ought to have remembered, that the Brutus in question was killed by Geminius in a village near the Po by Pompey's order, (See p. 143.) after he had accepted his submission, if not promised him his life. The authors of the Universal History have copied the error.

his cause, that in spite of age and weakness persons should come and seek danger with him, rather than stay at home in safety.

But after Pompey had assembled his senate, and on Cato's motion passed a decree, "that no Roman should be killed except in battle, nor any city which was subject to the Romans plundered," his party daily gained ground. Those, who lived at too great a distance or were too feeble 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 to men, who did not wish that Pompey might conquer.

Cæsar, indeed, made a merciful use of his victories. He had lattely taken possession 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 repassed the Alps and marched through Italy to Brundusium, where he arrived at the time of the winter-solstice. There he crossed the sea, and landed at Oricum; whence he despatched Vibullius[97] one of Pompey's friends, whom he had brought prisoner thither, with proposals of a conference between himself 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 hastily marched down to the sea, and secured all the forts and places of strength for land-forces, as well as all the ports and other commo-

97 In the printed text it is 'Jubius;' but one of the MSS. gives us 'Vibullius,' which is the name he has in Cæsar (B. C. iii. 10.) Vibullius Rufus travelled night and day, without allowing himself any rest, till he reached Pompey's camp. That general had not yet received advice of Cæsar's arrival; but he was no sooner informed of the taking of Oricum and Apollonia, than he immediately decamped, and by long marches reached Oricum before Cæsar.

dious stations for shipping; so that not a single wind blew, which did not bring him either provisions, or troops, or money. 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 daily attacked Pompey's entrenchments, and bade him defiance. In most of these attacks and skirmishes, he had the advantage; but one day he was in danger of losing his entire 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 he was either unable or afraid to pursue his blow, and enter their camp along with them. Cæsar said to his friends upon the occasion, "This day the victory would "have been the enemy's, had their general known "how to conquer[98]."

Pompey's troops, elated with this success, were in great haste to come to a decisive battle. Nay, Pompey himself wrote to the kings, generals, and cities in his interest, in the stile of a conqueror. Yet all this while, he dreaded the issue of a general action; believing it much better by length of time, by famine, and by fatigue, to tire out men who had ever been invincible in arms, and long accustomed to conquer when they fought together. Besides, he knew the infirmities of age had rendered them unfit for the other operations of war, for long marches and countermarches, for digging trenches and building forts, and that therefore they wished for nothing so

[98] Yet it may be observed, in defence of Pompey, that as his troops were raw and unexperienced, it was not amiss to try them in many skirmishes and light attacks, before he hazarded a general engagement with an army of veterans. Many instances of that kind might be produced from the conduct of the ablest generals: and we are persuaded, that if Pompey had attempted to force Cæsar's camp, he would have been repulsed with loss and disgrace. Pompey's most fatal error seems to have been, his suffering himself by the importunity of his officers and soldiers, against his own better judgement, to be brought to an action at last.

much as a battle. Pompey, with all these arguments, found it no easy matter to keep his army quiet.

After this last engagement, Cæsar was in such want of provisions that he was obliged to decamp, and he took his way through Athamania[99] to Thessaly. This added so much to the high opinion, which Pompey's soldiers already entertained of themselves, that it was impossible to keep it within bounds. They cried out with one voice, "Cæsar is fled." Some called upon the general to pursue him; and others, to pass over to Italy: Others despatched their friends and servants to Rome, to engage houses near the Forum, for the convenience of soliciting the high offices of state. And not a few went of their own accord to Cornelia, who had been privately lodged in Lesbos, to congratulate her on the conclusion of the war.

Upon this 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 grand object of the war. Sicily, Sardinia, "Corsica, Spain, and both the Gauls would quickly "submit to those, who were masters there. What "should affect Pompey still more was, that his native "country just by was stretching out her hands to "him as a suppliant; and it was incompatible with "his honour to let her remain under such indigni-"ties, and in so disgraceful a vassalage to the slaves "and flatterers of tyrants." But Pompey thought it would neither be creditable to fly a second time from Cæsar, and again to be pursued, when Fortune had 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 best consult her interests, by fixing the scene of war at

[99] A district of Epirus.*

the greatest distance from her; that without feeling it's 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 by famine. This he thought his best plan; and a report was moreover brought him, of it's 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." This, as some assert, 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 should speedily oblige him to lay down his own 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 retain the command, and have those for his servants and guards, who had a right to govern the world. Domitius Ænobarbus, to increase the odium, always called him 'Agamemnon,' and 'King of kings.' Favonius stung him no less with a jest, than others by their unseasonable severity; he went about crying, "My friends, we shall eat no figs in "Tusculum this year." And Lucius Afranius, who had lost the forces in Spain, and was accused of having betrayed them into the enemy's hand, now when he saw Pompey avoiding a battle, exclaimed; "He was surprised, that his accusers should make "any difficulty of fighting that merchant (as they "called Cæsar) who trafficked for provinces."

These and many similar 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 judgement, to follow them in the career of their false hopes and prospects: a thing, which 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 allows 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 it was necessary for the preservation of their life and being. For who can pronounce that army to have been 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 [100]: as if their adversary had been only a Tigranes 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 victories over 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 demand of a battle, and when they came to the plains of Pharsalia, compelled 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.

On the next night, Pompey had the following dream [101]: He thought, that 'he entered his own

[100] See this folly of Pompey's officers strongly represented by Cæsar, (B. C. iii. 82.) 'The bear' was not doomed to fall by these hunters! The Nabathæans, mentioned below, were an Arabian nation.*

[101] *At nox felicis Magno pars ultima vitæ*
Sollicitos vanâ decepit imagine somnos.
Nam Pompeiani visus sibi sede theatri

theatre, and was received with loud plaudits; after which he adorned the temple of Venus the Victorious with many spoils.' This vision on one side encouraged, and on another alarmed him. He was afraid that Cæsar, who was a descendent of Venus, would be aggrandised at his expense. Besides, a panic fear ran through the camp, the noise of which awaked him. And about the morning-watch there suddenly appeared over Cæsar's camp, where every thing was perfectly quiet, a great light, from which a stream of fire issued in the form of a torch, and fell upon that of Pompey. Cæsar himself says, he saw it as he was going his rounds [103].

Cæsar was preparing, at break of day, to march to Scotusa [104]: his soldiers were striking their tents, and the servants and beasts of burthen 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-wished day is "come, on which we shall fight with men, and not "with want and famine." He then immediately ordered the red mantle to be displayed before his pavilion, which among the Romans is the signal of

Innumeram effigiem Romanæ cernere plebis,
Attollique suum lætis ad sidera nomen
Vocibus, et plausu cuneos certare sonantes. (Luc. vii.)

[103] This passage, however, is not now to be found in his remaining works.*

[104] Προ σκοτες, in the printed text, is evidently a corruption: An anonymous MS. reads προς Σκοτεσσαν, and is confirmed by Suppl. Liv. cxii. 62. Scotusa was a city of Thessaly, a little to the N. of Pharsalia. There was another likewise of the same name, situated upon the river Strymon in Thrace. 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.

battle. The soldiers no sooner beheld it, than they left their tents as they were, and ran to arms with loud shouts and every expression of joy. And when the officers began to arrange them in order of battle, each man fell into his proper rank as quietly, and with as much skill and ease, as a chorus in a tragedy.

Pompey [105] placed himself in his right wing over-against Antony, and his father-in-law Scipio in the centre, opposite to 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. Cæsar seeing the enemy's left wing so well guarded with horse, and fearing the excellence of their armour, sent for a detachment of six cohorts from the body of reserve, and placed them behind the tenth legion with orders not to stir be-

[105] It is somewhat surprising that the account, which Cæsar himself has left us of this memorable battle, should meet with contradiction. Yet so it is; Plutarch differs widely from him, and Appian from both. According to Cæsar (B. C. iii. 88.) Pompey was on the left with the two legions, which Cæsar had returned to him at the beginning of the war. Scipio, with the legions which he had brought from Syria, and the reinforcements sent by several kings and states of Asia, was in the centre. The Cilician legion, and some cohorts which had served in Spain under the command of Afranius, were in the right. As Pompey's right wing was covered by the Enipeus, he strengthened the left with the seven thousand horse, as well as with the slingers and archers. The whole army, consisting of forty-five thousand men, was drawn up in three lines, with very little spaces between them. In conformity to this disposition, Cæsar's army was drawn up in the following order; the tenth legion, which had on all occasions signalised itself above the rest, was placed in the right wing, and the ninth in the left; but as the latter had been considerably weakened in the action at Dyrrhachium, the eighth legion was posted so near to it, as to be able (if necessary) to support it. The rest of Cæsar's forces filled up the spaces between the two wings. Mark Antony commanded the left wing, Sylla the right, and Cneius Domitius Calvinus the main body. As for Cæsar, he posted himself on the right over-against Pompey, that he might have him always in sight.

fore the attack, lest they should be discovered by the enemy: but when the enemy's cavalry had charged, to make up through the foremost ranks, and then not to discharge their javelins at a distance, as brave men generally do in their eagerness to come to sword in hand; but to reserve them till they came to close fighting, and then push them upward into the eyes and faces of the enemy. "For those fair "blooming dancers," said he, "will never stand "against steel aimed at their eyes, but will fly to "save their handsome faces."

While Cæsar was thus employed, Pompey took a view on horseback 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 upon the first onset. He therefore commanded the vanguard to stand firm in their ranks, and in close order, to receive the enemy's charge. Cæsar condemned this measure [196], 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 encourage each other with shouts, are filled with an enthusiastic animation and valour.

Cæsar's army consisted of twenty-two thousand men, and Pompey's was rather more than twice that number. When the signal was given on both sides, and the trumpets sounded a charge, each common man attended simply 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 a state the avarice and ambition of two men had brought the Roman empire. On both sides similar arms, fra-

[196] B. C. iii. 92.*

ternal files, common standards[107]! 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 phrensy of human nature, when carried away by it's passions? Had they been willing to wield a joint sceptre, and enjoy the fruits of their labours in tranquillity, the largest and best part of the world was their own. Or, if they must have indulged their thirst of victories and triumphs, the Parthians and Germans were still to be subdued; Scythia and India yet remained; together with a very plausible colour for their lust of new acquisitions, the pretext of civilising barbarians. And what Scythian horse, what Parthian arrows, what Indian treasures, could have resisted seventy thousand Romans led on by Pompey and Cæsar, with whose names those nations had long been acquainted: into such a variety of wild and savage countries had these two generals carried their victorious arms! Whereas now they stood threatening each other with destruction; not sparing even their own glory, though to it they sacrificed their country, but prepared (one of them at least) to lose the reputation of being invincible, which hitherto they had both maintained. So that the alliance, which they had contracted by Pompey's marriage to Julia, was from the first only an artful expedient; and her charms, instead of being the pledge of a sincere friendship, were to form a mere compact of interest and expediency.

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 Cæsarian who advanced to the charge was Caius Crastinus[108], who

[107] —*Pares aquilas, et pila minantia pilis.* (Luc. 1. 7.) The philosophical poet proceeds to remark, how much of foreign conquest might have been accomplished by this expenditure of Roman blood, in nearly the same manner with Plutarch.*

[108] So Cæsar, ib. 91. calls him. His name in Plutarch is 'Crassianus,' in Appian 'Crassinus.'

commanded a corps of a hundred and twenty men, and was determined to verify his promise to his general. He was the first man it seems whom Cæsar had seen, when he went out of the trenches in the morning: and upon that general's asking him what he thought of the battle, he stretched out his hand, and answered in a cheerful tone, "You will gain a "glorious victory, and I shall have your praise this "day, alive or dead." In pursuance of his engagement, he advanced the foremost, and with many following to support him, charged into the midst of the enemy. 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 the nape of his neck. Crastinus thus killed, the fight was maintained on both sides with equal advantage.

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 in that quarter. Meanwhile they had extended their squadrons to surround Cæsar, and prepared to drive the few horse which 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; and coming close up to them, raised the points of their javelins as they had been taught, and aimed them at the face [108]. Their adversaries, who were not experienced in any kind of fighting, and had not the least previous idea of this, could not parry or endure the blows upon their faces, but turned their backs or covered their eyes with their hands, and soon fled with great dishonour. Cæsar's men took no care to pursue them, but directed their force

[108] *Miles, feri faciem.*

against the enemy's infantry, particularly against that wing which, now stripped of it's horse, lay open on all sides to the attack. 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 instead of that saw themselves surrounded, made but a short resistance, and then precipitately fled.

From the dust that was raised, Pompey conjectured the fate of his cavalry; and it would be difficult to say, what passed at that moment in his mind. 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 toward his camp: a scene, which cannot be better painted than in these verses of Homer [109];

> But partial Jove espousing Hector's part,
> Shot heaven-bred horror through the Grecian's heart;
> Confused, unnerved in Hector's presence grown,
> Amazed he stood, with terrors not his own.
> O'er his broad back his moony shield he threw,
> And glaring round by tardy steps withdrew.

In this condition he entered his tent, where he sat down and uttered not a word; till at last, upon finding that some of the enemy had entered the camp along with the fugitives, he said, "What! my camp "too!" After this short exclamation he rose up, and dressing himself in a manner suitable to his fortune, privately withdrew [110]. All the rest of the legions fled; and an immense slaughter was made,

[109] Il. xi. 543, &c. where he is speaking of the flight of Ajax from Hector. The translation is by Pope.

[110] 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. Before he had finished his lines, however, want of water obliged them to abandon that post, and retire toward 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

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[111].

Upon the taking of the camp, a spectacle appeared, 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, and the tables covered with cups and bowls of wine set out. In short, every thing had the appearance of preparations for men engaged in 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 had they taken the field!

When Pompey had proceeded to a little distance from the camp, he quitted his horse. He had very few people about him; and as he saw that he was not pursued, he went softly onward, absorbed in such reflections as we may suppose in one, who had been used for thirty-four years to conquer and carry all before him, and now in his old age first learned what it was to be defeated and to fly. We may easily conjecture what his thoughts must be, when in one short hour he had lost all the glory and 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 large and powerful fleets, was reduced to so mean and contemptible an equipage, that his enemies then in pursuit of him could not know him again.

Cæsar's men were quite spent, and ready to faint with the excessive heat and fatigue of the whole day, he yet by his obliging manner prevailed upon them to cut off the conveniency of the water from the enemy by a trench. Upon this, 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. (Cæs. B. C. iii. 97.)

[111] Cæsar himself however states, that in all there were fifteen thousand killed, and twenty-four thousand taken prisoners. (Ib. 99.) The festive appearance of Pompey's camp is described, ib. 96.

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 embarked 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 burthen just ready to sail; the master of which was Peticius a Roman citizen, who though not acquainted with Pompey, knew him by sight. It happened, that this man the night before had dreamed he saw Pompey come and talk to him, not in the figure in which 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 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 up to him from the land, and the crew making signs by shaking their garments and stretching out their hands. This induced Peticius to stand up, and he could distinguish Pompey among them, habited as he had seen him in his dream. Upon which striking 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. Without waiting therefore for any farther application, he received him and such of his companions as he thought proper, and then hoisted sail. The persons, whom Pompey carried along with him, were the two Lentuli and Favonius; and soon afterward they saw king Deiotarus beckoning to them with extreme earnestness from the shore, and took him likewise into the vessel. At supper-time, Peticius provided them the best entertainment in his power; 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. During the whole time that he was on board, indeed, he continued to wait upon him in all the offices of a servant, even to the washing of his feet and providing of his supper; insomuch, that any one, who saw the unaffected simplicity and sincere attachment with which he performed these offices, would have exclaimed,

> —— The generous mind adds dignity
> To every act, and nothing misbecomes it.

Pompey in the course of his voyage sailed by Amphipolis, and thence steered for Mitylene, to take up Cornelia and his son. As soon as he reached the island, he sent a messenger to the town, with news far different from what Cornelia was expecting. For from the flattering accounts, which many officious persons had given her, she understood that the dispute had been decided at Dyrrhachium, and that nothing but the pursuit of Cæsar remained to engage her husband's attention. The messenger, finding her engrossed by such hopes, had not power to make the usual salutations; but expressing the magnitude of Pompey's misfortunes by tears rather than by words, he could only tell her, "She must make "haste, if she had a mind to see Pompey with one "ship only, and that not his own."

At this intelligence Cornelia threw herself upon the ground, where she lay a long time insensible and speechless. At last, coming to herself, she perceived there was no time to be lost in tears and lamentations, and therefore hastened through the town to the sea. Pompey ran to meet her, and caught her in his arms as she was on the point of falling. While she hung upon his neck, she thus addressed him; "I perceive, my dear husband, your "present unhappy condition is the effect of my ill

" fortune, and not of yours. Alas! how are you " reduced to one poor vessel, who before your mar- " riage with Cornelia traversed this very sea with " five hundred galleys? Why did you come to see " me, and not rather leave to her evil destiny one, " who has loaded you too with such a weight of " calamities? How happy had it been for me to " have died, before I heard that Publius, my first " husband, was killed by the Parthians? How wisely " had I acted, had I, as I once intended, followed " him to the grave? What have I lived for since, " but to bring misfortunes upon Pompey the " Great [112]?"

Such, we are told, was Cornelia's speech; to which Pompey replied, " Till this moment, Cornelia, you " have experienced nothing but the smiles of for- " tune; and it was she who deceived you, because " she stayed with me longer, than she commonly " does with her favourites. But, fated as we are, " we must bear this reverse, and make another trial " of her. For it is not more improbable, that we " may emerge from this poor condition and again " rise to great things, than it was, that we should " fall from great things into this poor condition."

Cornelia then sent to the city for her most valuable moveables, and her servants. The people of Mitylene came to pay their respects to Pompey, and to invite him to their city. But he refused to go,

[112] Cornelia is represented by Lucan, likewise, as imputing Pompey's misfortunes to his alliance with herself; and it seems, from one part of her speech upon this occasion, that she was to have been given to Cæsar:

O utinam thalamos invisi Cæsaris issem! (viii. 88.)

If there were any thing in this, it might have been a material cause of the quarrel between Cæsar and Pompey, as the latter by means of this alliance must have strengthened himself with the Crassian interest. (L.) The passage however above quoted may farther imply, that she would have gladly submitted even to Cæsar's hated embraces, if by so doing she could have turned upon him the evil destiny, which had overwhelmed her beloved Pompey.*

and bade them surrender themselves to the conqueror without apprehension; "For Cæsar," he told them, "had great clemency." After this he turned to Cratippus the philosopher, who was come from the town to visit him, and began to complain a little against Providence, and to express doubts upon the subject. Cratippus made some concessions, and changing the topic, encouraged him to hope better things, that he might not give him pain by an unseasonable opposition to his arguments; else he might have answered his objections against Providence, by showing that the state was in such disorder, as to have rendered a monarchy absolutely necessary. Or this one question would have silenced him, "How do we know, Pompey, that if you had "conquered, you would have made a better use of "your good fortune than Cæsar?" But we must leave the determinations of heaven to it's own superior wisdom.

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 drawn together after their flight, he lamented to his friends his fatal error in having suffered himself to be forced into an engagement at land, and made no use of those forces in which he had confessedly the advantage; having not even taken care to fight near his fleet, that in the event of his meeting with a check at land, he might have been supplied from sea with another army capable of resisting the enemy. We find no greater mistake indeed in Pompey's whole conduct, nor a more remarkable instance of Cæsar's generalship, than in having

removed the scene of action to such a distance from the naval forces.

As it was necessary however to undertake something with the small means which he had remaining, he sent to some cities, and sailed himself to others, to raise money and procure a supply of men for his ships. But knowing the extraordinary celerity[113] of the enemy's motions, he was afraid he might be before-hand with him, and seize all that he was preparing. He therefore began to project retiring to some asylum, and proposed the matter in council. His friends could not suggest any province in the Roman empire, which would afford a safe retreat; and when they cast their eyes on foreign kingdoms, Pompey mentioned Parthia, as most likely to receive and protect them in their present weak condition, and afterward to send them back with a force sufficient to retrieve their affairs. Others were of opinion, that it was proper to apply to Africa, in particular to Juba: but Theophanes of Lesbos observed, that it would be madness to leave Egypt, which was distant but three days' sail; especially as Ptolemy[114], who was now growing up to manhood, had peculiar obligations to Pompey on his father's account. "Should he go then, and put himself in the hands "of the Parthians, the most perfidious people in the "world?" He represented, "what a wrong mea-"sure it would be, if rather than trust to the cle-"mency of a noble Roman his father-in-law, and "acquiesce in the second place of eminence, he "would venture his person with Arsaces[115], by "whom even Crassus would not suffer himself to be

[113] *Tolle moras semper nocuit differre paratis.**

[114] This was Ptolemy Dionysius the son of Ptolemy Auletes, who died A. U. C. 704, the year before the battle of Pharsalia. He was now in his fourteenth year.

[115] From this passage it appears, that Arsaces was the common name of the kings of Parthia. For it was not the proper name, either of the king then upon the throne, or of him who had been at war with Crassus.

" taken alive." He added that, " it would be ex-
" tremely absurd to carry a young woman of the
" family of Scipio among barbarians, who thought
" power consisted in the display of insolence and
" outrage; and where if she escaped unviolated, it
" would never be believed, after she had been in the
" hands of a people capable of treating her with
" every indignity." This last consideration alone, it is said, prevented him from marching to the Euphrates; but it is a matter of doubt with us, whether it was not rather his fate, than his opinion, which directed his steps another way.

When it was determined that they should seek refuge in Egypt, he set sail from Cyprus with Cornelia, in a Seleucian 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 [116], 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 Achillas an Egyptian? For among the king's chamberlains and tutors, these had the chief influence over him, and were the persons whom he most consulted. Pompey lay at anchor at some distance from the place, awaiting the determination of this respectable board; while he thought it beneath him, to be indebted to Cæsar for his safety! The

[116] The celebrated Cleopatra. Pelusium stood at the most eastern mouth of the Nile, *hod.* Tineh, not far from Damietta. Some for 'Photinus,' below, read 'Pothinus.'*

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 away, Pompey "may one day revenge the affront, and Cæsar resent "your not having surrendered him into his hands: "The best method therefore is to send for him, and "put him to death. Thus you will do Cæsar a fa- "vour, and have nothing to fear from Pompey. He added, we are told, with a smile, "Dead men "do not bite."

This advice being approved, the execution of it was committed to Achillas. In consequence of which, he took with him Septimius 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 forward. When they perceived that 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 were coming to wait upon them, such want of respect appeared a suspicious circumstance; and they advised Pompey, while he was yet out of the reach of missive weapons, to get out to the main sea.

Meanwhile the boat approaching, Septimius spoke first, addressing Pompey in Latin by the title of 'Imperator.' Achillas then saluted him in Greek, and desired him to come into the boat, because the water was very shallow toward 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 pretext for their injustice. He therefore embraced Cornelia, who lamented by anticipation his sad end; and ordered two centurions, one of his freemen named Philip, and a servant called Scenes, to get into the boat before him. When Achillas 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 O farewell,
> Freedom! though free as air before———

These were the last words, which he spoke to them.

As there was a considerable interval between the galley and the shore, and he observed that not a single person in the boat showed him the least civility, or even spoke to him, he looked at Septimius and said; "If I remember rightly, you were once "my fellow-soldier:" to which he replied only by a nod, without testifying any regard or friendship. A profound silence again succeeding, 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.

As they approached the shore, Cornelia with her friends in the galley anxiously watched the event. 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 do him honour. But the moment that Pompey was taking hold of Philip's hand, to raise himself with more ease, Septimius came behind, and ran him through the body; after which, Salvius and Achillas also unsheathed their swords. Pompey drew his robe with both hands over 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 at that time just fifty-nine years old, for he was killed the day after his birth-day [117].

[117] Some divines, in saying that Pompey never prospered after

Cornelia and her friends in the galley, upon seeing him murthered, gave a shriek which was heard to the shore, and immediately weighed anchor. 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 murtherers, having cut off Pompey's head, threw the body out of the boat naked, and left it exposed to all who were desirous of such a sight. Philip stayed till their curiosity was satisfied, and then washed the body with sea-water, and wrapped it in 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, and that not quite perfect.

While he was collecting the pieces of plank and laying 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 pre-"paring the funeral of Pompey the Great?" Philip answered, "I am his freedman." "You shall not "monopolise this honour, however," said the old Roman. "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 coun-"try; but, to compensate my numerous misfor-"tunes, may have the consolation of doing some "of the last honours [118] to the greatest general, that "Rome ever produced." In this manner was conducted the funeral of Pompey.

he had 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 determinations of heaven.' He fell a sacrifice, indeed, to as vile a set of people, as he had before insulted; for, the Jews excepted, there was not upon earth a more despicable race of men than the cowardly cruel Egyptians.

[118] Of touching, and wrapping up, the body.

Next day Lucius Lentulus, who knew nothing of what had passed, because he was on his voyage from Cyprus, reached 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 "beech?" adding after a short pause, with a sigh, "Alas! Pompey the Great! perhaps thou mayest be "the man." He soon afterward went on shore, and was taken and slain.

Such was the end of Pompey the Great. Cæsar himself arrived not long afterward in Egypt, which he found in extreme disorder. When they came to present the head, he turned from it and the person who brought it, as a sight of horror. The seal he received, but it was with tears. The device was, 'a lion holding a sword.' The two assassins, Achillas and Photinus, he ordered to be executed; 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 Brūtus, subsequently to his assassination of Cæsar, found the wretch in his 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 interred them in his lands near Alba [119].

[119] This illustrious man has in all appearance, and in every view of his character, had less justice done to him by the pen of history, than any other man of his time. His popular humanity, his military and political skill, his prudence (which he sometimes, however, unfortunately gave up) his natural bravery and generosity, his conjugal virtues which, though occasionally impeached, were both naturally and morally great, his cause, which was certainly in it's 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. One circumstance indeed renders the accounts which the writers after

AGESILAUS AND POMPEY

COMPARED.

SUCH is the biography of these two great men; and, in drawing up the parallel of their characters, we shall first briefly notice the particulars, in which they differed.

First then, Pompey rose to power and established his reputation by honourable means: partly by the strength of his own genius, and partly by his signal services to Sylla, in freeing Italy from various attempts of despotism. Whereas Agesilaus came to the throne, by methods equally immoral and irreligious; for it was by imputing bastardy to Leotychidas, whom his brother had acknowledged as his legitimate son, and by eluding the oracle relative to a lame king.

In the next place, Pompey paid all due respect to Sylla during his life, and notwithstanding Lepidus' opposition, took care to see his remains honourably interred; and, afterward, gave his own daughter to his son Faustus. On the other hand, Agesilaus upon a slight pretence shook off Lysander, and treated him with great indignity. Yet the services, which Pompey had received from Sylla, were not more considerable than those, which he had previously conferred upon him; whereas Agesilaus had been appointed king of Sparta by Lysander's means, and subsequently captain-general of Greece.

Lastly, Pompey's offences against the laws and the

the established monarchy have given of his opposition, perfectly reconcileable to the prejudice that appears against him; or rather to the reluctance they have shown to bestow upon him that praise, which they seem to have felt he deserved: When the commonwealth was no more, and the supporters of it's privileges had fallen with it, History herself, not to mention Poetry, departed from her honourable impartiality, and even Plutarch made a sacrifice to imperial power.

constitution were principally owing to his alliances; to his supporting either Cæsar or Scipio, whose daughter he had married, in their unjust demands. Agesilaus not only gratified the passion of his son, by sparing the life of Sphodrias, whose death ought to have atoned for the injuries he had done the Athenians: but he likewise screened Phœbidas, who had been guilty of an egregious infraction of the league with the Thebans, and obviously in recompence for this crime took him under his protection. In short, whatever troubles Pompey brought upon the Romans, either through ignorance or a timorous complaisance for his friends, Agesilaus brought as great distresses upon the Spartans through a spirit of obstinacy and resentment; for such was the spirit, which kindled the Bœotian war.

If, while we are mentioning their faults, we may advert to their fortunes, the Romans could have no previous idea of that of Pompey; but the Lacedæmonians were sufficiently forewarned of the danger of a "lame government," and yet Agesilaus would not suffer them to avail themselves of the warning[120]. Nay, supposing Leotychidas an absolute stranger, and a completely-convicted bastard, yet the family of Eurytion[121] could easily have supplied Sparta with a king who was neither spurious nor maimed, had not Lysander industriously rendered the oracle obscure for Agesilaus' sake.

As to their political talents, there never was a finer measure than that of Agesilaus, when in the distress of the Spartans how to proceed against the fugitives after the battle of Leuctra, he decreed that

[120] It is true, the latter part of Agesilaus' reign was unfortunate; but these misfortunes were owing to his malice against the Thebans, and to his having fought (contrary to the laws of Lycurgus) the same enemy so frequently, that he taught them to beat him at last. Nevertheless the oracle, as we have observed in a former note, probably meant the lameness of the kingdom, in having only one king instead of two, and not the lameness of the king.

[121] One of the royal branches of the Heraclidæ, which supplied Sparta with her kings.*

the laws should for that single day be silent. We have nothing of Pompey's, which can possibly be compared with it. On the contrary, he deemed himself exempted from observing the laws which he had himself introduced, and thought that his transgressing them displayed to his friends his superior power: Whereas Agesilaus, when under a necessity of contravening the laws in order to save a number of citizens, discovered an expedient which saved both the laws and the criminals. I must also class among his political virtues his inimitable behaviour upon the receipt of the Scytale, which ordered him to leave Asia in the height of his successes. For he did not, like Pompey, promote the interests of the commonwealth merely in affairs subservient to his own advancement; the good of his country was his great object, and with reference to that he renounced a degree of power and glory which no man either before or after him, except Alexander the Great, ever possessed.

If we view them in another light, and consider their military performances; the trophies of Pompey were so numerous, his armies so powerful, and the pitched battles which he won so extraordinary, that I suppose Xenophon himself would not have compared with them the victories of Agesilaus; though that historian, on account of his other excellences, has been indulged in the peculiar privilege of saying what he pleased about his hero.

There was a difference likewise, I think, in point of equity and moderation, in their behaviour toward their enemies. Agesilaus was bent upon enslaving Thebes, and destroying Messene; the former, the city from which his family sprung, the latter, Sparta's sister-colony[122]: and he had nearly ruined Sparta itself in the attempt. On the other hand Pompey, after he had conquered the pirates,

[122] For Hercules was born at Thebes, and Messene was a colony of the Heraclidæ, as well as Sparta.

bestowed cities upon such as were willing to change their mode of life; and when he might have led Tigranes, king of Armenia, captive at the wheels of his chariot [123], he rather chose to make him an ally: upon which occasion he uttered the memorable expression, "I prefer, to the glory of a day, the glory "that will last for ever."

But if the pre-eminence in military virtue should be decided by such actions and counsels, as are most characteristical of the great and wise commander, we shall find that the Lacedæmonian leaves the Roman far behind. In the first place, he did not abandon his city, when besieged by seventy thousand men; though he had only a small body of forces under him, and those too forces, which had lately been defeated in the battle of Leuctra. Whereas Pompey [124], upon Cæsar's advancing with five thousand three hundred men only, and taking one little town in Italy, quitted Rome in a panic; either meanly yielding to so trifling a force, or having failed in procuring intelligence of their real numbers. In his flight, he carried off his own wife and children, but he left those of the other citizens defenceless; when he ought either to have stayed and conquered for his country, or to have accepted such conditions as the conqueror, his fellow-citizen and his relation, might choose to impose. A little while

[123] Plutarch, who omitted above to mention Pompey's determined resignation of his army (upon Sylla's order) in the midst of his African successes, as a parallel to Lysander's behaviour upon the receipt of the Scytale, makes the Roman hero in this place some reparation for the injury; by omitting to mention that, though he excused Tigranes himself from the degradation of attending his triumph, he led his son and others of the royal family of Armenia in that humiliating train.*

[124] Here is another egregious instance of Plutarch's prejudice against the character of Pompey. He certainly did not leave Rome, till he was well convinced of the impossibility of maintaining it against the arms of Cæsar; who was not only advancing with a force much more powerful than that which is here mentioned, but by a previous distribution of his gold among the citizens had rendered even a siege unnecessary.

before, he had thought it insupportable to prolong the term of his commission, and to grant him another consulship; and now he suffered him to take possession of the city, and to tell Metellus, "That he considered him, and all it's other inhabitants, as his "prisoners."

If it be the principal business of a general, to know how to bring the enemy to a battle when he is stronger, and how, when he is weaker, to avoid being brought to one himself, Agesilaus understood that business perfectly well, and by observing it continued always invincible. But Pompey could never take Cæsar at a disadvantage; on the contrary, he suffered Cæsar to gain the advantage of him, by being compelled to hazard all in an action at land. The consequence of which was, that Cæsar became master of his treasures, his provisions, and the sea itself; when he might have preserved them all, had he known how to avoid a battle.

As to the apology alleged in this case in Pompey's behalf, it reflects the deepest dishonour upon a general of his experience. If a young officer had been so much dispirited and disturbed by the tumults and clamours among his troops, as to depart from his better judgement, it would have been natural and pardonable. But for Pompey the Great, whose camp the Romans called 'their country,' and whose tent 'their senate,' while they gave the name of 'rebels and traitors' to those who stayed and acted as prætors and consuls in Rome; for Pompey, who had never been known to serve as a private soldier, but had made all his campaigns with the highest reputation as general; for such a one to be forced by the scoffs of Favonius and Domitius, and the fear of being called 'Agamemnon,' to risk the fate of the whole empire and of liberty itself upon the cast of a single die—who can bear it? Had he dreaded only present infamy, he ought to have made a stand at first, and to have fought for the city of Rome; and not, after calling his flight 'a Themistoclean ma-

nœuvre,' to have considered the postponing of a battle in Thessaly as a disgrace. For the gods had not appointed the fields of Pharsalia as the lists, in which he was to contend for the empire of Rome; neither was he summoned by a herald to make his appearance there, or otherwise forfeit the palm to another. There were innumerable plains and cities elsewhere; nay, his command of the sea left the whole earth to his choice, had he been determined to imitate Maximus, Marius, or Lucullus[124], or Agesilaus himself.

Agesilaus certainly had not slighter tumults to endure in Sparta, when the Thebans challenged him to come out and fight for his dominions; neither were the calumnies and slanders, which he encountered in Egypt from the madness of the king, less grating, when he advised that prince for a while to remain still. Yet by pursuing the sage measures upon which he had first resolved, he not only saved the Egyptians in spite of themselves, but sustained Sparta from sinking in the earthquake that threatened her. Nay, he erected there the best trophy imaginable against the Thebans: for, by keeping the Spartans from the ruin, to which they were so vehemently hurrying, he enabled them subsequently to conquer. Hence it was, that Agesilaus was praised by the persons, whom he had saved by violence; and Pompey, who committed an error in complaisance to others, was condemned by those who had misled him. Some say, indeed, that he was deceived by his father-in-law Scipio; who, wishing to convert to his own use the treasures he had brought from Asia, had concealed them for that purpose, and hastened the action under pretence that the supplies would soon fail. But, even supposing that true, a general should not have suffered himself to be so easily deceived, nor in consequence of being so deceived

[124] The delays of Maximus were such, that *Fabiana cunctatio* became a proverb. For the other instances referred to, see the respective Lives of Marius, and Lucullus.*

have hazarded the loss of all. Such are the principal strokes, which mark their military characters.

As to their voyages to Egypt, the one fled thither out of necessity; the other, without any necessity or sufficient motive, enlisted himself in the service of a barbarous prince, in order to raise a fund for carrying on the war against the Greeks. So that, if we accuse the Egyptians for their behaviour to Pompey, the Egyptians blame Agesilaus as much for his behaviour to themselves. The one was betrayed by those, in whom he put his trust; the other was guilty of a breach of trust, in deserting those whom he went to support, and going over to their enemies.

THE

LIFE

OF

ALEXANDER.

SUMMARY.

Plutarch's object in writing the Lives of Alexander and Cæsar. Traditions about Alexander's birth. He is born on the day, upon which the temple of Ephesus is set on fire. His physical constitution: Moral qualities displayed in his infancy. Early education. He tames Bucephalus: is placed under the care of Aristotle: contracts a peculiar esteem for Homer's works. His first exploits. He quarrels with his father. Demaratus reconciles them. Philip opposes his marriage with the daughter of Pexodorus: is assassinated by Pausanias. Alexander's conduct on mounting the throne. He subdues the Triballi, and rases Thebes: pardons Timoclea, and admires her courage: repents his treatment of the Thebans. His interview with Diogenes. Presages preceding his expedition into Asia, and state of his army. His sacrifices at Ilium. He undertakes to pass the Granicus in the presence of Darius: Clitus saves his life: He gains the victory. It's consequences. He subdues Cilicia, Phœnicia, and Pamphylia: cuts the Gordian knot. Darius' dream. Alexander's sickness; and confidence in Philip his physician. Darius' conversation with Amyntas. Battle of Issus. Alexander's remark on Darius' splendid furniture: treatment of the mother, wife, and daughter of that monarch. Continence, temperance, and ordinary manner of living: troublesome vanity. Expenses of his table. He sends to Damascus to seize the rich equipages of the Persians; besieges Tyre; and, during the siege, undertakes an expedition into Arabia. Takes Tyre; and Gaza; places the Iliad in a valuable casket: builds Alexandria: goes to consult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon. The reply. His own idea upon the subject. He cele-

brates sacrifices and solemn processions: refuses Darius' overtures. Tireus relates to Darius Alexander's treatment of his female connexions. Battle of two camp-followers under the names of these two princes. Last great battle fought not at Arbela, but Gaugamela. Alexander refuses to attack the enemy in the night. His sound sleep before the action. Answer to Parmenio about the baggage. He draws up his army; and gains a complete victory: rebuilds Platææ. Gulf of naphtha near Ecbatana. Digression on the nature and properties of naphtha. Alexander takes possession of Susa, and of Persia. Xerxes' palace burnt, at the instigation of Thaïs. Alexander's munificence: His mother's advice on that head. He reproves his officers for their extravagant luxury. His affection, respect, and tenderness for his friends. He pursues Darius with great rapidity. That monarch's death. Alexander loses Bucephalus, and finds him again: defeats the Scythians. Story of the Amazons. He persuades his troops to complete the conquest of Asia; reconciles Hephæstion and Craterus: conceives a well-founded suspicion of Philotas, who with his father Parmenio is executed. Presages of Clitus' death: That general's insolent language to Alexander at a banquet. Alexander kills him: His deep remorse; soothed by Anaxarchus. Dispute between Anaxarchus and Callisthenes. The latter, by his indiscretion, incurs the king's hatred; who is farther alienated by the representation of his courtiers. His death, and that of Demaratus of Corinth. Alexander, prior to his engaging in his Indian expedition, sets fire to all his superfluous baggage. Different omens preceding his departure. He takes the fortress of Sisimethres. His reception of some embassadors of the country: interview with Taxiles: cruelty toward a band of Indian mercenaries. He passes the Hydaspes to attack Porus; gains the victory, and treats Porus with great liberality. His soldiers refuse to advance eastward. Monuments, which he leaves behind him. He takes the city of the Malli: makes presents to the Gymnosophists: despatches Onesicritus to the Brachmans. Visits the ocean. Bacchanalian procession. Disturbances in his empire. He orders to execution the man, who had broken open Cyrus' tomb. Death of Calanus. Alexander marries Statira; sends away the Macedonian invalids with magnificent presents. Death and funeral of Hephæstion. Presages, dissuading Alexander from returning to Babylon. He becomes dejected, and distrustful. His superstition: sickness, and death. Whether or not it be true, that he was poisoned. Roxana procures the murther of Statira.

IN the ensuing part of the work, we shall give the Lives of Alexander the Great, and of Cæsar who overthrew Pompey: and as the quantity of materials is so large, we shall only premise that we hope for indulgence, though we should not give the actions in full detail and with a scrupulous exactness, but rather in a short summary; since we are not writing Histories, but Lives. Neither is it always in the most distinguished exploits, that men's virtues or vices may be best discerned; but frequently an action of small note, a short saying, or a jest, distinguishes a person's real character, more than fields of carnage, the greatest battles, or the most important sieges[1]. As painters therefore, in their portraits labour the likeness in the face, and particularly about the eyes, in which the peculiar turn of mind most appears, and run over the rest with a less careful hand; so we must be permitted to strike off the features of the soul, in order to give a real likeness of these great men, and leave to others the circumstantial detail of their toils and their achievements.

It is admitted as certain, that Alexander was a descendent of Hercules by Caranus[2], and of Æacus by Neoptolemus. His father Philip is said to have been initiated, when very young, along with Olym-

[1] Plutarch has here given an accurate character of his own excellent stile of biography.*

[2] Caranus, the sixteenth in descent from Hercules, made himself B. C. 814. master of Macedon, and from him Alexander the Great was the twenty-second in descent, so that from Hercules to Alexander there were thirty-eight generations. The descent by his mother's side is less clear, there being many degrees wanting in it. It is sufficient however to know, that Olympias was the daughter of Neoptolemus, and sister (or niece, or cousin) to Arymbas. See Euseb. Chron., Suidas. *voc.* Caranus, Herod. viii. 137., and Justin viii. 1. (L.)

This Neoptolemus was descended from the prince of the same name (called also Pyrrhus) who was the son of Achilles, and of course the great-grandson of Æacus.*

pias in the Mysteries at Samothrace[3]: and having conceived an affection for her, he obtained her in marriage from her brother Arymbas, to whom he applied, because she had been left an orphan. The night before the consummation of the marriage, she dreamed that a thunderbolt fell upon her womb, which kindled a great fire, and that the flame extended itself far and wide before it disappeared. And some time after the marriage, Philip dreamed that he sealed up her womb with a seal, the impression of which he thought was a lion[4]. This dream, most of the interpreters suspected, intimated some doubt of the queen's honour, and thought that Philip ought to look more closely to her conduct. But Aristander of Telmessus[5] said, it only denoted that the queen was pregnant, as a seal is never put upon any thing empty; and that the child would prove a boy, of a bold and lion-like courage. A serpent was also seen lying near Olympias' side, as she slept: which is said, more than any thing else, to have cooled Philip's affection for her; so that he seldom afterward repaired to her bed, whether it was that he feared some enchantment from her, or abstained from her embraces, because he thought them consecrated to some superior being.

Some authors, indeed, relate this affair in a different manner. The women of the country, they inform us, were of old extremely attached to the ceremonies of Orpheus, and the orgies of Bacchus; and that they were called Clodones and Mimallo-

3 For an account of these Mysteries, see Vol. III. 343, not. (21.)

4 Cicero De Div. ii. 70. mentions this dream, but without naming the personages concerned in it.*

5 This man (as we shall find) was subsequently Alexander's constant attendant, in the capacity of soothsayer and priest. With regard to the serpent mentioned below, Lucian in his 'Alexander' seems to refer it to a peculiar kind of tame creatures of that description in the neighbourhood of Pella, and Cic. de Div. ii. 66. favours this idea: While others interpret the passage of a young Arcadian named Draco, with whom Olympias was said to have had a criminal commerce. See Justin ix. 5.*

nes[6], because in many things they imitated the Edonian and Thracian women about Mount Hæmus, from whom perhaps we may derive the Greek word *threscuein*, signifying 'the exercise of extravagant and superstitious observances.' Olympias being remarkably ambitious of these inspirations, and desirous of giving the enthusiastic solemnities a more strange and horrid appearance, introduced a number of large tame serpents; which often creeping out of the ivy and the mystic fans, and entwining about the thyrsi and garlands of the women infused terror into the spectators.

Philip however, upon this appearance, sent Chiron of Megalopolis to consult the oracle at Delphi; and Apollo, we are told, commanded him to sacrifice to Jupiter Ammon, and to pay his homage principally to that god. It is added, that he lost one of his eyes[7], as he applied it to the chink of the door, when he saw the god in the form of a serpent in his wife's embraces. According to Eratosthenes, Olympias, when she conducted Alexander on his way in his first expedition, privately discovered to him the secret of his birth, and exhorted him to behave with a dignity suitable to his divine extraction. Others affirm, that she absolutely rejected it as an impious fiction, and used to say, "Will Alexander "never cease embroiling me with Juno?"

[6] The etymologies of these names, which (if we may trust Hesychius, Suidas, and Athenæus, v. 7.) the Bacchantes chiefly bore in Macedon, are extremely doubtful. See Ricard, ix. 375. not. (11.) On the 'mystic fans,' consult Serv. in Virg. Georg. i. 166., Meurs. Eleus. xxvii.*

[7] This however, as we learn from several writers, was shot out at the siege of Methone in Thrace. The arrow did not indeed exactly fulfil its commission, for it was inscribed by the man who shot it,

Ασηρ Φιλιππω θανασιμον πεμπει βελος.

It's subsequent inscription was more prophetical;

Ασερα Φιλιππος, ην λαβῃ, κερωσεται.

See Schol. in Dem. Olynth. ii. γ. Lucian, in his book *De Conscrib. Hist.* refers this to Olynthus. For Olympias' rejection of her son's profane filiation of himself, see A. Gell. xiii. 4.*

Alexander[8] was born on the sixth of Hecatombæon[9], which the Macedonians call Löus, the day on which the temple of Diana at Ephesus was burnt, upon which occasion Hegesias[10], the Magnesian, has uttered a conceit frigid enough to have extinguished the flames! "It is no wonder," said he,

[8] Ol. cvi. 1., B. C. 356.

[9] Ælian (Var. Hist. ii. 25.) expressly affirms, 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 Boëdromion then answered to the Macedonian month Löus; as appears clearly from a letter of Philip's, still preserved in Demosthenes. (Orat. de Coronâ.) In after-times, indeed, the month Löus answered to Hecatombæon, which was doubtless the cause of Plutarch's mistake. (L.) Or this double parallelism may, as Taylor has observed II. 701., be accounted for either by the difference of the Macedonian Lunar and Solar year, involving the necessity of frequent and vague intercalations; or by the circumstance, not peculiar to the Calendars of Greece and Macedon, of the months in those two countries not being conterminous. The argument however in favour of Hecatombæon, founded upon it's being the Olympic month, is not conclusive, as some time must have elapsed in conveying to Philip the intelligence of his success. About the year likewise of Alexander's birth, there have been many different statements. The one best established by the testimonies of Eusebius, Arrian, Corsini, and M. de St. Croix (in his *Examen Critique des Historiens d' Alexandre)* is Ol. cvi. 1., B. C. 356. As to the table of correspondent Attic, Macedonian, and Roman months, in which Corsini, Dodwell, and Petavius differ, it is here, on account of it's having at different times varied, and from it's general intricacy and uncertainty, omitted.*

[10] Hegesias flourished under Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. He is mentioned as a frigid writer by Dion. Halic. περὶ Συνθ. The cold conceit, here imputed to him, is by Cicero ascribed to Timæus (De Nat. Deor. ii. 27.) and he, with surely great want of taste, pronounces it *coneinnè, ut multa, dictum à Timæo;* seeming rather to accord with Longinus' character of this writer sect. 4., to which we have referred, Vol. III. 397. not. (l.) Plutarch however, in his remark upon the occasion, is not free from the censure which he inflicts. See Pearce in Long. sect. 3. Of the temple of Ephesus we find the dimensions in Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 14. viz. 425 feet long, 220 broad, and supported by 127 columns, each 60 feet high, and given by as many princes. The English reader may not be displeased to have an opportunity of comparing with the measures of this wonder of the world, those of one or two Christian structures. St. Peter's at Rome is 669 feet long, by 442 broad (at the cross), and 146 high: our own St. Paul's 500 by 223 and 110.

"that the temple of Diana was burnt, when the "goddess 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 forerunning some much heavier misfortune: they ran about the town, striking their faces and crying, "That day had brought forth the great scourge and "destroyer of Asia."

Philip had just taken the city of Potidæa [11], and three messengers arrived on the same day with extraordinary tidings. The first informed him, that Parmenio had gained a signal battle against the Illyrians; the second, that his race-horse had won the prize at the Olympic games; and the third, that Olympias was delivered of Alexander. His joy upon that occasion, as might naturally be expected, was not inconsiderable; 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 [12]. The turn of his head, which leaned a little to one side, and the quickness [13] of his eye, in which many of his friends

[11] This is another mistake. Potidæa was taken two years before, viz. Ol. cv. 3. For this we have again the authority of Demosthenes, who was Philip's contemporary (Orat. Προς Αστ.) as well as of Diod. Sic. xvi. 8.

[12] Plin. H. N. vii. 37. informs us that Apelles alone was permitted to represent him on canvas, Pyrgoteles in marble, and Lysippus in bronze. Pausan. Bœot. xxvii. Corinth. ix. xx. Attic. xliii. See also Hor. Ep. II. i. 239.*

[13] 'ΥΓΡΟΤΗΤΑ των ομματων. This word is perhaps untranslateable. M. Ricard owns, that he has very inadequately rendered it by *douceur*. The same term is used by Plutarch in describing the eyes of Pompey, and thus identifies them with those of Alexander. See p. 127. It was accounted a peculiar beauty among the Greeks, and is ascribed to Praxiteles' *chef-d'œuvre* (the Venus of Cnidus) by Lucian in his Εικονες. Ælian (Var. Hist. xii. 14.) says, Alexander's countenance had in it something very aweful; and Tzetzes, in his Chiliads, affirms that one of his eyes was black and the other blue!

and successors chiefly affected to imitate him, were best hit off by that artist. Apelles painted him in the character of 'Jupiter armed with Thunder,' but he did not succeed as to his complexion, having 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. We read in the Memoirs of Aristoxenus, that a most agreeable scent proceeded from his skin, and that his breath and his whole body were so fragrant as to perfume his under-garments. The cause of this might, possibly, be his hot and fiery temperament. For, as Theophrastus conjectures, it is the concoction of moisture by heat, which produces sweet odours; and hence those countries, which are the driest and most burnt up, produce spices of the best kind and in the greatest quantity; the sun exhaling from the surface of bodies that moisture, which is the instrument of corruption. It seems to have been the same heat of constitution, which made Alexander so much inclined to drink, and so subject to passion.

His continence displayed 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[14]; and, if he tasted them, it was with extreme moderation: but there was something superlatively great and sublime in his ambition, far above his years. It was not every species of honour that he courted, neither did he seek it in every track, like his father Philip; who was as proud

With regard to Apelles' portrait, for which he received twenty talents, Plin. H. N. xxxv. tells us, it was placed in the temple of Diana at Ephesus, and that the fingers and the thunderbolt seemed standing out of the canvas. Those, who have seen Sir Joshua Reynolds' Cardinal Beaufort (now in the possession of the Right Hon. the Earl of Egremont) will have some idea of this fine exemplification of the graphic art.*

[14] His mother, we are told by Athenæus x. 10, with his father's consent, in order to try his temperament, sent into his room one day a beautiful courtesan of the name of Callixena; but he withstood her allurements.*

of his eloquence as a sophist, 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 of foot)? replied, "Yes, if I were to have kings for my antago-"nists." It appears, indeed, that he bore a perfect dislike to the whole exercise of wrestling[15]. 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 the lyre, and even for rhapsodists[16]; though he entertained the people with the hunting of all kinds of wild beasts, and with fencing or fighting with the staff; yet he gave no encouragement to boxing, or to the Pancratium[17].

Embassadors from Persia happened to arrive in the absence of his father Philip, and Alexander receiving them in his stead, won their regard by his politeness and his 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; and desired to be informed, with regard to their king, how he behaved to his enemies, and in what the strength and power of Persia consisted. The embassadors were struck with admiration, and looked upon the celebrated shrewdness of Philip as nothing, compared with the lofty and enterprising genius of his son. And as a proof of this, whenever

[15] Philopœmen also disliked wrestling, because all the exercises, which qualify a man to excel in it, render him unfit for war. See his Life, III. 5.

[16] These were people, who sewed together the detached parts or books of Homer's works, and recited them in public. See the Life of Lycurgus, Vol. I. not. (13.) Ælian, Var. Hist. xiii. 14., ascribes the final incorporation of these immortal poems to Pisistratus; others to Aristarchus, Herodotus, &c. grammarians acting under his direction; and Plato to his son and successor Hipparchus.*

[17] If it be asked, how this shows that Alexander did not love wrestling, the answer is, that the Pancratium (as it has been stated in a former note) was a mixture of boxing and wrestling.

intelligence was brought that Philip had taken some strong town or won some celebrated battle, the young man, instead of appearing delighted with it, used to say to his companions; "My father will go "on conquering, boys, till there will be nothing "great and brilliant left for you and me to do." As neither pleasure nor riches, but valour and glory were his prime objects, he thought that in proportion as the dominions which he was to receive from his father increased, there would be less room remaining for his own exertions. Every new acquisition of territory he considered as contracting his sphere of action: for he did not wish to inherit a kingdom, which would bring him opulence, luxury, and pleasure; but one, which would afford him wars, and conflicts, and all the exercise of lofty ambition.

He had a number of tutors and preceptors. Leonidas one of the queen's relations, and a man of great severity of manners, was at their head. Not liking the name of preceptor however, though the employment was important and honourable, from his dignity and alliance to the royal family he was honoured with the title of 'the prince's governor.' The name, and the business, of preceptor were conferred upon Lysimachus the Acarnanian; a man who had neither merit nor politeness nor indeed any thing whatever to recommend him, except 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 [18], the king with the prince and many

[18] That is, 2518*l.* 15*s.* sterling. This will appear a moderate price, compared with what we find in Varro (R. R. iii. 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. Pliny however informs us, that the price of Bucephalus was sixteen talents; *sedecim talentis ferunt ex Philonici Pharsalii grege empum.* (H. N. viii. 42.) (L.) But A. Gellius

others went into the field, to see some trial made of him. The animal 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 displeased at their bringing him so wild and ungovernable a horse, and bade them take him away. But Alexander, who had observed him well, exclaimed; "What a horse they are 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 much uneasiness, he said; "Young man, you find fault "with your elders, as if you knew more than they, or "could manage the horse better yourself." "That "I certainly could," replied the prince. "If you "should not be able to ride him, what forfeiture will "you agree to pay for your rashness?" "I will pay "the price of the horse."

Upon this, all the company laughed; but the king and the prince having settled the forfeiture, Alexander ran to the horse, and laying 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, extremely disturbed him. While his fierceness and fury lasted, he continued speaking to him softly and stroking him; after which he gently let fall his mantle, vaulted lightly upon his back, and seated himself with the utmost firmness. 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 was only anxious to be put to his speed, he pushed him into a full gallop, and pressed him forward both with the voice and the spur.

agrees with Plutarch. Many etymologies of the name 'Bucephalus' are assigned by different authors, derived from the shape of his head, an ox's head marked on one of his haunches, his wildness of look, &c. &c. Tzetzes, in his Chiliads, says he was fed upon human flesh!*

Philip and all his court were at first in the utmost distress for him, 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, worthy of thy abilities; for Macedon 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 adopted the method of persuasion, rather than that of command. He saw that his education was a matter of too high importance to be trusted to the ordinary masters in music, and the common circle of sciences; and that his genius, to use Sophocles' expression, required

The rudder's guidance, and the curb's restraint.

He therefore sent for Aristotle[19], the most celebrated and learned of all the philosophers; and the reward, which he gave him for forming his son, was not only in itself honourable, but remarkable for it's propriety. He had formerly dismantled the city of Stagira, where that philosopher was born; and he now rebuilt it, and re-established the inhabitants, who had either fled, or had been reduced to slavery[20]. He also prepared a lawn, called Mieza, for their studies and their literary conversations; where they show us Aristotle's stone-seats and shady walks to this day.

[19] His letter upon the occasion is preserved by A. Gellius ix. 3. *Ad commonendos parentum animos, quoniam curæ diligentiæque in liberorum disciplinas hortamentum est.* Alexander was, at this time, thirteen years of age. Aristotle, after a residence of eighteen years in Macedon, retired to Athens, and died the year after his illustrious pupil.*

[20] See also Diog. Laërt. Life of Aristotle, v. 4. But Pliny the Elder and Val. Max. v. 6. inform us, that Stagira was rebuilt by Alexander, and that when Aristotle was very old. (L.) This city was situated upon the coast of the Ægean sea between Acanthus and Amphipolis, in the district of Macedon called Chalcidica.

By him Alexander was instructed, not only in moral and political knowledge, but also in those more secret and profound branches of science, which they call 'acroamatic' and 'epoptic,' and which were not communicated to every common scholar[21]. For when Alexander was in Asia, and received information that Aristotle had published some books explanatory of those points, he wrote him a letter in behalf of philosophy, in which he blamed the proceeding. The following is a copy of it:

"Alexander to Aristotle, prosperity. You did "wrong in publishing the acroamatic parts of sci- "ence[22]. In what shall we differ from others, if the "sublimer knowledge, which we gained from you, "be disclosed to all the world? For my part, I had "rather excel the bulk of mankind in the superior "parts of learning, than in extent of dominion and "power. Farewell[23]."

Aristotle in compliment to this ambition of his, and by way of excuse for himself, replied, "that "those points were published and not published." In fact, his book of metaphysics is so composed, that no one can learn that branch of science from it, much less teach it to others: It serves only to refresh the memories of those, who have been previously taught by a master.

It appears to me, likewise, that Alexander was assisted chiefly by Aristotle in the study of physic, of which he loved not only the theory, but the prac-

[21] The scholars in general, were instructed only in the 'exoteric' doctrines, on rhetorical and civil subjects. Aul. Gell. xx. 4.

[22] Doctrines taught by private communication, and delivered *vivâ voce*. (L.) 'Epoptic,' of the same purport, is a metaphorical term borrowed from the Eleusinian Mysteries; in which those, who were admitted to see their most hallowed rites, were denominated 'Epoptæ.' Under this head A. Gellius (ib.) classes physics, metaphysics, and dialectics.*

[23] This letter is also preserved by A. Gellius, (ib.) with Aristotle's reply; but they are both, as unworthy of their respective writers, pronounced spurious by M. De St. Croix in his above-quoted work.*

tice too; as may be inferred from his Epistles, where we find, that he prescribed to his friends medicines and a proper regimen.

He was a lover also of polite learning, 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 denominated 'the casket-copy[24].' This, Onesicritus informs us, he used to lay under his pillow with his sword. As he could not find many other books in the Upper Provinces of Asia, he wrote for a supply to Harpalus; who sent him the works of Philistus, the greatest part of the tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Æschylus, and the Dithyrambics of Telestus[25] and Philoxenus.

Aristotle was the man, whom he admired in his younger years; and, as he himself averred, he had no less affection for him, than for his own father; "From the one he derived the blessing of life, from "the other the blessing of a good life." But, subsequently, he looked upon him with an eye of suspicion[26]. He never, indeed, did him any injury;

[24] He kept it in a rich casket, which had been found among Darius' spoils. See Plin. H. N. vii. 20. A correct copy of this edition, revised by Aristotle, Callisthenes, and Anaxarchus, was published after Alexander's death. 'Darius,' said Alexander, 'used this casket for his ointments; but I, who have no time to anoint myself, will use it for a much nobler purpose.'

[25] Onesicritus was a native of Astypalæa, one of the Sporades I. He followed Alexander into Asia, and drew up an account of the expedition, which is not however entitled to much credit.*

Telestus was a Selinuntian poet of some reputation, and a monument was erected to his memory by Aristratus the Sicyonian tyrant. Protogenes had been sent for to paint this monument, and not arriving within the limited time, was in danger of the tyrant's displeasure; but he saved himself by the celerity and excellence of his execution. Philoxenus of Cythera was Telestus' scholar. (L.)

Dithyrambics were a species of poetry consecrated to Bacchus. For a detailed exhibition of it's character and origin, see M. Ricard, ix. 389. not. (35.)*

[26] This was by some ascribed to his having apparently preferred the interests of Olympias to those of her son, and by others to his

but the testimonies of his regard, being neither so extraordinary nor so endearing as before, evinced some degree of alienation. His love of philosophy however, which he was either born with, or at least conceived at an early period, never quitted his soul; as appears from the honours which he paid to Anaxarchus, the fifty talents which he sent to Xenocrates [27], and his attentions to Dandamis and Calanus [28].

When Philip went upon his expedition against Byzantium, Alexander was only sixteen years of age; yet was he left regent of Macedon, and keeper of the royal signet. The Medari [29] 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, who broke the Sacred Band of the Thebans. In our times an old oak used to be shown near the Cephisus [30], called 'Alexander's Oak' (because his tent had been pitched under it), and a piece of ground at no great distance, in which the Macedonians buried their dead.

This early display of talents made Philip very fond of his son, so that it was with pleasure he heard his subjects call Alexander 'king,' and himself only

having recommended to the would-be son of Jupiter the blunt and honest Callisthenes as a travelling companion. See Diog. Laërt. Life of Aristotle, v. 10.*

[27] The philosopher took but a small part of this money, and sent the rest back: telling the giver, that he had more occasion for it himself, because he had more people to maintain. (Diog. Laërt. Xenocr. iv. 8.) Plutarch elsewhere, in two of his Moral Works, says he declined the whole.

[28] Two of the Indian sages, to whom Onesicritus was sent, as we shall find in the sequel.*

[29] We know of no such nation; there was a people, however, called 'Mædi' in Thrace, who, as Livy informs us (xxvi. 25.) used to make inroads into Macedon.

[30] This river rises in Phocis, washes the walls of Chæronea, and falls into the Lake Copaïs in Bœotia. (Strab. vii.)*

'general.' But the troubles introduced by his new marriage and his amours into his family, and the bickerings among the women which divided the whole kingdom into parties, involved him in many quarrels with his son: and these 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, at an unseasonable period of life, fell in love with a young lady named Cleopatra, and married her. At the celebration of the nuptials her uncle[31] Attalus, intoxicated with liquor, desired the Macedorians to entreat the gods, that this marriage of Philip and Cleopatra might produce a lawful heir to the crown. Alexander, provoked at this, exclaimed; "What then, scoundrel, dost thou take me for a "bastard?" and, at the same time, threw his cup at his head. Upon this, Philip rose up and drew his sword: but, fortunately for them both, his passion and the wine which he had drank made him stumble, and he fell. Alexander, taking an insolent advantage of this circumstance, cried out; "Men of Ma-"cedon, see there the hero, who was preparing to "pass from Europe into Asia; when he is not able to "pass even from one table to another, without fall-"ing!" After this insult, he carried off Olympias, and placed her in Epirus. Illyricum was the country, which he chose for his own retreat.

In the mean time Demaratus, who had connexions of hospitality with the royal family of Macedon, and who could therefore freely speak his mind, came to pay Philip a visit. After the first compliments and civilities, Philip asked him, "What sort of agree-

[31] Her brother, say Justin ix. 5. and Diod. Sic. xvii. 2. Pausanias however viii. 7. and Athenæus xiii. 1. agree with Plutarch. The latter gives the names of Philip's seven wives; Audata, Phila, Nicesipolis, Philinna, Olympias, Meda, and Cleopatra, to whom Arrian adds Eurydice; but she was the same with either Cleopatra, or Audata.*

"ment subsisted among the Greeks?" Demaratus replied, "There is, doubtless, great 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 mediation of Demaratus he prevailed upon Alexander to return.

[Another event, however, quickly disturbed anew their repose.]

Pexodorus the Persian governor in 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 Arrhidæus the son of Philip, and sent Aristocritus into Macedon to treat about it. Upon which Alexander's friends, and his mother, now again infused notions into him (though perfectly groundless) that by so noble a match, and the support consequent upon it, Philip designed the crown for Arrhidæus.

Alexander, in the uneasiness occasioned by these suspicions, sent one Thessalus a player into Caria, to desire the grandee would decline Arrhidæus, who was of spurious birth, and deficient in point of understanding, and take the lawful heir to the crown into his alliance. Pexodorus was infinitely more delighted with this proposal. But Philip no sooner received intelligence of it, than he went to Alexander's apartment, taking along 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 becoming son-in-law to a fellow of Caria, one of the slaves of a barbarian king. At the same time he wrote to the Corinthians[32], insisting that

[32] Thessalus, upon his return from Asia, must have retired to Corinth, for the Corinthians had nothing to do in Caria. (L.) Or is it not possible, from the resemblance of the first syllables in these two words, that 'Corinthians' may have been written instead of 'Carians,' by the mistake or the 'oscitancy of the transcribers?' The slight variations in the names Pexodorus and Phrygius, which

they should send Thessalus to him in chains. Harpalus, Nearchus, Phrygius, and Ptolemy, some of the other companions of the prince, he banished. But Alexander subsequently recalled them, and treated them with great distinction.

Some time after the Carian negociation, Pausanias having been abused by order of Attalus and Cleopatra, and not having had justice done him for the outrage[33], assassinated Philip. Olympias was believed to have been principally concerned, in inciting the young man to that act of revenge; but Alexander himself did not escape uncensured. It is said that when Pausanias applied to him, after having been so dishonoured, and lamented his misfortune, Alexander by way of answer repeated a line from the tragedy of Medea[34];

The bridal father, bridegroom, and the bride.

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 also expressed his indignation at Olympias' cruel treatment of Cleopatra during his absence[35].

some authors read Pixodarus and Erygius, are hardly worth mentioning.*

33 For the detail of this shocking deed, see Justin ix. 6, 7., Diod. Sic. xvi. 93, 94., and Val. Max. i. 8., who adds that Philip was cautioned by an oracle, which he unfortunately (as is always the case) mistook.*

34 Eu. Med. 288. To give the context; Creon says,

Κλυω δ' απειλεις, ως απαγγελλουσι μοι,
Τον δοντα, και γαμουντα, και γαμβρευοντ'
Δρασειν τι———

The persons meant in the tragedy were Jason, Creüsa, and Creon; and in Alexander's application of it, Philip is the bridegroom, Cleopatra the bride, and Attalus the father.

35 She had driven her to hang herself, after having seen her little boy murthered in her arms. Pausanias viii. 7. says, she had them both thrown into a cauldron of boiling water.*

He was only twenty years old, when he succeeded to the crown [36], and he found the kingdom torn in pieces by dangerous parties and implacable animosities. The barbarous nations, even those which bordered upon Macedon, could not brook subjection, and were longing 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 disorder and confusion rather than produced any firm or tranquil settlement, and the whole was left in a state of agitation and disturbance. 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 attempts 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 to a thorough establishment of his affairs, was to proceed with spirit and magnanimity. For he was persuaded, that if he appeared to abate one jot of his dignity, he should be universally insulted. He therefore quieted the commotions, and checked the rising wars among the barbarians, by marching with the utmost expedition as far as the Danube, where he fought a great battle with Syrmus king of the Triballi [37], and defeated him.

Some time after this, having received intelligence that the Thebans had revolted, and that the Athenians had adopted the same sentiments, he resolved to convince them that he was no longer a boy, and immediately advanced through the pass of Thermopylæ. "Demosthenes," said he, "called me a boy, "while I was in Illyricum and among the Triballi,

[36] B. C. 336.

[37] For the details of this, and his other victories over the barbarians, as well as his destruction of Thebes, &c. see Arrian; some of whose accounts, however, M. de St. Croix considers as fabulous embellishments of his hero's story.*

" and a stripling when in Thessaly; 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 by sound of trumpet invited to their standard all 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 much superior in number, behaved with a degree of courage and ardour far above their strength. But when the Macedonian garrison marched 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 this dreadful 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, and had been adopted in consequence of complaints made against Thebes by the people of Phocis and Platææ. Exempting therefore the priests, all those with whom the Macedonians were connected by the ties of hospitality, the posterity of Pindar[38], and such as had opposed the re-

[38] To this our Milton alludes, where deprecating the destruction of his own house (and, 'as a poet, he had as good right to expect this favour as Pindar') he says,

> The great Emathian conqueror did spare
> The house of Pindarus, when temple and tower
> Went to the ground——— (Sonn. viii.)

Diod. Sic. xvii. 10—13. reports many prodigies, which ar-

volt, he sold the rest (to the number of thirty thousand) for slaves. About six thousand fell in the battle.

The calamities, which that wretched city suffered, were various and horrible. A party of Thracians demolished the house of Timoclea[39], 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 replied, "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 her, bound her hands, and carried her before Alexander; who immediately perceived by her look and gait, and the firm and fearless manner in which she followed that savage crew, that she was a woman of quality and superior sentiments. He demanded, "Who she "was?" She answered, "I am the sister of Thea-"genes, who in the capacity of general fought Phi-"lip for the liberty of Greece, and fell at Chæro-"nea." Alexander, admiring her answer, and the bold action which she had performed, gave orders that both she and her children should be set at liberty.

As for the Athenians, he forgave them, notwithstanding the deep sympathy which they expressed in the misfortunes of Thebes. For, though they were upon the point of celebrating the feast of the

nounced this disastrous event. Arrian and Ælian agree with Plutarch in the exemptions here stated; and Dio Chrysostom informs us, that Pindar's posterity was included in them, in consequence of their great ancestor's having celebrated one of his progenitors, named Alexander in his immortal poetry.

Thebes was destroyed Ol. cxi., B. C. 335; and was rebuilt according to Diod. Sic. xix. 53, 54., B. C. 316. by Cassander, to show his hatred of Alexander's memory. (Pausan ix. 7.)*

[39] See this story more detailed in Polyæn. viii. 40.*

Great Mysteries, they omitted it on account of the mourning that took place, and received into their city such of the Thebans, as escaped the general wreck, with every mark of regard. But whether his fury like that of a lion was satiated with blood, or he was anxious to efface a most cruel and barbarous exploit by an act of clemency, he not only overlooked the complaints which he had against them, but he likewise desired them to attend carefully to their affairs, as, if any thing should happen to himself, Athens would give law to Greece.

The calamities, it is said, which he brought upon the Thebans, frequently gave him uneasiness in a subsequent part of his life, and upon that account he treated many others with less rigour. He certainly imputed the murther of Clitus, which he committed in his wine, and the Macedonians' dastardly refusal to proceed in the Indian expedition, by which his wars and his glory were curtailed, to the anger of Bacchus the avenger of Thebes [40]. And there was not a Theban, who survived the fatal overthrow, that was denied any favour he chose to request. Thus much concerning the Theban war.

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. Upon this occasion, many statesmen and philosophers came to congratulate him; and he hoped that Diogenes of Sinope [41], who then lived at Corinth, would have been one of the number. Finding however that he made but little account of him, and preferred the enjoyment of his leisure in a part of the suburbs called Cranium, he himself went to pay him a visit. Diogenes happened to be lying in the sun; and, on the approach of so many people, he raised himself up a little, and fixed his eyes upon

[40] Of which city he was a native.

[41] Arrian, in his Commentary on Epict. iii. 28., has drawn a strong picture of this stern philosopher.*

Alexander. The king addressed him in an obliging manner, and asked him; "If there was any thing, "in which he could serve him?" "Only stand "a little out of my sun-shine," 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 and abusing him as a monster, he said; "If I were not Alexander, I "should wish to be Diogenes."

Choosing to consult the oracle about the event of the war, and for that purpose paying a visit to Delphi, he happened to arrive on one of the days called 'inauspicious,' upon which it was illegal to propose any query. 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 himself went, and dragged her by force into the temple: upon which, as if conquered by his violence, she exclaimed, "My son, thou art invincible." Alexander, hearing this, said; "He wanted no other "answer, for he had obtained the very oracle which "he desired."

When he was on the point of setting out upon his expedition, he had many signs from the divine powers. Among the rest, the statue of Orpheus in Libethra[42], which was made of cypress-wood, was in a profuse sweat for several days. This the generality apprehended to be an ill presage; but Aristander bade them dismiss their fears: "It signified," he said, "that Alexander would perform actions so "worthy to be celebrated, that they would cost the "poets and musicians much labour and sweat."

As to the number of his troops, the lowest computation makes them amount to thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse, and the highest to thirty-

[42] This Libethra was in the country of the Odrysæ, in Thrace. But beside this, there was 'the Cave of the Nymphs of Libethra' on mount Helicon, probably so denominated by Orpheus, a native of that place.

four thousand foot and four thousand horse. The money provided for their subsistence, according to Aristobulus, was only seventy talents; Duris says, he had no more than sufficed to maintain them a single month; but Onesicritus affirms, that he borrowed two hundred talents for that purpose.

Though his provision however 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. When he had thus disposed of almost all the estates of the crown, Perdiccas asked him, "What he had reserved for himself?" He replied, "Hope." "Well," replied Perdiccas, "we, who share in your labours, will also take part "in your hopes." In consequence of which, he refused the estate allotted to him, and some others of the king's friends did the same. As for those who accepted his offers, or applied to him for favours, he served them with equal pleasure; and by these distributions the greatest part of his Macedonian revenues was exhausted. Such was the spirit and disposition, with which he crossed the Hellespont[43].

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' tomb with oil[44], and according to the established

[43] This, according to St. Clement (Strom. i.) was in Ol. xi. 3., B. C. 934. See also Corsini Fast. Att., Diod. Sic., xvii. 17., places it somewhat later. This author and Arrian add that, in his subsequent visit to the temple of Minerva, he exchanged his own arms for some, which he found there hung up, and which he afterward wore in all his battles; and the latter writer states that among the heroes he particularly distinguished Priam, with a view of conciliating his benevolence toward a descendent of his murtherer Neoptolemus.*

[44] Ælian (Var. Hist. xii. 7.) informs us that, while Alexander was anointing Achilles' pillar, Hephæstion was paying the same honour to that of Patroclus, to intimate that he stood in the same degree of favour as that hero with his master. This and other modes of testifying reverence for the dead are recorded by Herodian, iv.

custom ran round it naked with his friends; after which he placed 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 proclaim his praise." As he went about the city to view the curiosities, he was asked, whether he chose to see Paris' Lyre? "I set little value," said he, "upon the Lyre of "Paris; but it would give me great pleasure to see "that of Achilles, to which he sung the immortal "deeds of heroes[44]."

In the mean time, Darius' generals had assembled an immense army, and had taken post upon the banks of the Granicus[45]; 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 that a proper regard should be paid to a traditionary usage with respect to the time, for the kings of Macedon never marched out to war in the month Dæsius. Alexander cured them of this piece of superstition, by ordering that month to be called 'the second Artemisius.' And when Parmenio objected to his

14., speaking of Commodus' visit to Achilles' tomb; by Suetonius, in his Life of Augustus (xviii.), who says that Emperor had Alexander's tomb at Alexandria opened, and placed upon it a crown of gold with flowers; and by Quint. Curt. x. i., who mentions similar honours as paid by Alexander to Cyrus' remains.*

[44] This alludes to that passage, in the ninth book of the Iliad;

"Amused at ease the godlike man they found,
"Pleased 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.*

Ælian Var. Hist. ix. 30. mentions this reply, as does likewise Stobæus (Serm. vii.), who states that, when the priest offered to show him the Lyre of Paris, he answered; 'Show me the Lyre of Achilles, or rather his lance.' The months of Dæsius and Artemisius, mentioned below, corresponded nearly to May and April respectively.*

[45] This river traverses Phrygia and Mysia the Less, and falls into the Propontis.*

attempting a passage so late in the day, he replied; "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 the rapidity of the river which often bore him down or covered him with it's waves, his motions seemed the effects rather of madness than of sound sense. He held on however, till by astonishing efforts he gained the opposite banks, which the mud rendered extremely slippery and dangerous. When he was there, he was obliged to stand an engagement with the enemy hand to hand, and with much 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 upon 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 high distinction, attacked him [46] jointly. The latter he avoided with great address, and received the former with such a stroke of his spear upon his breast-plate, that it broke in pieces. He then drew his sword to despatch him, but his adversary still maintained the combat. In the mean time Spithridates came up on one side of him, and raising himself on his horse gave him a blow with his battle-ax, which cut off his crest with one side of the plume. Nay, the force of it was such, that the helmet could hardly resist it; it even penetrated to his hair.

[46] In this, Arrian agrees with Plutarch; but Diod. Sic. xvii. 20. and Quint. Curt. viii. 1., though not in any essential degree, differ from him.*

Spithridates was about to repeat his stroke, when the celebrated Clitus[47] prevented him, by running him through the body with his spear. At the same time, Alexander with his sword brought Rhœsaces to the ground.

While the cavalry were thus furiously and critically engaged, the Macedonian phalanx passed the river, and then the infantry likewise engaged. The enemy made no considerable or long resistance, but soon turned their backs and fled; all but the Grecian mercenaries, who forming 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 by 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, more of his men were 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[48]; whereas Alexander had only thirty-four men killed[49], nine of which were infantry. To do

[47] In the original it is Κλειτος ὁ μεγας, 'Clitus the Great.' But in Diod. Sic. ib. 57., we find Κλειτος ὁ μελας, 'Clitus the Black;' and Athenæus xiii. 9. and Justin xii. 12. mention Κλειτος ὁ λευκος, 'Clitus the Fair,' who survived Alexander, and according to Diod. Sic. xviii. 39. and Arrian ix. became Satrap of Lydia. Plutarch therefore, probably, wrote ὁ μελας.

[48] Some MSS. mention only ten thousand foot killed, which is the number in Diod. Sic. ib. 21. Arrian makes the number of horse killed only one thousand. (L.) The whole army of the barbarians, according to Justin's incredible account xi. 6., consisted of 600,000 men. Arrian, who computes them at only 40,000, is perhaps almost as far from the truth on the other side. Diod. Sic. gives the most probable number, 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse.*

[49] Arrian says, there were about twenty-five of the king's friends killed; and, of persons of less note, sixty horse and thirty foot. Q. Curtius informs us, it was only the twenty-five, who had sta-

honour to their memory, he erected to each of them a statue in brass, the workmanship of Lysippus. And that the Greeks might have their share in the glory of the day, he distributed among 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) from the barbarians in Asia.' The greatest part of the plate, the purple furniture, and other things of that kind which he took from the Persians, he transmitted to his mother.

This battle made an immediate change in the face of Alexander's affairs; insomuch that Sardis, the principal ornament of the Persian empire on the maritime side, opened it's gates to him; and all the other cities, except Halicarnassus and Miletus, followed it's example. These he took by storm, and subdued the whole of the adjacent country. After this, he remained some time in suspense, as to the measures which he should next take. One while, he was determined instantly to risk all upon the fate of a single battle with Darius: another while, he resolved first to reduce the maritime provinces; that, when he had exercised and strengthened himself by those intermediate actions and acquisitions, he might then march against that prince.

There is a spring in Lycia near the city of the Xanthians [50], which (they tell us) at that time spontaneously changed it's course; and overflowing it's banks threw up a plate of brass, upon which were engraved certain ancient characters, signifying, "That the Persian empire would one day come to a "period, and be destroyed by the Greeks." Encou-

tues by Lysippus. These were erected at Dia, a city of Macedon, whence Q. Metellus long afterward transferred them to Rome. (L.) This loss however, we must assuredly conclude with M. de St. Croix, is very much under-rated.*

[50] One of the great cities of Lycia, situated on the Xanthus, at the distance of two leagues from the sea.*

raged by this prophecy, he hastened to reduce all the coast, as far as Phœnice[51] and Cilicia. His march through Pamphylia has afforded matter to many historians for pompous description, as if it was by the interposition of heaven that the sea retired[52] before him, though at other times it ran there with so strong a current, that the breaker-rocks at the foot of the mountain were very seldom left bare. Menander, in his pleasant way, refers to this pretended miracle in one of his comedies:

> How like great Alexander! Do I seek
> A friend? Spontaneous he presents himself.
> Have I to march, where seas indignant roll?
> The sea retires, and there I pass.

But Alexander himself, in his Epistles, makes no miracle of the matter; he only says, "He marched from Phaselis, by the way called Climax."

He had spent some time at Phaselis; and having found in the market-place a statue of Theodectes[53], who had been of that place but was then dead, he went out one evening in masquerade, after he had drank freely at supper, and covered the statue with garlands. Thus, in an hour of festivity, he paid an agreeable compliment to the memory of a man, with

[51] This Phœnice, as Palmerius has observed, was a district of Lycia or Pamphylia.

[52] And yet Strabo (xiv.) assures us, that 'Alexander and his army, though they might have passed perfectly dry and safe at the ebb of the tide, were so impatient as to march up to the middle in water.' To this passage Josephus refers, in order to accredit among the Greeks and Romans that of the Israelites through the Red Sea. But Leslie, in his 'Short and Easy Method with the Deists,' has placed the latter event in a much more proper point of view, as well as made excellent use of the irresistible inferences which it affords.*

[53] This Theodectes, a pupil of Aristotle, wrote fifty Tragedies, a Treatise on Rhetoric, and several Orations. Phaselis, according to Steph. Byzant., was first called Pityusa, and next Phaselus: In it's territory stood the celebrated mount Chimœra, which cast out flames night and day. (Plin. H. N. ii. 106.)*

whom he had formerly been connected through the medium of Aristotle and philosophy.

After this, he subdued such of the Pisidians as had revolted, and conquered Phrygia. Upon taking Gordium [54], 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 him, who should untie "the knot." This, as most historians state, was twisted so many private ways and the ends of it were so artfully concealed [55], 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 undid 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 there he received intelligence of the death of Memnon [56], who was Darius' most respect-

[54] So called from Gordius, father of Midas, the first king of Phrygia. See Justin xi. 7. Instead of 'the bark of the cornel-tree,' mentioned below, (in which Arrian agrees with Plutarch) the Scholiast on Eurip. Hippol. says, the Gordian knot was tied with a vine-branch.*

[55] This seems to have been an art in vogue among the ancients, as Ulysses is said by Homer (Od. viii. 447.) to have secured his Phæacian presents by an intricate knot, which Circe had taught him.*

[56] 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 considerable 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 imminent 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

able officer in the maritime parts of his kingdom, and likely to have given the invader the greatest trouble. This confirmed him in his resolution of marching into the Upper Provinces of Asia.

By this time Darius had set forward from Susa, full of confidence in his numbers, for his army consisted of not less than six hundred thousand combatants; and highly animated besides by a dream, which the Magi had interpreted, rather with a view to please their prince, than with a regard to probability. He dreamed, 'That he saw the Macedonian phalanx all on fire, and that Alexander, in the dress which he himself had formerly worn when one of the king's couriers [57], acted as his servant; after which, Alexander went into the temple of Belus, and there suddenly disappeared.' By this, heaven seems to have signified, that prosperity and honour would attend the Macedonians; and that Alexander would become master of Asia, like Darius before him, who from a simple courier became a king; but that he would nevertheless soon die, and leave his glory behind him.

Darius was still farther encouraged by Alexander's long stay in Cilicia, which he regarded as the effect of his fears. The real cause of his stay however was sickness, which some attribute to his great fatigues, and others to his having bathed in the river Cydnus, the water of which is extremely cold. His physicians durst not give him any medicines, because they thought themselves not so certain of the cure, as of the danger which they should incur by

will honour me with the command, I will be accountable for the success of my proposal.' Darius was willing to accede to it; 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. xvii.. Q. Curt. iii. 2.)

[57] In the text Αγγαυδης. But it appears, from Hesychius and Suidas, that it should be read Αστανδης. It is the Persian word *istanda*, stator (from *stade*, stare) with a Greek termination; and we learn from Cicero, that *stator* signifies 'a courier.'

the application; for they were afraid that the Macedonians, if they were unsuccessful, would suspect them of some treachery. Philip the Acarnanian saw, as well as the rest, the desperate state of the king's health; but, beside the confidence which 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 undertook the cure, and found no difficulty in persuading the king to wait with patience till his medicine was prepared, or to drink 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 persuaded by presents of infinite value, and the promise of his daughter in marriage, to take him off by poison[58].' As soon as Alexander had read the letter, he put it under his pillow, without showing it to any of his friends. The time appointed being come, Philip with the king's friends entered the chamber, holding the cup with the medicine in his hand. The king received it freely, without betraying the least symptom of suspicion, and at the same time gave him the letter. 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 different air. The king, with an open and unembarrassed countenance, expressed his regard for Philip, and the confidence which he had in his honour; Philip's look exhibited 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 sovereign to be of good courage, and to rely upon his care.

[58] See Quint. Curt. iii. 6. Seneca, De Irâ xxiii., erroneously ascribes this letter to Olympias.*

The medicine indeed was so strong, and overpowered his spirits in such a manner, that at first he was speechless, and discovered scarcely any sign of sense or life. But he was quickly relieved by this faithful physician [59], and recovered so well that he was able to show himself to the Macedonians, whose distress did not abate till he made his personal appearance before them.

There was in the army of Darius a Macedonian fugitive, named Amyntas, who was perfectly acquainted with Alexander's position. This man, perceiving that Darius was preparing to march through the straits in quest of his adversary, besought 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 having come to an action, and "Alexander would escape him." "If that is all your "fear," replied the Macedonian, "let it give you "no farther uneasiness; for be assured, he will come "to seek you, and is already on his march." His representations, however, had no effect: Darius set out for Cilicia, and Alexander was on the way to Syria in quest of him. But, happening to miss each other in the night, they both turned back: Alexander rejoicing in his good fortune, and hastening to meet Darius in the straits, while Darius was endeavouring to disengage himself and recover his former camp. For by this time he was sensible of his error in having thrown himself into ground, hemmed in by the sea on one side and the mountains on the other, and intersected by the river Pinarus; so that it was impracticable for cavalry, and his infantry could only act in small and broken parties, while at the same time the situation was extremely convenient for the enemy's inferior numbers.

Thus fortune befriended Alexander, as to the

[59] In three days' time.

scene of action; but the skilful arrangement of his forces contributed still more to his gaining the victory. As his army was very small in comparison with that of Darius, he took care to draw it up so as to prevent it's being surrounded, by stretching out his right wing beyond 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, and (according to Chares [60]) by Darius, who engaged him hand to hand. But Alexander, in the account which he gave Antipater of the battle, does not mention who it was that wounded him. He only says, that he received a wound in his thigh by a sword, and that no dangerous consequences ensued.

The victory was a very signal one; for he killed above a hundred and ten thousand of the enemy [61]. Nothing was wanting to complete it, but the taking of Darius; and that prince narrowly escaped, having gotten the start of his pursuer by only four or five furlongs. Alexander took his chariot and his bow, and returned with them to his Macedonians. These he found loading themselves with the rich plunder of the enemy's camp, which was immense; though Darius, in order 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 now "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

[60] A historian of Mitylene, who appears to have lived about this time.*

[61] Diodorus says, a hundred and thirty thousand.

view of the basons, vials, boxes, and other vases curiously wrought in gold, smelt the fragrant odours of essences and perfumes, 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[62]."

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 had broken out into loud 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 "attended in the same manner, as when Darius was "in his highest prosperity." If this message to the captive princesses was gracious and humane, his actions were still more so. He allowed them to perform the funeral honours to what Persians they pleased, and for that purpose furnished them, out of the spoils, with robes and every other customary decoration. They had as many domestics, and were universally treated with as much respect, as formerly; their appointments, indeed, were even greater than ever. But there was another part of his behaviour to them, which was still more noble and princely. Though they were now captives, he considered that they were ladies, not only of illustrious rank, but of the utmost modesty and virtue; and he therefore took care, that they should not hear a single indecent word, nor have the least cause to suspect or fear any design upon their honour. Nay, as if they had been in a holy temple or an asylum of virgins,

[62] 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 Persian luxury.

rather than in an enemy's camp, they lived unseen and unapproached, in the most sacred privacy.

The wife of Darius, it is said, was one of the most beautiful of princesses, as Darius himself was one of the tallest and the handsomest of men, and their daughters much resembled them. But Alexander undoubtedly thought it more glorious and worthy of a king to conquer himself, than to subdue his enemies, and he therefore never approached one of them. His continence indeed was such, that he never knew any woman before his marriage except Barsine, who became a widow by the death of her husband Memnon, and was taken prisoner near Damascus. She was well versed in Greek literature, a woman of the most agreeable temper, and of royal extraction; for her father, Artabazus, was grandson to a king of Persia[63]. It was Parmenio, according to Aristobulus, that led Alexander into this connexion with so accomplished a woman, whose beauty was her least perfection. As for the other female captives, though they were tall and beautiful, Alexander took no farther notice of them than to say, by way of jest, "What eye-sores these Persian women are[64]!" He found a counter-charm in the beauty of self-government and sobriety; and, in the strength of that, he passed them by as so many statues.

Philoxenus, who commanded his forces upon the coast, acquainted him by letter, that there was one Theodorus a Tarentine with him, who had two beautiful boys to sell, and desired to know whether or not he chose to buy them. Alexander was so much incensed at this application, that he asked his friends several times; "What base inclinations Philoxenus

[63] Son to a king of Persia's daughter. By her Alexander had a son called Hercules, who attained the age of seventeen, and was, with his brother (according to Diod. Sic., and Pausanias) put to death by Cassander.*

[64] This expression was likewise used to Amyntas by some Persians, as we learn from Herodotus, and is severely criticised by Longinus.*

"had ever discovered in him, that he durst make "him so infamous a proposal?" In his answer to the letter, which was extremely severe upon Philoxenus, he ordered him to dismiss Theodorus and his vile merchandise together. He likewise reprimanded young Agnon, for having offered to purchase for him Crobylus, whose beauty was celebrated in Corinth. Being informed that two Macedonians, named Damon and Timotheus, had corrupted the wives of some of his mercenaries who served under Parmenio, he ordered that officer to inquire into the affair, and if they were found guilty, to put them to death, as savages bent on the destruction of human kind. In the same letter, speaking of his own conduct, he expresses himself in these terms: 'For my part, I have neither seen, nor desire to see, the wife of Darius; so far from that, I have not suffered any man to speak of her beauty in my hearing.' He used to say, "That sleep, and the commerce with "the sex, were the things which made him most "sensible of his mortality." For he considered both weariness and pleasure, as the natural effects of our infirmity.

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[65]. Ada, to express her affectionate regard, sent him every day a number of excellent dishes and a handsome desert; and, at last, 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 Leo-"nidas; a march before day to prepare his dinner,

[65] This princess, after the death of her eldest brother Mausolus and his sister and consort Artemisia, who left no children, succeeded to the throne with her brother Hidreus, to whom she had been married. Hidreus dying before her, Pexodorus her third brother dethroned her, and after his death his son-in-law Orontobates seized the crown, and held it for five years. But Alexander restored her to the possession of her dominions. (See Diod. Sic. xvi. 74., xvii. 24., &c.)

" and a light dinner to prepare his supper[66]." " The " same Leonidas," he added, " used to examine the " chests, and wardrobes, in which his bedding and " clothes were put, lest something of luxury and " superfluity should have been introduced there by " his mother."

Neither was he so much addicted to wine, as he was supposed to be. The supposition prevailed, because he passed much time at table; but that time was spent in talking, rather 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 like other generals to be detained by wine, or sleep, or pleasure, or honourable love, or the most entertaining exhibition. His life sufficiently confirms this assertion; for, though very short, he achieved in it innumerable exploits.

On his days of leisure, as soon as he rose, he sacrificed to the gods; after which, he took his dinner sitting[67]. The rest of the day he spent in hunting, or deciding differences among his troops, or reading and writing. If he was upon a march which did not require haste, he would exercise himself in shooting and darting the javelin, or in mounting and alighting from a chariot at full speed. Sometimes also he diverted himself with fowling and fox-hunting, as we find by his journals[68].

Upon 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 and his cooks, if they had prepared every thing in a handsome manner for supper. It was not till late in the evening, and when night was come on, that he took this meal, and then he ate in a recumbent posture. He was very kind

[66] ——— *Tu pulmentaria quære*
Sudando. (Hor. Sat. II. ii. 20.)*

[67] Not resting on a couch, as at the more disengaged hour of supper.*

[68] Or Ephemerides, drawn up by Eumenes and Diodotus. See Athen. x. 9., and Arrian vii.*

and attentive to his guests at table, in seeing that they were all equally served, and none neglected. His entertainments, as we have already observed, lasted many hours; but they were lengthened out rather by conversation than by 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[69], as to indulge a troublesome vanity. He would not only boast of his own actions, but he suffered himself to be cajoled by flatterers to an amazing degree. These wretches were an intolerable burthen to the rest of the company, who did not choose to contend with them in adulation, nor yet to appear behind-hand with them in their estimate of the king's achievements.

As to delicacies, he had so little regard for them, that when the choicest fruit and fish were brought to him from distant countries and seas, he would send a portion of them to each of his friends, and very frequently reserved none for himself. Yet there was always a magnificence at his table, and the expense increased with his fortune, till it amounted to ten thousand drachmas for one entertainment[70]. At that point, it stood: and he never suffered those, who invited him, to exceed it.

After the battle of Issus he sent to Damascus, and seized the money and the equipages of the Persians, together with their wives and children. Upon that occasion, the Thessalian cavalry enriched themselves the most. They had indeed greatly distinguished themselves in the action, and they were favoured with this commission, that they might have proportionally the best share of the spoil. Not but that the rest of the army, likewise, found sufficient booty;

[69] The ancients, in their comic pieces, used always to put the Rodomontades, as we now call them from Ariosto's braggart Rodomonte, in the mouth of a soldier.

[70] About 322*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* For this sum he usually entertained sixty or seventy of his friends. See Athen. iv. 10.*

and the Macedonians, having once tasted the treasures and voluptuousness and luxuries of the barbarians, hunted for the wealth of Persia with all the ardour of hounds in full scent of their game[71].

It appeared to Alexander a matter of considerable importance, before he advanced any farther, to gain the maritime powers. The kings of Cyprus and Phœnicia submitted, on his first application; Tyre alone held out. The siege of that city cost him seven months, during which time he erected vast mounts of earth, plied it with his engines, and invested it on the side next the sea with two hundred galleys. Within that period he had a dream, in which he saw Hercules offering him his hand from the wall, and inviting him to enter. And many of the Tyrians dreamed[72] that Apollo declared, "He "would go over to Alexander, because he was dis-"pleased with their behaviour in the town." Upon this the Tyrians, as if the god had been a deserter taken in the fact, loaded his statue with chains, and nailed it's feet to the pedestal; not scrupling to call him 'an Alexandriser.' In another dream, Alexander thought he saw a satyr playing before him at some distance; and, when he advanced to seize him, the savage eluded his grasp. At last, however, after much coaxing and taking many circuits round him, he persuaded him to surrender himself. The inter-

[71] *Ut canis à corio nunquam absterrebitur uncto.*
(Hor. Sat. II. v. 83.)
Χαλεπον χρηιω κυνα γευσαι. (Theocr. Id. x. 11.)

[72] One of the Tyrians dreamed, that he saw Apollo flying from the city. Upon his reporting this to the people, they would have stoned him, supposing that he did it to intimidate them. He was obliged, therefore, to take refuge in the temple of Hercules. But the magistrates, upon mature deliberation, resolved to fix one end of a golden chain to the statue of Apollo, and the other to the altar of Hercules. (Diod. Sic. xvii., Q. Curt. iv. 3.) (L.) This statue had been transferred by the Carthaginians from Gela, on their capture of that city. (Diod. Sic. xiii. 8.) Tyre, in Alexander's time, according to both these writers, stood in an island, but was by his works united to the continent. Most of these dreams, as M. Ricard observes, are obviously *des contes faits après coup.**

preters, plausibly enough, divided the Greek term for 'satyr' into two, *Sa Tyros*, which signifies 'Tyre 'is thine.' And they show us a fountain, near which Alexander is said to have seen the vision, to this day.

About the middle of the siege, he made an excursion against the Arabians, who dwelt about Antilibanus. He there incurred an imminent risk of his life on account of his preceptor Lysimachus, who insisted upon attending him, being (as he alleged) neither older nor less valiant than Phœnix. But when they came to the hills, and quitted their horses in order to climb up on foot, the rest of the party got considerably before Alexander and Lysimachus. Night came on, and as the enemy was not far off, the king would not leave his preceptor borne down as he was with fatigue and with the weight of years. While he was encouraging him therefore and helping him forward, he was insensibly separated from his troops, and had a dark and very cold night to pass in a most dismal situation. In this perplexity, he observed at a distance a number of scattered fires, which the enemy had lighted; and depending upon his fleetness and activity, as well as his having been accustomed to extricate the Macedonians out of every difficulty by taking a share in all their labours and hazards, he ran to the nearest blaze, killed two of the barbarians who sat watching it, and seizing a brand hastened back with it to his own 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 heavy loss. By these means, according to Chares' account, he passed the night in safety.

As for the siege, it was brought to a termination in the following manner: Alexander had permitted his main body, after the long and severe fatigues which they had undergone, to repose themselves, and ordered only some small parties to keep the Tyrians in play. In the mean time, Aristander his

principal soothsayer offered sacrifices; and one day, upon inspecting the entrails of the victim, he boldly asserted among those about him, that the city would certainly be taken in that month. As it happened then to be the last day of the month, his assertion was received with scorn and ridicule. The king perceiving that he was disconcerted, and making a point of verifying his minister's prophecies, gave orders that the day should be named not the thirtieth, but the twenty-eighth of the month*. At the same time, he called out his forces by sound of trumpet, and made a much more vigorous assault than he had at first designed. The attack was violent, and those who were left behind in the camp rushed forward to have a share in it, and to support their fellow-soldiers; so that the Tyrians were obliged to yield, and the city was taken that very day [73].

Thence he marched into Syria, and laid siege to Gaza [74], the capital of that country. While he was thus employed, a bird, as it flew by, let fall a clod of earth upon his shoulder, and then perching on the cross cords with which they turned the engines, was entangled and taken. Aristander's interpretation of this sign was justified by the event: the king was wounded in the shoulder, but he took the city. The greatest part of it's spoils he despatched to Olympias, and Cleopatra, and others of his friends. Among these, his tutor Leonidas was not forgotten; and the present, which he made him, had something particular in it. It consisted of five hundred talents' weight of frankincense [75], and a hundred of myrrh, and was sent upon recollection of the hopes which he had conceived when a boy. Leonidas, it seems,

* By an artifice similar to that, which he had previously adopted, when he called the month Dæsius 'the second Artemisius,' p. 261.*

[73] Ol. cxii. 1. according to Diod. Sic. xvii. 40.*

[74] A city of Palestine, situated on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea. On the subject of the ensuing presage, and it's fulfilment, see Q. Curt. iv. 6. and Arrian. ii.

[75] See the Table of Weights, Vol. I.

had one day 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 to him, "I have sent you "frankincense and myrrh in abundance, that you "may no longer be churlish in your attentions to "the gods."

A casket being one day brought to him, which appeared one of the most 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 being proposed by each, he himself observed, "That he should depo-"sit and preserve the Iliad in it." 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 inactive or useless counsellor to him, in the course of the war. They inform us, that after he had conquered Egypt, and determined to build there a large 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; when a wonderful dream made him fix upon another situation. He thought a person with very grey hair, and a most venerable aspect, approached him, and repeated the following lines[76]:

> High o'er a gulfy sea, the Pharian isle
> Fronts the deep roar of disemboguing Nile*.

Upon which he immediately left his bed, and went to Pharos, at that time an island lying a little above the Canopic[77] mouth of the Nile, but now joined to the continent by a causeway. He no sooner

[76] Odyss. iv. 354.*
* Pope.
[77] The most Western, *hod.* Maadie, near which stands Rosetta.*

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 it's length. On one side it has a great lake, and on the other the sea, which there forms a capacious harbour [78]. This led him to declare, that "Homer, among his other admirable qualifications, "was an excellent architect;" and he ordered a city to be laid out in conformity to the ground, and it's appendent conveniences. For want of chalk, they made use of flour, which answered tolerably well 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 cloke [79].

While the king was enjoying the design, on a sudden an infinite number of large birds of various kinds arose, like a black cloud, out of the river and the lake; and lighting upon the place ate up all the flour which had been used in tracing the lines. Alexander was disturbed at the omen; but the soothsayers encouraged him to proceed, by representing it as a sign that the city, which he was about to build, would be blest with such plenty, as to be able to supply all that should repair to it from other nations.

The execution of the plan he left to his architects, and proceeded himself to visit the temple of

[78] This city, Diod. Sic. informs us, was seated very commodiously by the haven of Pharos; and the streets were so contrived as to admit the cooling breezes, which refreshed the air. Alexander ordered a broad and high wall to be drawn round it, so as to have the sea close on one side, and a great lake on the other. It's form resembled that of a soldier's cloke. One large beautiful street passed from gate to gate, in breadth a hundred feet, and in length forty furlongs or five miles. It became in after-ages so rich and populous, that there were three hundred thousand freemen upon it's rolls. (xvii.)

[79] See Plin. H. N. v. 10., Strabo xvii., Steph. Byzant. voc. Alexandria. With regard to the time of the building, the name of the architect, &c. there are some differences among authors; but they are not very important, and are easily reconciled with each other.*

Jupiter Ammon. It was a long and laborious journey [80]; and, beside the fatigue, there were two great dangers attending it; one, that in a desert of many days' journey which afforded no supply, their water might fail; and the other, that they might be surprised by a violent south-wind amidst the wastes of sand, as had long before happened to the army of Cambyses. This wind raised the sand, and rolled it in such waves, that it swallowed up and entombed fifty thousand men [81]. 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.

The assistances from above, which Alexander experienced in this march, met with more credit than the oracles delivered at the end of it; though those oracles were, in some measure, confirmed by them. For first, Jupiter sent such a copious and constant rain, as not only relieved them from all apprehension of suffering by thirst, but by moistening the sand, and making it firm to the foot, rendered the air clear and fit for respiration. In the next place,

[80] As to his motives in this journey, historians disagree. Arrian (iii. 3.) tells us, he took it in imitation of Perseus and Hercules, the former of whom consulted that oracle, when he was despatched against the Gorgons; and the latter twice, viz. when he went into Lybia against Antæus, and into Egypt against Busiris. Now, as Perseus and Hercules gave themselves out to be the sons of the Grecian Jupiter, so Alexander had a mind to take Jupiter Ammon for his father. Maximus Tyrius (Serm. xxv.) informs us, that he went to discover the fountains of the Nile: and Justin (xi. 11.) says the intention of this visit was to clear up his mother's character, and to gain himself the reputation of a divine extraction.

[81] This tradition (says M. de S. Croix) must appear incredible to any one acquainted with the route followed by the Greeks, who visited the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and was undoubtedly fabricated to prevent any future invasion of the country.*

when they found the marks which were to serve as guides to travellers removed or defaced, and in consequence wandered up and down without any certain route, a flock of crows made their appearance, and directed them in the way [82]. When they marched briskly forward, the crows flew with equal swiftness; when they lagged behind, or halted, the crows also checked their speed. What was still more extraordinary, Callisthenes avers, that whenever they happened to have strayed out of the road by night, these birds recalled them by their croaking, and set them right again.

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 his father's assassins had escaped him?" the priest desired he would not express himself in that manner, "for his father was not a mortal." He then asked, "Whether all the murtherers of Philip were punished; and whether he himself were ordained to be the conqueror of the world?" Jupiter answered, "That he granted him that high distinction; and that Philip's death had been sufficiently avenged." Upon this, Alexander made his acknowledgements to the god by rich offerings, and loaded the priests with presents of great value. This is the account, which most historians give us of the affair of the oracle; but Alexander himself, in the letter which he wrote to his mother upon that occasion, only states that, "He received certain private answers from the oracle, which he would communicate to her, and to her alone on his return."

Some writers inform us that Ammon's prophet, wishing to address him courteously in Greek, intended to say, *O Paidion,* which signifies, 'My Son;'

[82] Q. Curt., iv. 7., tells the same story; but Strabo represents the whole as the invention of Callisthenes, though not very consonant to that philosopher's character, to gratify his prince's vanity.*

but in his barbarous pronunciation* made the word end with an *s*, instead of an *n*, and so said, *O Pai dios*, which signifies, 'O Son of Jupiter.' Alexander (they add) was delighted with the mistake in the pronunciation, and from that mistake arose a report, that Jupiter himself had called him his son.

He went to hear Psammo, an Egyptian philosopher; and the saying of his with which he was most pleased, was, "That all men are governed by "God, for in every thing that which rules and go-"verns is divine." But Alexander's own maxim was more agreeable to sound philosophy; He said, "God is the common father of men, but more par-"ticularly of the virtuous."

When he was 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 the utmost caution, that he assumed any thing of divinity among the Greeks. We must except, however, what he wrote to the Athenians concerning Samos: "It was not I, who gave you that free and noble city, but your then lord, who was called my father," meaning Philip[83].

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 the blest immortals shed[84]."

One day, it happened to thunder in such a dreadful manner, as to astonish all that heard it: upon which Anaxarchus the sophist[85], being in company

* Parr, in his notes on the 'Character of C. J. Fox,' conceives the blunder to have been intentional. (II. 527.)

[83] He knew the Athenians were sunk into such meanness, that they would readily admit his pretensions to divinity. In the same manner they subsequently deified Demetrius.

[84] Hom. Il. v. 340. Seneca (Ep. lix.) says, he made this remark, upon receiving a wound in India.*

[85] So he is called also by Ælian, Var. Hist. ix. 37.; and apparently with more propriety than Athenæus vi. 13. and Diog. Laert. ix. 58. discover, in calling him 'Philosopher.'*

with him, said; "Son of Jupiter, could you do so?" Alexander answered, with a smile, "I do not choose "to be so terrible to my friends as you would have "me, who despise my entertainments because you "see fish served up, and not the heads of Persian "grandees." The king, it seems, had made Hephæstion a present of some small fish; and Anaxarchus observing it, inquired, "Why did he not ra-"ther send you the heads of princes[86]?" intimating the worthlessness and vanity of those glittering things, which conquerors pursue with so much danger and fatigue; since, after all, their enjoyments are little or nothing superior to those of other men. It appears then, from what has been stated, that Alexander neither believed nor was elated with the notion of his divinity, but that he only made use of it in order to bring others into subjection.

On his return from Egypt to Phœnicia, he honoured the gods with sacrifices and solemn processions; upon which occasion the people were entertained with music and dancing, and tragedies were represented in the greatest perfection, not only with respect to the magnificence of the scenery, but also from the spirit of emulation in those by whom they were exhibited. In Athens, persons are chosen out of the tribes by lot, to conduct those exhibitions; but in this case the princes of Cyprus rivalled each other with incredible ardour, particularly Nicocreon king of Salamis, and Pasicrates king of Soli*. They chose the most celebrated actors, that

[86] Diog. Laert. ib. imputes this saying of Anaxarchus to his hatred of Nicocreon, tyrant of Salamis. According to him, Alexander having one day invited Anaxarchus to dinner, asked him how he liked his entertainment? 'It is excellent,' replied the guest; 'it wants only one dish, and that a most delicious one, the head of a tyrant:'—not the heads of the Satrapæ, or governors of provinces, as here stated by Plutarch. If the philosopher really meant the head of Nicocreon, he subsequently paid dear for his remark; for after Alexander's death he was forced by contrary winds upon the coast of Cyprus, where the tyrant seized him, and had him pounded to death in a mortar.

* See the Life of Solon, Vol. I.*

could be found; Pasicrates risked the victory upon Athenodorus, and Nicocreon upon Thessalus. Alexander particularly interested himself in behalf of the latter; but he did not discover his attachment, till Athenodorus was declared victor by all the suffrages. He then, as he left the theatre, said, "I "commend the judges for what they have done; "but I would have given half my kingdom, rather "than have seen Thessalus conquered."

When Athenodorus however was fined by the Athenians for not appearing upon their stage at the feasts of Bacchus [87], and entreated Alexander to write to them in his favour, he paid his fine for him, though he refused to comply with his request. Another actor, named Lycon, a native of Scarphia [88], performing with great applause before Alexander, dexterously inserted in one of the speeches of the comedy a verse, by which he asked him for ten talents. Alexander laughed, and gave him them.

About this time he received a letter from Darius, in which that prince proposed, on condition of obtaining his friendship and alliance, to pay him ten thousand talents in ransom of the prisoners, to cede to him all the countries on the western side of the Euphrates, and to give him his daughter in marriage. On his communicating these proposals to his council, Parmenio said; "If I were Alexander, I would ac-"cept them." "So would I," replied Alexander [89], "if I were Parmenio." His answer to Darius was, "That if he would come to him, he should find the "best of treatment; if not, he must advance and "seek him."

[87] This anecdote shows the inherent passion of the Athenians for theatrical entertainments, as the preceding one does that of Alexander for whatever trifle he chose to interest himself about.*

[88] A city of Locris Epicnemedia, on the Maliac gulf.*

[89] Longinus notices this, as an instance that it is natural for men of genius, even in their common discourse, to let fall something great and sublime. 'No one,' says he, 'but Alexander, could have returned such an answer.' (L.) Upon the period, and precise nature, of these overtures almost all the historians are more or less at va-

After this, 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 child-bed [90]; and Alexander was obviously much concerned, because he had lost an opportunity of exercising his clemency. All he could do was to return, and bury her with the utmost magnificence. One of the eunuchs of the bed-chamber named Tireus, who was taken prisoner along with the princesses, made his escape at this time out of the camp, and rode off to Darius, with intelligence of the queen's death.

Darius struck his head, and shed a torrent of tears. After which he cried out, "Ah cruel destiny of the "Persians! Was the wife and sister of their king, "not only to be taken captive, but also after her "death to be deprived of the obsequies due to her "high rank!" Here the eunuch, interrupting him, replied; "As to her obsequies, O King, and all the "honours which were her due, there is no reason to "blame the evil genius of the Persians. For neither "my mistress Statira during her life, nor your royal "mother or children, were deprived of any of the "advantages of their former fortune, except behold-"ing the light of your countenance, which the great "Oromasdes [91] will again cause to shine with as

riance with each other; as also with regard to the numbers and losses of the two armies engaged in the ensuing decisive battle of Arbela, or rather Gaugamela.*

[90] Here the biographer must be wrong, says M. de Bougainville (*Acad. Des Inscript.* xxv. p. 34, &c.), or the captive queen an adulteress, as nearly two years had elapsed since her separation from Darius; and the latter idea her general character wholly excludes. 'Was it generous in Alexander, who has been so much celebrated upon this head,' the same writer inquires, 'to have detained his royal prisoners so long?' And he endeavours in reply to show, that reasons of policy alone prevented his following the natural liberality of his temper, and setting them all at liberty.

[91] Oromasdes was worshipped by the Persians as the Author of all Good, and Arimanius was deemed the Author of Evil; agreeably to the principles, from which they were believed to spring, Light and Darkness. The Persian writers call them Yerdan, and Abriman.

" much lustre as before. Far from being curtailed " of any of the solemnities of a funeral, the queen " was honoured with the tears of her very enemies. " For Alexander is as mild in the use of his victories, " as he is terrible in battle."

Upon hearing this, Darius was extremely moved, and strange suspicions took possession of his soul. He took the eunuch into the most private apartment of his pavilion, and said, " If thou dost not revolt " to the Macedonians, as the fortune of Persia has " done, but still acknowledgest in me thy lord; tell " me, as thou honourest the light of Mithra and the " right-hand of the king, is not the death of Statira " the least of her misfortunes, which I have to la- " ment? Were we not greater objects of compas- " sion while she lived? And amidst all our calami- " ties, would not our disgrace have been less, had " we met with a more rigorous and savage enemy? " For what engagement, within the compass of vir- " tue, could induce a young man to pay such ho- " nours to the wife of his enemy?"

While the king was yet speaking, Tireus humbled his face to the earth, and entreated him not to make use of expressions so unworthy of himself, so injurious to Alexander, and so dishonourable to the memory of his deceased wife and sister; nor to deprive himself of his own best consolation in his misfortune, the reflecting that he had only been defeated by a person superior to human nature. Alexander, he assured him, was more to be admired for the propriety of his behaviour to the women, than for the valour which he had exerted against the men of Persia. At the same time, he confirmed all that he had said with the most aweful oaths, and expatiated still more largely upon the regularity of that prince's conduct and his dignity of mind.

Darius, on this, returned to his friends; and lifting up his hands to heaven, exclaimed, " Ye gods, " who are the guardians of our birth and the pro- " tectors of kingdoms, grant that I may re-establish

" the fortunes of Persia, and leave them in the glory " in which I found them; that victory may enable " me to return to Alexander those favours, which " my dearest pledges have experienced from him in " my fall! But if the time determined by fate and " the divine wrath, or brought about by the vicissi- " tude of things, is now come, and the glory of " Persia must fall, may none but Alexander sit on " the throne of Cyrus [92]!" In this manner, as history informs us, were things conducted, and such were the speeches uttered upon the occasion.

Alexander having subdued every thing west of the Euphrates, began his march against Darius, who had taken the field with a million of men. During this march, one of his friends by way of amusement told him, that the servants of the army had divided themselves into two bands, and that each had chosen a chief, of whom they called one Alexander and the other Darius. These parties began to skirmish with clods, and afterward fought with their fists; and at last, heated by a desire of victory, had many of them come to stones and sticks, so that they could hardly be separated. The king upon this report ordered the two chiefs to fight in single combat, and with his own hands armed Alexander, 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 [93]. The two champions fought with great fury; but he, who bore the name of Alexander, proved victorious: upon which he was rewarded with a present of twelve villages, and allowed to wear a Persian robe, as Eratosthenes tells the story.

The decisive battle with Darius was not fought at

[92] This was the Persian phrase, adopted in compliment to the great founder of their empire. So Horace,

Redditum Cyri solio Phraatem. (Od. II. ii. 17.)*

[93] This was a practice in usage with the old Germans. Tac. de Mor. Germ. x. *Victoria hujus vel illius pro præjudicio accipitur.**

Arbela[94] (as most historians will have it) but at Gaugamela, which in the Persian tongue is said to signify, 'The house of the dromedary;' so denominated, because one of their ancient kings[95], having by the swiftness of his dromedary escaped his enemies, placed her there, and appointed the revenue of certain villages for her maintenance.

In the month of Boëdromion there happened an eclipse of the moon[96], about the beginning of the festival 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 went through his lines by torch-light. In the mean time Alexander suffered his Macedonians to repose themselves, and with his soothsayer Aristander performed some private ceremonies before his tent, and offered sacrifices to Fear[97]. The oldest of his friends, and Parmenio in particular, when they beheld the whole plain between Niphates and the Gordæan[98] mountains illumined with the torches of the barbarians, and heard the tumultuary and appalling noise from their camp like the bellowings of an immense sea, were astonished at their numbers, and observed

[94] But as Gaugamela was only a village, and Arbela a considerable town stood near it (Strabo xvi. and Arrian say, 'at a considerable distance'), the Macedonians chose to distinguish the battle by the name of the latter.

[95] Darius, the son of Hystaspes, in his passage across the deserts of Scythia.

[96] This eclipse of the moon, according to astronomers, took place on the 20th of September, by the Julian calendar; and therefore the battle of Arbela was fought on the 1st or 2nd of October, Ol. cxii. 2.

[97] In the printed text it is Φοίβῳ, 'to Apollo,' but Amyot informs us, he found in several MSS. Φόβῳ, 'to Fear.' The same error, and the same correction by H. Etienne, occur in the Life of Theseus, Vol. I. p. 34. Fear was not without her altars: Theseus, it appears, sacrificed to her; and Plutarch in the Lives of Agis and Cleomenes, says that 'the Lacedæmonians built a temple to Fear, whom they honoured not as a pernicious dæmon, but as the bond of all good government.'

[98] These mountains were east and west between Armenia and Mesopotamia, in the northern part of which latter country stood Gaugamela.*

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 after 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 which, he returned them the celebrated answer, "I will not steal "a victory."

This answer, it is true, has been supposed by some to indicate the vanity of a young man, who derided the most imminent danger: others, however, have thought it not only well calculated to encourage his troops at that time, but politic also with respect to the future; because, if Darius happened to be beaten, it left him no ground for proceeding to another trial, under the 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 of men, that would induce Darius to relinquish 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 themselves obliged to issue orders to the troops to take their morning-refreshment. After this, as the occasion was urgent, Parmenio entered his apartment, and standing by the bed-side called him two or three times by name. When he awaked, that officer asked him, "Why he slept like a man who "had already conquered, and not rather like one, "who had the greatest battle the world ever witness-"ed impending?" Alexander smiled at the question, and said; "In what other light can you look "upon us, than in that of conquerors, when we

" have not now to traverse desolate countries in pur-
" suit of Darius, and he no longer declines the com-
" bat?" It was not only however before the battle, but in the face of danger, that Alexander displayed his excellent judgement and his intrepidity. For the battle was, for 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 which was left to guard the Macedonian baggage. Parmenio, much 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. At the very moment of receiving this account, he was giving his right wing, which he commanded in person, the signal to charge. He stopped however to tell the messenger, " Par-
" menio must have lost his senses, and forgotten in
" his disorder, that the conquerors are always mas-
" ters of all that belonged to the enemy; and that
" the conquered need not give themselves any con-
" cern about their treasures or their prisoners, nor
" any thing else indeed except how to sell their lives
" dearly, 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 had come 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 had been 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 fitted a gorget of the same metal, set with precious stones. His sword, the weapon which he generally used in battle, was a present from the king of the Citieans, and could not be excelled for lightness or for temper. But the belt, which he wore in all his engagements,

was still more superb than the rest of his armour. It was given him by the Rhodians, as a mark of their respect, and old Helicon[99] had exerted all his art upon it. In drawing up his army and giving orders, as well as in 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, which he made to the Thessalians and the other Greeks upon this occasion, was of some length. 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 toward heaven, according to Callisthenes, entreated the gods "to defend and invigorate the Greeks, if "he was really 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 directing 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[100].

99 In this description of Alexander's armour, and the mention of the workmen by whom it had been made, as well as in the principle of his preceding reply to Parmenio, and the eagle introduced below, Dacier traces the imitator of Homer. Helicon and his father Acesus were eminent in the art of embroidery, as we learn from Athenæus, xi. 9., who preserves an inscription to that purport, copied from the temple of Apollo at Delphi.*

100 Plutarch, as a writer of Lives, not of Histories, does not pretend to give an exact description of battles. But as many of our readers may be glad to see some of the more remarkable in detail, we shall give an account of this from Arrian, and others.

Alexander's right-wing charged first upon the Scythian horse; who, as they were well armed and extremely robust, behaved at the beginning with great bravery. That this might answer more effectually, the chariots placed in the left-wing bore down at the same time upon the Macedonians. Their appearance was terrible, and threatened entire destruction; but Alexander's light-armed troops by their darts, arrows, and stones killed many of the drivers, and

Before the first ranks were completely engaged, the barbarians gave way, and Alexander pressed hard upon the fugitives, in order to penetrate into the midst of the host where Darius fought in person. For he beheld him at a distance, over the foremost ranks, amidst his royal squadron. Beside 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 his chariot, and seemed well prepared to receive the enemy. But Alexander's approach appeared so terrible, as he drove the fugitives upon those who still maintained their ground, that they were seized with consternation, and the chief part of them dispersed. A few of the best and bravest of them indeed met their death before their prince's chariot, and falling

more of the horses, so that few of them reached the Macedonian line; which opening as Alexander had directed, they only passed through, and were then either taken or disabled by his bodies of reserve. The horse continued still engaged; and, before any thing decisive happened there, the Persian foot near their left-wing began to move, with the hope of falling upon the flank of the Macedonian right-wing, or of penetrating so far as to divide it from it's centre. Alexander, perceiving this, sent Aratas with a corps to charge them, and prevent their intended manœuvre. In the mean time, prosecuting his first design, he broke their cavalry in the left-wing, and entirely routed it. He then charged the Persian foot in flank, and they made but a feeble resistance. Darius upon this gave up all for lost, and fled. (Arr. iii. 13., &c.)

Diod. Sic. ascribes the success, which for a time attended the Persian troops, entirely to Darius' conduct and valour. It happened however that Alexander, attacking his guards, threw a dart at Darius, which though it missed him, struck the charioteer at his feet dead; and as he fell forward, some of the guards raised a loud cry, whence those behind them conjectured that the king was slain, and fled. This obliged Darius to follow their example; and accordingly, knowing his route could not be discovered on account of the dust and confusion, he wheeled about till he got behind the Persian army, and continued his flight that way, while Alexander pursued right forward. (xvii.)

Justin informs us, that when those about Darius advised him to break down the bridge of the Cydnus in order to retard the enemy's pursuit, he answered; 'I will never purchase safety for myself at the expense of so many thousands of my subjects, as must by such a measure be destroyed.' (xi. 14.)

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 lay upon the ground.

Darius had now the most dreadful dangers before his eyes. His own forces, which had been placed in the front for his defence, were driven back upon him: the wheels of his chariot were likewise entangled among the dead bodies, so that it was almost impossible to turn it round; and the horses plunging among heaps of the slain bounded up and down, and no longer obeyed the hands of the driver. In this extremity he quitted his carriage and arms, and fled, as we are told, upon a mare which had newly foaled. But in all probability he would not so have escaped, if Parmenio had not again despatched some horsemen to desire that Alexander would come to his assistance, as great part of the enemy's forces still maintained their ground, and appeared unwilling to give way. Upon the whole, Parmenio is accused of want of spirit and activity in that battle: whether it was, that age had damped his courage; or (as Callisthenes states) that he regarded Alexander's power and arrogance with an invidious eye, and considered them as insupportable [101]. Alexander, though exasperated at being thus stopped in his career, did not acquaint the troops about him with the purport of the message; but under the pretence of being weary of so much carnage, and of it's growing dark, sounded a retreat. As he was riding up, however, to that part of his army, which had been represented as in danger, he was informed that the enemy were totally defeated and put to flight.

[101] The truth seems to be, that Parmenio had too much concern for Alexander. Philip of Macedon confessed, that Parmenio was the only general he knew: and upon this occasion he probably considered, that if the wing under his command had been beaten, that corps of Persians would have been able to keep the field; and the fugitives, rallying and joining it, would have formed a respectable force, which might have regained the day.

The battle having thus terminated, the Persian empire appeared to be totally destroyed, and Alexander was acknowledged king of all Asia. His first step was, to make his acknowledgements 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 under the auspices of freedom by their own laws. 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 Phäylus [102], a champion of the wrestling-ring; who in the war with the Medes, when the rest of the Greeks in Italy furnished no assistance to their brethren in Greece, fitted out a ship at his own expense and repaired to Salamis, in order to participate 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!

He traversed the whole province of Babylon [103], which immediately made it's submission; and in the district of Ecbatana he was particularly struck with a gulf of fire, which streamed continually, as from

* See the Life of Aristides, Vol. II.

[102] In Herodotus, Phoÿllus. (viii.) This wrestler thrice won the prize at the Pythian games. From Suidas, and the Scholiast on Aristoph. Acharn. i. 5., we learn that he could leap 55, and throw the discus 95 feet! *

[103] In the original it is, 'As he traversed the territory of Babylon, he found in the district of Ecbatana,' &c. Now every body knows, that Ecbatana was in Media, not in the province of Babylon. The gulf here mentioned was near Arbela, in the district of Artacene. (Strab.) Scaliger however proposes, that we should read Arectane (from Arec, mentioned Gen. x. 10.) both here and in the passage of Strabo above-cited, instead of Ecbatana.

an inexhaustible source. He was surprised also by a flood of naphtha, not far from this gulf, which flowed in such abundance as to form a lake. The naphtha in many respects resembles the bitumen, but it is much more inflammable[104]. Before any fire comes in contact with it, it catches light from a flame at some distance, and often kindles all the intermediate air. The barbarians, in order to show the king it's force and subtilty, scattered a few drops of it in the street which led to his lodgings; and standing at one end, applied their torches to some of the first drops, as it was growing dark: upon which, the flame communicated itself swifter than thought, and the street was instantaneously in a blaze.

There was one Athenophanes an Athenian, who among others waited upon Alexander when he bathed, and anointed him with oil. This man met with the greatest success, in his attempts to divert him; and one day a boy named Stephen happening to attend at the bath, who was homely in his person but an excellent singer, Athenophanes said to the king, "Shall we make an experiment of the naphtha "upon Stephen? If it take fire upon him, and do "not presently die out, we must allow it's force to "be extraordinary indeed." The boy readily consented to undergo the trial; but as soon as he was anointed with it[105], his whole body broke out into a flame, and Alexander was extremely concerned at

[104] *Sunt qui et naphtham bituminis generi ascribunt. Verùm ardens ejus vis, ignium naturæ cognata, procul omni ab usu est.* (Plin. H. N.; see also Hor. Ep. v. 82.) (L.) It is of various colours, and has sometimes the levity, colour, and limpidity of spirits of wine. It is a rare substance, says M. Ricard, but is found at Modena, and still more on the surface of the sea near Vesuvius, at the time of the eruptions of that mountain.*

[105] As no mention is here made of the application of fire, unless it be couched under the words καὶ θιγεῖν (which seems probable, indeed, from Strabo's relation of the story) we must suppose an electrical virtue in the naphtha. This however Plutarch appears subsequently to disclaim, in the case of Creon's daughter.

his danger. Nothing could have prevented his being entirely consumed by it, if there had not been people at hand with many vessels of water for the service of the bath. As it was, they found it difficult to extinguish the fire, and the poor boy felt the ill effects of it as long as he lived.

Those therefore, who desire to reconcile the fable with truth, are not unsupported by probability, when they contend that it was this drug, with which Medea anointed the crown and veil so well known upon the stage [106]. For the flame did not proceed from the crown or veil, neither did they take fire of themselves; but upon the approach of fire they quickly attracted it, and kindled imperceptibly. The emanations of fire at some distance have no other effect upon most bodies, than merely to give them light and heat; but in those which are dry and porous, or saturated with oily particles, they collect themselves into a point, and immediately prey upon the matter so well adapted to receive them. Still there remains a difficulty, as to the generation of this naphtha; whether it derives it's inflammable quality from * * * * * * * * * * [107], or rather from the unctuous and sulphureous nature of the soil. For in the province of Babylon the ground is of so fiery a quality, that the grains of barley often leap up and are thrown out, as if the violent heat gave a pulsation to the earth: and, in the hot months, the people are obliged to sleep upon skins filled with water. Harpalus, whom Alexander left governor of the country, was ambitious to adorn the royal palaces and walks with Grecian trees and plants, and he succeeded in every thing except ivy [108]; which

[106] *Hoc delibutis ulta donis pellicem*
Serpente fugit alite. (Hor. Epod. iii. 13.)

[107] Something is here wanting in the original.

[108] Theophrastus gives us a similar account of this attempt, and of the reason of it's failure (Hist. Plant. iv. 4., ii. 4.), and yet Pliny, H. N. xvi. 34., states that in his time ivy grew in Asia; most pro-

loves a cold soil, and therefore could not bear the temper of that fiery mold. Such digressions as these the nicest readers may endure, provided they be not too long.

Alexander, having made himself master of Susa, found in the king's palace forty thousand talents in coined money [109], and the royal furniture and other riches were of incalculable value. Among other things, there was purple of Hermione to the amount of five thousand talents [110], which though it had been laid up a hundred and ninety years, retained it's original freshness and beauty. The reason assigned for this is, that the purple wool was combed with honey, and the white with white oil. And we are assured, that specimens of the same kind and age are still to be seen in all their primitive lustre. Dinon [111] informs us, that the kings of Persia used to have water fetched from the Nile and the Danube, and placed among their treasures, as a proof of the extent of their dominions, and of their being masters of the world.

The entrance into Persia was difficult, on account of the roughness of the country in that part, and because the passes were guarded by the bravest of the Persians, for Darius had taken refuge there*.

bably, however, in some parts of it remote from Babylon. Plutarch elsewhere represents it as thriving best, like the pine, in cold climates.*

[109] Q. Curtius, who magnifies every thing, says 'fifty thousand.'

[110] Or 'five thousand talents' weight.' Dacier calls it, 'so many hundred weight;' and to this the eastern talent was nearly equivalent. Pliny informs us, that a pound of the double-dipped Tyrian purple, in the time of Augustus, was sold for a hundred crowns. (L.) The Laconian purple, likewise, stood in very high estimation with the ancients. See Hor. Od. II. xviii. 7.*

[111] The father of Clitarchus, who accompanied Alexander in his expeditions.*

* N. B. Darius did not go South, but East. (Arrian iii. 16.) And the reason why the Persians kept the passes was because Darius was *not* there himself. Δαρειος μεν γαρ επεφευγει. The Latin Translation (*namque confugerat eò Darius*) appears, in this instance, to have misled the English translators. The necessity for this note was

But a man who spoke both Greek and Persian, being sprung from a Lycian father and a Persian mother, offered himself as a guide to Alexander, and pointed out to him how he might enter it by taking a circuit. This was the person referred to by the priestess of Apollo, when upon Alexander's consulting her at a very early period of life, she foretold, "That a "Lycian would conduct him into Persia." Those, who first fell into his hands in that country, were slaughtered in vast numbers. He himself informs us, that he ordered no quarter to be given, because he thought such an example would be of service to his affairs. It is said, he found as much gold and silver coin there, as he had done at Susa; and that there was such a quantity of other treasures and rich moveables, that it loaded ten thousand pair of mules and five thousand camels [112].

At Persepolis he cast his eyes upon a large statue of Xerxes, which had been thrown from it's 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 ac- "count of the war which you made against Greece, "or rear you again for the sake of your magnani- "mity and your other virtues?" After he had stood a long time, considering in silence what he should do, he passed on and left it as it was. To give his troops time to refresh themselves, he stayed there four months, for it was now winter.

The first time he sat down on the throne of the kings of Persia under a golden canopy, Demaratus the Corinthian, who had the same friendship and affection for Alexander as he had before entertained

kindly suggested to the Editor, from Pegge's Anonymiana, by Arthur Cayley, Jun. Esq., to whom the world is indebted for accurate Lives of Sir Walter Ralegh, and Sir Thomas More.*

[112] Diodorus (xviii. 66.) says, 'three thousand.' (L.) See also Q. Curt. v. 6., who represents the immense sums found by Alexander as the accumulation of many princes for a long series of years.*

for his father Philip, is said to have wept like an old man, while he uttered this exclamation; "What a "delight have those Greeks missed, who died without having seen Alexander seated upon the throne "of Darius!"

When he was upon the point of marching against Darius, he made a splendid 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. Of these the most celebrated was Thäis, a native of Attica, and mistress of Ptolemy subsequently king of Egypt. When she had gained Alexander's attention by her flattery and sprightliness, she addressed him over his wine in a manner agreeable to the spirit of her country, but far above a person of her description: "I have undergone extreme fatigues," said she, "in wandering about Asia; but this day has brought "me full compensation, by enabling me 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[113]! Then shall it be said "in times to come[114], that the very women of his "train more signally avenged the cause of Greece "upon the Persians, than all that the generals be-"fore him could do either by sea or land."

This speech was received with the loudest plaudits, and the most tumultuary acclamations. All

[113] 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 who toiled for their gratification. Thus, as this noble structure was possibly raised, not only for vanity but also for riot, so probably through vanity, inflamed by riot, it fell. A striking instance of the insignificance of human labours, and the depravity of human nature!

[114] A prophecy, in a certain degree, how admirably fulfilled by Dryden's immortal Ode on St. Cecilia's Day!

Give the vengeance due
To the valiant crew, &c. &c.*

the company strove to persuade the king to comply with her 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 much satisfaction. For they concluded, from his destroying the royal palace, that the king's thoughts were turning homeward, and that he did not design to fix his seat among the barbarians. Such is the account, which most writers have given of the motives of this transaction. There are not wanting, however, some who assert, that it was in consequence of cool reflexion. But all agree, that the king quickly repented, and ordered the fire to be extinguished [115].

As he was naturally munificent, that inclination increased with his extraordinary acquisitions; and he had also a gracious manner, which is the only thing that gives bounty an irresistible charm. To adduce a few instances: Ariston, who commanded the Pæonians, having killed one of the enemy and cut off his head, laid it at Alexander's feet, and said; "Among us, Sir, such a present is rewarded "with a golden cup." The king with a smile replied, "An empty one, I suppose; but I will give "you one full of good wine, and drink out of it your "health into the bargain." One day, as a Macedonian of mean circumstances was driving a mule laden with the king's money, the mule tired; upon which the man took the burthen on his own shoulders, and carried it till he tottered under it's weight. Alexander happening to see him, and being informed what it was, said; "Hold on, friend, the rest of

[115] The ruins of this celebrated palace are still to be seen, as M. de St. Croix proves in opposition to M. le Comte de Caylus, who thinks differently of the present remains of Persepolis.*

" the way, and carry it to your own tent: for it is " yours." He was generally indeed more offended at those who refused, than at those who solicited, his favours. Hence he wrote to Phocion, " That " he should no longer number him among his friends, " if he rejected the marks of his regard." He had given nothing to Serapion, one of the youths who played with him at ball, because he asked nothing. One day, when they were at their diversion, Serapion took care always to throw the ball to others of the party; upon which, Alexander said, " Why " don't you give it to me?" " Because you did not " ask for it," said the youth. This repartee pleased the king exceedingly: he laughed, and immediately made him very valuable presents. One Proteas, a man of humour and a jester by profession, had happened to offend him. His friends interceded for him, and he himself with tears implored forgiveness, which at last the king granted. " If you really par- " don me," resumed the wag, " I hope you will " give me at least some substantial proof of it." And he condescended to do it, in a present of five talents.

With what a free hand he showered his gifts upon his friends, and his body-guards [116], appears from one of Olympias' letters. " You do well," said she, " in serving your friends, and it is right to act nobly; but by rendering them all equal to kings, in proportion as you enable them to make friends, you deprive yourself of that privilege." Olympias often wrote to him in that manner; but he kept all her letters secret except one, upon which Hephæstion happened to cast his eye, when he went according to custom to read over the king's shoulder. The king did

[116] Plutarch here probably means, in particular, the fifty young men brought him by Amyntas, who were of the principal families in Macedon. Their office was to wait upon him at table, to attend with horses when he went to fight or to hunt, and to keep guard day and night at his chamber-door. (Q. Curt. v. 1.)

not prevent his reading on; but as soon as he had finished, he took his signet from his finger, and put it to his mouth [117].

The son of Mazæus, who was Darius' principal favourite, was already governor of a province, and the conqueror added to it another government still more considerable. But the young man modestly declined it, and said, "Sir, we had only one Darius, "and you now make many Alexanders." He bestowed on Parmenio the house of Bagoas, in which were found such goods as were taken at Susa, to the value of a thousand talents. He wrote to Antipater to acquaint him, that there was a design formed against his life, and ordered him to keep guards about him. To his mother, likewise, he made many magnificent presents: but he would not suffer her busy genius to exert itself in state-affairs, or in the least to interfere with the proceedings of government. Of this she complained as a hardship, and he bore her ill-humour with great mildness. Antipater once sent him a long letter, full of heavy complaints against her; and when he had read it, he said, "Antipater knows not, that a single tear "from a mother can blot out a thousand such com-"plaints."

He found that his great officers set no bounds to their luxury, that they were extravagantly delicate in their diet, and in every other respect most profuse: insomuch, that Agnon of Teos wore silver [118] nails in his shoes; Leonatus had many camel-loads of earth brought from Egypt to rub himself with, when he went to the wrestling-ring; Philotas had hunting-nets, which would enclose the space of a hundred furlongs; and others more frequently used rich essences than oil after bathing, and had their

[117] To enjoin him silence.

[118] Gold, say Athenæus, xii. 9., and Ælian, ix. 3. (who gives nearly the same account of the rest, as Alexander), and Plin. H. N. xxxiii. 3. Teos was a city of Ionia, opposite to Chios, and the country of Anacreon.*

grooms of the bath, as well as chamberlains who excelled in bed-making. This degeneracy he reproved [119], with all the temper of a philosopher: He told them, "It was strange to him that, after having undergone so many glorious conflicts, they did not remember that those who come from labour and exercise always sleep more sweetly than the inactive and the effeminate; and that, in comparing the Persian with the Macedonian manners, they did not perceive that nothing was more servile than the love of pleasure, or more princely than a life of toil! How will that man," continued he, "take care of his horse, or furbish his lance and helmet, whose hands are too delicate to wait on his own dear person? Don't you know that the end of conquest is, not to do what the conquered have done, but something greatly transcendent?" After this, he constantly took the exercise of war or of hunting, and exposed himself to danger and fatigue with less precaution than ever: so that a Lacedæmonian embassador, who attended him one day when he killed a fierce lion, said; "Alexander, you have disputed the prize of royalty gloriously with the lion." Craterus got this hunting-piece represented in bronze, and consecrated it in the temple at Delphi. There were the lion, the dogs, the king fighting with the lion, and Craterus advancing to the king's assistance. Some of these statues were the workmanship of Lysippus, and others of Leochares*.

Thus Alexander hazarded his person, by way of exercise for himself, and of 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 burthen, and by degrees began to murmur and speak ill of the king. At first, he bore their censures with great moderation, and used

[119] This does not appear from the historians above cited. He rather assisted to corrupt them, as M. de St. Croix has fully proved: but Plutarch is, occasionally, too much of a panegyrist.*

* See p. 243. not. (12.)

to say; "There was something noble in hearing "himself censured, while he was doing well[120]." In the least of the good offices indeed, which he did to his friends, there were strong marks of affection and respect. Of this we will record an instance or two. 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 none to himself. "But now," said he, "let me know however how you do, and whether any of your company deserted you, that in that case I may punish them, as they deserve." When Hephæstion happened to be absent upon business, he informed him in one of his letters, that as they were diverting themselves with hunting the ichneumon[121], Craterus had had the misfortune to be run through the thighs with Perdiccas' 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 Craterus' sickness the king had a dream, in consequence of which he offered sacrifices for his recovery, and ordered him to do the same. When he heard that Pausanias the physician intended to give Craterus a dose of hellebore, he wrote to him, expressing his great anxiety

[120] Voltaire somewhere observes, that 'it is a noble thing to make ingrates.' For this sentiment, he seems to have been indebted to Alexander.

[121] The Egyptian rat, called Ichneumon, is of the size of a cat, with very rough hair, spotted with white, yellow, and ash-colour; it has a nose like that of a hog, with which it digs up the earth, short black legs, and a tail like a fox. It lives upon lizards, serpents, snails, chameleons, &c. and is of considerable service in Egypt, by it's 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 greedy 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 it's way out again. (Diod. Sic., Plin. H. N. viii. 24, 25.) The Egyptians worshipped the ichneumon, for destroying crocodiles; and they worshipped likewise the crocodile itself.

on the subject, 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. Upon his sending home the invalid and superannuated part of his forces, Eurylochus the Ægæan got himself enrolled among the former. Soon afterward, it was discovered that he had no infirmity of body; and he confessed it was the love of Telesippa, who was about to return home, that suggested to him this expedient in order to follow her. Alexander inquired who the woman was, and being informed that though a courtesan she was not a slave, he said; "Eurylochus, I "am willing to assist you in this affair: but, as the "woman is free-born, you must see if we can pre-"vail upon her by presents, and by courtship."

It is surprising, that he had time or inclination to write letters about such unimportant affairs relative to his friends, as to give orders for diligent search to be made in Cilicia for Seleucus' run-away slave; to commend Peucestas for having seized Nicon, a slave belonging to Craterus; and to direct Megabyzus[122], if possible, to draw another slave from his asylum and take him, but not to touch him so long as he remained in the temple.

It is said that in the first years of his reign, when capital causes were brought before him, he used to stop one of his ears with his hand, while the plaintiff was opening the indictment, that he might reserve it perfectly unprejudiced for hearing the defendant. But the many false informations which were subsequently lodged, and which by means of some true circumstances were so represented as to give an air of truth to the whole, broke his temper. More particularly in the case of aspersions upon his

[122] This, as we learn from Appian, Strabo, and Pliny, H. N. xxxv. 11., was a name common to the priests of Diana at Ephesus.*

own character, his reason forsook him, and he became extremely and inflexibly severe, as preferring his reputation to life and empire.

When he again set out upon his march against Darius, he expected another battle. But on receiving intelligence that Bessus had seized the person of that prince, he dismissed the Thessalians, and sent them home, after giving them in addition to their pay a gratuity of two thousand talents. The pursuit was long and laborious, for he rode three thousand three hundred furlongs in eleven days [123]. As they often suffered more from want of water, than from 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?" they replied, "To their sons: but if our prince only "lives, we shall get other children, should we lose "those which we have at present." Upon this, he took the helmet in his hands; but looking round, and seeing the horsemen bending their heads and fixing their eyes upon the water, he returned it without drinking. He commended the people however who offered it, and said, "If I alone drink, these "good men will be dispirited [124]." The cavalry,

[123] As this was less than forty miles a-day, our Newmarket heroes would have beat Alexander hollow. It is nothing when compared with Charles XII.'s march from Bender through Germany, nothing to Annibal's expedition along the African coast: (L.) yet even this, as too much for a numerous cavalry (especially, in a hot country), M. De St. Croix has thought proper to reduce to one half, by diminishing in that degree the length of the stadium of the original text.*

[124] Lucan has embellished this story for Cato, and has possibly introduced it merely upon imitation. (ix. 503. &c.) (L.) Arrian informs us, that some authorities represented this fact as having happened in Gredosia on Alexander's return from India, and says he emptied the helmet on the ground. Frontinus, l. 7., lays the

who were witnesses to this act of temperance and magnanimity, cried out, "Let us march! We are "neither weary nor thirsty, nor shall we even "think ourselves mortal, while under the conduct "of such a king." At the same time, they spurred forward their horses.

They had all the same affection to the cause, but only sixty were able to keep up with him till he reached the enemy's camp. There they rode over the gold and silver 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 squadrons, 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 [125]. Though he was near his last moment, however, he had strength to ask for something to quench his thirst.

scene in Africa. It would be most unjust to the memory of one of the most illustrious of Englishmen, not to record a similar instance of forbearance, as practised under circumstances still more trying by our own Sir Philip Sidney, after he had received his mortal wound at Zutphen in Guelderland, Sept. 22, 1586. 'As he was returning from the field of battle pale, languid, and thirsty with excess of bleeding, he asked for water to quench his thirst. The water was brought; and had no sooner approached his lips, than he instantly resigned it to a dying soldier, whose ghastly countenance attracted his notice, speaking these ever-memorable words—'This man's necessity is still greater than mine.' (Zouch's Life of Sir P. S. p. 256.) As parallel instances of patient and self-denying virtue, the venerable biographer quotes the conduct of David, 2 Sam. xxiii. 14—17., 1 Chron. x. 16—19., the anecdote of Alexander, and that of Cato from Lucan. It may be added, that the field of Zutphen has 'supplied the first historical painter of the present age (B. West, Esq. P. R. A.) with a most interesting subject.' App. 298. of the same Life is subjoined a strong and just contrast of the modes, in which the Macedonian and the English hero, who had attained the same age at their respective deaths, closed their earthly career.*

[125] Fallen from his high estate,
And weltering in his blood;
Deserted at his utmost need
By those his former bounty fed,
On the bare earth exposed he lies,
With not a friend to close his eyes!
(Dryden's St. Cecilia's Day.)*

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 that I am not able to reward thee "for thy kindness. But Alexander will not suffer "thee to go without a recompence; and the gods "will reward Alexander for his humanity to my "mother, my wife, and my children. Tell him I "gave him my hand, for I give it thee in his stead." So saying, he took the hand of Polystratus, and immediately expired [126]. When Alexander came up, he evinced his concern for the event by the strongest expressions, and covered the body with his own robe.

Bessus [his murtherer] afterward fell into his hands, and he punished his parricide in the following manner: He caused two straight trees to be bent, and one of his legs to be made fast to each; then suffering the trees to return to their former posture, his body was torn asunder, by the violence of the recoil [127]. As for Darius' body, he ordered that it should have all the honours of a royal funeral, and sent it embalmed to his mother. Oxathres, that prince's brother, he admitted into the number of his friends.

His next movement was into Hyrcania, which he entered with the flower of his army. He there took a view of the Caspian sea, which appeared to him not smaller than the Euxine, but it's water was of a sweeter taste. He could get no certain information in what manner it was formed, but he conjectured that it issued from an outlet of the Palus Mæotis. Yet the ancient naturalists were not ignorant of it's origin; for many years before Alexander's expedi-

[126] Ol. cxii. 3., aged fifty years, of which he had reigned six.*

[127] Q. Curtius, vi. 5., informs us, that Alexander delivered up the assassin to Oxathres, Darius' brother; who caused his nose and ears to be cut off, and had him fastened to a cross, where he was despatched with darts and arrows. See also Diod. Sic., xvii. 83. Arrian gives an account differing from all the others.

tion, they wrote that there are four seas stretching from the main ocean into the continent, the most northern of which is the Hyrcanian or Caspian [128]. The barbarians here fell suddenly upon a party, who were leading his horse Bucephalus, and took him. This provoked Alexander so much, that he sent a herald to threaten them, their wives, and their children with utter extermination, if they did not restore him the horse. But upon their bringing him back, and surrendering to him their cities, he treated them with the utmost clemency, and paid a considerable sum as ransom to those, by whom he had been taken [129].

Thence, he advanced 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 greatly accommodation and similarity of manners contribute to win men's hearts; or that he did it 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. The Median habit however, he thought made too stiff and exotic an appearance, and therefore he did not take the long breeches, or the sweeping train, or the tiara [130]; but, adopting something between the Median and the Persian mode, contrived vestments less pompous than the former, and more majestic than the latter. At first, he used this dress only before the barbarians, or his particular friends within doors; but in

[128] This is an error, which Pliny likewise has followed. The Caspian sea has no communication with the ocean: but see, upon the whole of this paragraph, M. de St. Croix.

[129] The scene of this adventure, likewise, is laid differently by Arrian v., Q. Curt. vi. 5., and Diod. Sic. xvii. 76. The Uxii of Arrian is probably the Balaxaam of Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller; who says, there were still remaining in his time some horses of Bucephalus' breed, designated by a peculiar natural mark on the forehead.*

[130] Most probably, something like the modern turban. It was worn upright by the sovereign, and slouched by his subjects.*

process of time he began to wear it when he appeared in public, and sat for the despatch of business. This was a mortifying sight to the Macedonians; yet, as they admired his other virtues, they thought he might be suffered to gratify 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 so shattered the bone, that splinters were taken out; who at another time had received 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 who still continued to expose his person, without the least precaution: so that, when he passed the Orexartes (which he, erroneously, supposed to be the Tanaïs) he not only attacked the Scythians and routed them, but pursued them a hundred furlongs, though suffering at that time under a severe flux.

There the queen of the Amazons came to visit him, as Clitarchus, Polycritus, Onesicritus, Antigenes, Ister, and many other historians report. But Aristobulus, Chares of Theangela[131], Ptolemy, Anticlides, Philo the Theban, Philip who was also of Theangela, as well as Hecatæus of Eretria, Philip of Chalcis, and Duris of Samos treat the story as a fiction. And, indeed, Alexander himself seems to support their opinion. For in one of his letters to Antipater, to whom he gave an exact detail of all that passed, he states that the king of Scythia offered him his daughter in marriage, without making the least mention of the Amazon. Nay, when Onesi-

[131] In the Greek text it is σπαδγελεις, both here and immediately below. Σπαδγελεις signifies 'a gentleman-usher;' but it does not appear, that either Chares or Philip ever held such an office. And from Athenæus (vi.) who mentions Philip as belonging to Theangela in Caria, it is certain that Θεαδγελεις is the right reading. (L.) For the particulars of this royal visit, see Q. Curt. v. 6., Diod. Sic. xvii. 77., Justin. xii. 3., Arrian vii., and Strabo. The two latter seem justly to treat it as a fable. Of the Amazons some account is given in the Life of Theseus, Vol. I. p. 33.*

critus many years afterward read to Lysimachus (then king) the fourth book of his history, in which this story was introduced, he smiled and said, "Where was I at that time?" But whether we give credit to this particular or not, is a matter that will neither enhance, nor diminish, our opinion of Alexander.

As he was afraid that many of the Macedonians might dislike the remaining fatigues of the expedition, he left the greater part of the army in quarters, and entered Hyrcania with a select body of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. The purport of his speech, upon this occasion, was as follows: "Hitherto, the barbarians have seen us only "as in a dream. If you should think of returning, "after having merely given Asia the alarm, they "will fall upon you with contempt, as upon a parcel "of women. Nevertheless, such as desire to depart "have my free consent: but at the same time I call "the gods to witness, that they desert their king "when he is conquering the world for the Macedonians, and leave him to the more faithful attachment of those friends, who will follow his fortune." This is almost literally the same, with what he wrote to Antipater; and he adds, "That he had no sooner done speaking, than they cried, 'He might lead them on to what part of the world he pleased.'" He thus tried the disposition of these brave men, and there was no difficulty in bringing the whole body over to their sentiments: they followed of course.

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 even when he was at a distance. For the same reason he elected 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 [132], it was entirely the effect of love. He saw her at an entertainment, and found her charms irresistible. Neither 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: They were delighted to think, that he would not approach the only woman, whom he had 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 the Macedonians. The one had more of his love, the other more of his esteem. He was convinced indeed, and frequently said, "Hephæstion loved Alexander, and "Craterus the king." Hence arose private animosities, which did not fail occasionally to break out. 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, "if he did not know 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, 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 again at vari-"ance, he would put them both to death, or at least "the aggressor." This is said to have had such an effect upon them, that they never afterward expressed any dislike to each other, even in jest.

Among the Macedonians Philotas, the son of Par-

[132] She was the daughter of Oxyartes, prince or satrap of Bactriana, according to most writers. Q. Curtius, however, makes her father's name Cohortanus.*

menio, had considerable authority. For he was not only valiant and indefatigable in the field, but next to Alexander, no man had more love for his friend, or a greater spirit of generosity. We are told, that a friend of his one day requested a sum of money, and he ordered it to be given him. The steward replied, "He had it not to give." "What," said Philotas, "hast thou not plate, or some other move-"able?" He affected an ostentation of wealth however, and a magnificence in his dress and table, exceeding the condition of a subject. Besides, 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; so that Parmenio one day said to him, "My "son, be less." He had long been represented in an invidious light to Alexander. When Damascus with all it's riches was taken, upon the defeat of Darius in Cilicia, among the number of captives brought to the camp, was a beautiful young woman called Antigone, a native of Pydna, who fell to Philotas' share. Like a young soldier with a favourite mistress, 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 a conqueror. The woman imparted this in confidence to one of her acquaintance, and he (as is common) mentioned it to another. At last, it came to the ear of Craterus, who took the woman privately before Alexander. When the king had heard the whole from her own mouth, he ordered her to go as usual to Philotas, but to make her report to him of all that he said. Philotas, ignorant of the snare laid for him, expressed himself to the woman without reserve, and either in his resentment or his pride uttered many unbecoming things against Alexander. That prince, though he had sufficient proof against Philotas, kept the matter private, and discovered no tokens of aver-

sion; whether it was, that he confided in Parmenio's attachment to him, or feared the power and interest of his family.

About this time, a Macedonian named Limnus [133], a native of Chalæstra, conspired against Alexander's life: and communicated his design to one Nicomachus, a youth to whom he was strongly attached, desiring him to take a part in the enterprise. Nicomachus, instead of embracing the proposal, informed his brother Balinus [134] of the plot, who went immediately to Philotas, and begged him to introduce them to Alexander, assuring him that it was upon business of the utmost importance. Whatever might be his reason (for it is not known) he refused them admittance, under a pretence that Alexander had other engagements at that time upon his hands. They again applied, and met with a second denial. They now began to entertain some suspicion of Philotas, and addressed themselves to Metron [135], who immediately introduced them to the king. They informed him first of the conspiracy of Limnus, and then hinted to him their suspicions of Philotas, on account of his having rejected two successive applications.

Alexander was incensed at this negligence; and when he found that the person who was sent to arrest Limnus had killed him [136], because he stood upon his defence and refused to be taken, it disturbed him still more, to think that he had lost the means of discovering his accomplices. His resent-

[133] It should, undoubtedly, be read 'Dymnus,' as Q. Curt. vi. 7. and Diod. Sic. xvii. 79. have it. Nothing is easier than for a transcriber to have changed the Λ into a Δ. Chalæstra was a city near a lake in Macedon, celebrated for its nitre.

[134] Q. Curt. ib. calls him 'Cebalinus,' as does likewise Diod. Sic.

[135] In the printed text it is ετερον; but one of the MSS. gives us Μετρωνα, which agrees with Curtius. Some name seems to be wanting, and Metron was, as master of the wardrobe, a considerable officer of the king's household.

[136] According to other authors, he killed himself.

ment against Philotas gave an opportunity to those, who had long hated that officer, of avowing their dislike, and declaring how much the king was to blame in suffering himself to be so easily imposed upon, as to think that Lymnus an insignificant Chalæstrean durst of his own accord have engaged in such a bold design. "No doubt," said they, "he "was the agent, or rather the instrument, of some "superior hand; and the king should seek the source "of the conspiracy among those, who had the most "interest in keeping it concealed."

As he began to listen to these discourses, and to give way to his suspicions, it brought innumerable and some very groundless accusations against Philotas. He was apprehended, and put to the torture [137], in presence of the great officers of the court. Alexander had placed himself behind the tapestry, to hear the examination: and when he found that Philotas piteously bemoaned himself, and supplicated Hephæstion with the most abject humiliation, he is reported to have said; "O Philotas, "how daredst thou, with all this unmanly weakness, "embark in so hazardous an enterprise?"

After the execution of Philotas, he immediately despatched orders into Media, that Parmenio should be put to death; a man who had taken a part in most of Philip's conquests, and who was the principal, if not the only one, of the old counsellors, that had suggested to Alexander his Asiatic expedition. Of three sons, whom he took over with him, he had seen two slain in battle, and with the third he himself fell a sacrifice. These proceedings made Alexander terrible to his friends, particularly to Antipater. That regent, therefore, sent privately to the Ætolians, and entered into league with them. They, as well as he, had something to fear from Alexander,

[137] Of this no mention is made by the eye-witnesses, Ptolemy and Aristobulus, as quoted by Arrian iii. 26. They only say, he was shot with arrows. See M. de St. Croix.*

for they had sacked the city of the Œniades [138]; and when the king was informed of it, he said, "The "children of the Œniades need not revenge their "cause: I will punish the Ætolians myself."

Soon after this, happened the affair of Clitus; which, however simply related, is much more shocking even than the execution of Philotas. Yet, if we weigh the occasion and circumstances of the thing, we shall conclude it was a misfortune rather than a deliberate act, and that Alexander's unhappy passion and intoxication only furnished the evil genius of Clitus with the means of accomplishing his destruction. It happened in the following manner: the king had some Grecian fruit brought him from on board a vessel, and as he greatly admired it's freshness and beauty, he desired that Clitus might see and partake of it. It happened, that Clitus was offering sacrifice that day; but he left it, in order to wait upon the king. Three of the sheep, on which the libation had been already poured, followed him. The king, informed of that accident, consulted his soothsayers, Aristander and Cleomantis the Spartan, upon it; and they both assured him, it was an extremely bad omen. He, therefore, ordered the victims to be immediately offered for the health of Clitus; the rather, because three days before he had had a strange and alarming dream, in which Clitus appeared in mourning, sitting by the dead sons of Parmenio. Before the sacrifice however was finished, Clitus went to sup with the king, who that day had been paying his homage to Castor and Pollux [139].

After they were warmed with drinking, somebody began to sing the verses of one Pranichus (or, as

[138] Situated in Acarnania, at the mouth of the river Acheloüs, so called probably from Œneus, the father of Deianira.*

[139] Hence, as Arrian informs us this homage was usually paid to Bacchus, the resentment of that deity through the medium of his peculiar beverage stimulated Alexander to the murther of his friend. See Q. Curt. viii. 2. Plutarch, we have seen p. 258., imputed Bacchus' hostility to his patriotic feelings for Thebes, which the Macedonian prince had laid in ruins.*

others will have it, of Pierio) written in ridicule of the Macedonian officers, who had lately been beaten by the barbarians. The older part of the company were greatly offended at it, and condemned both the poet and the singer; but Alexander and those immediately about him listened with pleasure, and bade him go on. Clitus, who by this time had drank too much, and was naturally rough and froward, could not bear their behaviour. He said, "It was "not well done to make a jest, and that among bar- "barians and enemies, of Macedonians who were "much better men than the laughers, though they "had met with a misfortune." Alexander replied, "That Clitus was pleading his own cause, when he "gave cowardice the soft name of 'misfortune.'" Upon which Clitus started up, and said, "Yet it "was this cowardice which 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 by these wounds, that you "are grown so lofty, as to disdain acknowledging "Philip for your father, and to endeavour to pass "yourself off for the son of Jupiter Ammon."

Irritated at this insolence, Alexander replied, "It is thus, old villain, that thou talkest of me in "all companies, and stirrest up the Macedonians to "mutiny; but dost thou think long to enjoy it?" "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 he 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. In the mean time, Alexander turned to Xenodocus the Cardian and Artemius the Colophonian, and said; "Do not the Greeks appear "to you, among the Macedonians, like demi-gods "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 (con- "tinued he), it were better to pass your life with "barbarians and slaves, who will worship your Per- "sian girdle and your white robe without reluc- "tance."

Alexander, no longer able to restrain his anger, threw an apple at his face, and then looked about for his sword. But Aristophanes [140], one of his body-guards, had taken it away in time, and the company gathered about him, and entreated him to be quiet. Their remonstrances, however, were fruitless: 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 afterward held in high esteem, because he prevented the whole army from being alarmed.

As Clitus would not make the least submission, his friends with much difficulty 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;

> Alas! what evil customs harass Greece!
> [The trophies won by thousands shall it please
> One man to claim? &c.] [141]

Upon this, Alexander snatched a spear from one of the guards, and meeting Clitus as he was drawing the door-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: he came

[140] Q. Curtius, ix. 5., and Arrian call him, 'Aristonus.'

[141] This is the speech of Peleus to Menelāus, in that tragedy 693—698., in which he charges the Atridæ with arrogating to themselves the whole honour of the expedition against Troy. See also Q. Curt. viii. 1.*

to himself, and seeing his friends standing around in silent astonishment, 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. He passed that night, and the next day, in anguish inexpressible; 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. But he would listen to none of them except Aristander, who put him in mind of his dream and the ill omen of the sheep, and assured him that the whole was by the decree of fate. As he seemed a little comforted, Callisthenes the philosopher, Aristotle's near relation, and Anaxarchus the Abderite, were called in [142]. Callisthenes began in a soft and tender manner, endeavouring to relieve him without probing 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 fix their eyes? Can it be he, who lies ex- "tended on the ground crying like a slave, in fear "of the law and of the tongues of men, to whom "he should himself be a law and the measure of "right and wrong? Why did he conquer, but to "rule and to command, not servilely to submit to "the vain opinions of others? Know you not (con- "tinued he) that Jupiter is represented with Themis

[142] Callisthenes of Olynthus had generally too much of the spirit of liberty, to be fit for a court. He did not show it, however, in this instance; thinking perhaps that Alexander, in his present affliction, required consolation rather than remonstrance. Aristotle had forewarned him from Homer, that if he went on to treat the king with his usual freedom, it would one day prove fatal to him:

Ὠκυμορος δη μοι, τεκος, εσσεαι ει κ' ορευεις. (Il. xviii. 95.)

'Short date of life, my son, these words forebode.'

"and Justice[143] 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 rendered him withal more haughty and unjust. At the same time, he so deeply insinuated himself into his favour, that he could no longer bear the conversation of Callisthenes, who before was far from being agreeable on account of his austerity.

One day, a dispute had arisen at table about the seasons, and the temperature of the climate. Callisthenes agreed with those who asserted, that the country they were then in was much colder, and had winters more severe than Greece. Anaxarchus, with great obstinacy, maintained the contrary. Upon which Callisthenes said, "You must indeed admit, "my friend, that this is much the colder; for there "you wore but one cloke in winter, and here you "cannot sit at table without three housing-coverlets "one over another." This stroke went to Anaxarchus' heart.

Callisthenes was disagreeable to all the other sophists and flatterers at court; the more so, because he was followed by the young on account of his eloquence, and was not less acceptable to the old for his regular, grave, self-satisfied course of life. All which confirms what was stated as the cause of his going to Alexander, namely, an ambition to bring his fellow-citizens back, and to repeople the place of his nativity[144]. His great reputation naturally exposed him to envy: and he himself gave some room for calumny by often refusing the king's invitations, and when he accepted them, by sitting solemn and silent; which showed, that he could nei-

[143] 'The throne is established by righteousness.' (Prov. xvi. 12.)

[144] Olynthus was one of the cities which had been destroyed by Philip; whether Alexander permitted the philosopher to re-establish it, is uncertain; but Cicero informs us, that in his time it was a flourishing place. (In Verr. iii.)

ther commend, nor approve, what was passing: insomuch that Alexander said to him one day,

——————— I hate the sage,
Who reaps himself no fruits from wisdom's page [145].

Once when he was at the king's table with a large company, and the cup came round to him, he was desired to pronounce an eulogium upon the Macedonians extempore; which he did with so much eloquence, that the guests, in addition to their plaudits, rose up and covered him with their garlands. Upon this Alexander said, in the words of Euripides,

When great the theme, 'tis easy to excel.

"But show us now," continued he, "the power of "your rhetoric in speaking against the Macedo-"nians, that they may see their faults and amend." The orator then took the other side, and spoke with equal fluency against the encroachments and the other faults of the Macedonians, as well as against the divisions among the Greeks, which he proved to have been the only cause of the increase of Philip's power: concluding with these words,

In civil broils the worst emerge to honour.

By this he drew upon himself the implacable hatred of the Macedonians, and Alexander said; "He "had given in this case a specimen, not of his elo-"quence, but of his malevolence."

Hermippus assures us that Stroïbus, a person employed by Callisthenes to read to him, gave this account of the matter to Aristotle. He adds, that Callisthenes, perceiving the king's aversion, repeated this verse twice or thrice at parting:

Patroclus, thy superior, is no more [146].

[145] A verse of Euripides, cited also by Cicero to Cæsar, Ep. Fam. xiii. 15. The next quotation is from the Bacch. 266.*

[146] Hom. Il. xxi. 107.

It was not therefore without reason, that Aristotle said of Callisthenes, "His eloquence indeed is great, "but he wants common sense." He not only refused, with all the firmness of a philosopher, to pay his respects to Alexander by prostration; but stood forth singly, and uttered in public many grievances, which the best and the oldest of the Macedonians durst only bewail in secret. By preventing the prostration, he saved the Greeks indeed from a great dishonour, and Alexander from a greater, but he ruined himself: because his manner was such, that he seemed rather desirous to compel, than to persuade.

Chares of Mitylene tells us, that Alexander at one of his entertainments, after he had drank, reached the cup to one of his friends; who on receiving it rose up, and turning toward the hearth [147] (where stood the domestic gods) to drink, first worshipped, and then kissed Alexander. This done, he took his place again at table. All the guests did the same in their order, except Callisthenes. When it came to his turn, he drank, and then approached to give the king a kiss, who being engaged in some discourse with Hephæstion, happened not to notice him. But Demetrius, surnamed Phidon, cried out, "Don't receive his kiss; for he alone has not "adored you." Upon which, Alexander refused it, "and Callisthenes said aloud, "Then I return a kiss "the poorer."

A coldness, of course, ensued; but many other things contributed to his fall. In the first place, Hephæstion's report was believed, that Callisthenes had promised him to adore the king, and broke his

147 By this action, as Dacier supposes, the flatterer wished to insinuate, that Alexander ought to be reckoned among the domestic gods. But, as the king sat in that part of the room where the Penates were, we rather consider it as a wretched excuse to the man's own conscience for this act of religious worship, because their position made it dubious, whether it was intended for Alexander or for themselves.

word. Lysimachus and Agnon next attacked him, and said; "The sophist went about with as much "pride as if he had demolished a tyranny, and the "young men followed him, as the only freeman "among so many thousands." These things, upon the discovery of Hermolaüs' plot[145] against Alexander, give an air of probability to what was alleged against Callisthenes. According to his enemies, Hermolaüs had inquired of him, "By what means he "might become the most eminent man in the "world?" and he had answered, "By killing the "most eminent man in the world." They farther asserted, that by way of encouraging him to the attempt, he bade him, "not be afraid of the golden "bed; but remember that he had to do with a man, "who had suffered both by sickness and by wounds."

Neither Hermolaüs however, nor any of his accomplices, amidst the extremities of torture, made any mention of Callisthenes. Nay, Alexander himself, in the account which he immediately gave of the plot to Craterus, Attalus, and Alcetas, stated; "That the young men, when put to the torture, declared it was entirely their own enterprise, and that no man besides was privy to it." Yet afterward, in a letter to Antipater, he affirmed that Callisthenes was as guilty as the rest: "The Macedonians," says he, "have stoned the young men to death. As for the sophist, I will punish him myself, and those who sent him too; neither shall the towns, which harboured the conspirators, escape." In which he plainly discovers his dislike to Aristotle, by whom Callisthenes had been brought up as a relation; for he was the son of Hero, Aristotle's niece. His death is variously related. Some say, Alexander ordered him to be hanged: others, that he fell sick, and died in chains. And Chares, that he was kept seven months in prison, in order to be tried in full council

[145] Hermolaüs, according to Q. Curt. viii. 1. and Arrian iv., was a young man of high birth, and with his accomplices appears to have filled the station of page about the king's person.*

in the presence of Aristotle; but that he died of excessive corpulence and the lousy disease, at the time that Alexander was wounded by the Malli Oxydracæ in India [146]. This happened, however, at a later period than that, of which we are now writing.

In the mean time, Demaratus the Corinthian, though far advanced in years, was ambitious of going to see Alexander. He accordingly took the voyage, and when he beheld him, exclaimed; "What a delight have those Greeks missed, who died without having seen Alexander seated upon the throne of Darius!" But he did not live to enjoy the king's friendship. He sickened, and expired soon afterward. The king, however, performed his obsequies in the most magnificent manner; and the army threw up for him a monument of earth of immense extent, and fourscore cubits in height. His ashes were carried to the sea-shore in a chariot and four, with the richest ornaments.

When Alexander was on the point of setting out for India, he saw his troops were so laden with spoils, that they were unfit to march. Early in the morning therefore, upon which he was to take his departure, after the carriages were assembled, he first burned his own baggage and that of his friends; and then gave orders, that the rest should be treated 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 burned and destroyed whatever was superfluous. This strongly encouraged, and fortified, Alexander in his design. Besides, by this time he was become inflexibly se-

[146] For the various accounts of his death, see Arrian iv., Q. Curt. viii. 8., Justin xv. 3., Diog. Laërt. Life of Arist. v. 5. Athenæus informs us, that he was carried about in an iron cage, in which he was almost eaten up by vermin; and that he was at last thrown to a lion to be devoured. The subjoined remark of Demaratus occurs before in this Life, p. 300.*

vere in punishing offences. Menander, though one of his friends, he put to death, for having refused to stay in a fortress, of which he had given him the charge; and one of the barbarians named Osodates, who had rebelled against him, he shot dead with an arrow.

About this time a sheep yeaned a lamb with the perfect form and colour of a tiara upon it's head, on each side of which were testicles. Regarding the prodigy with horror, he employed the Chaldæans[147], who attended him for such purposes, to purify him by their expiations. Upon this occasion, he told his friends, "That he was more troubled on their ac-"count, than his own; for he was afraid that, after "his death, fortune would throw the empire into the "hands of some obscure and feeble man." A better omen, however, quickly dissipated his fears. A Macedonian named Proxenus, who had the charge of the king's equipage, on opening the ground near the river Oxus in order to pitch his master's tent, discovered a spring of a gross oily liquor[148]; which after the surface was taken off became perfectly clear, and neither in taste nor smell differed from real oil, nor was inferior to it in smoothness and brightness of colour, though there were no olives in that country. It is said, indeed, that the water of the Oxus is of so unctuous a quality, as to make the skins of those who bathe in it smooth and shining[149].

It appears, from a letter of Alexander's to Anti-

[147] Among the Chaldeans, chiefly, these kinds of lustrations had originated; and they were, of course, very skilful in performing them.*

[148] Strabo, xi., ascribes the same properties to the ground near the river Ochus. The Ochus indeed and the Oxus unite their streams, and flow together into the Caspian sea. (L.) Eustathius (on Dion. Perieg.) and Arrian iv. specify two fountains, as being near each other, one of water and the other of oil.*

[149] Pliny informs us, that the surface of these rivers was a consistence of salt, and that the waters flowed under it as under a crust of ice. This salt-consistence he imputes to the defluxions from the neighbouring mountains, but he says nothing about the unctuous quality mentioned by Plutarch. (H. N. xxxi.)

pater, that he was highly delighted with this incident, and reckoned it as one of the happiest presages, which the gods had afforded him. The soothsayers represented it as a token that the expedition would prove a glorious, but at the same time a laborious and difficult one, because heaven has given men oil to refresh them after their labours. Accordingly, he met with great dangers in the battles which he fought, and received very considerable wounds. But his army suffered most from the want of necessaries, and from the climate. For his part, he was ambitious to show that courage can triumph over fortune, and magnanimity over force: He thought nothing invincible to the brave, or impregnable to the daring[150]. Pursuant to this opinion, when he besieged Sisimethres upon a rock[151] extremely steep and apparently inaccessible, and observed his men greatly discouraged at the enterprise, he asked Oxyartes, "Whether Sisimethres were a man of spirit?" And being answered, "That he was a complete "dastard;" he said, "You inform me that the rock "may be taken, since there is no strength in it's "defender." In fact, he found means to intimidate Sisimethres, and made himself master of the fort.

In the siege of another fort, situated in a place equally steep, among the young Macedonians who were to give the assault, was one called Alexander; and the king took occasion to say to him, "You "must behave gallantly, my friend, in order to do "justice to your name." He subsequently learned, that the young man fell as he was gloriously distin-

[150] One of the MSS. instead of ἀθλίοις, has ἀθλίοις, in which case the latter member of the sentence should be rendered, 'nor secure to cowards.'

[151] This strong hold was situated in Bactriana. Strabo says, it was fifteen furlongs high, as many in compass, and that the top was a fertile plain capable of maintaining five hundred men. It was in Bactriana, that Alexander married Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes. (L.) For the varieties in the names of this, and the two other strong fortresses of Arimazes and Aornus, taken by Alexander, see Q. Curt. vii. 2., viii. 2, 11., &c.*

guishing himself, and he was deeply concerned at the event.

When he sat down before Nysa [152], the Macedonians made some difficulty of advancing to the attack, on account of the depth of the river which washed it's 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, embassadors came with an offer to capitulate; and, along with them, 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 embassadors, named Acuphis, take the pillow which had been 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, "They must appoint you their governor, and "send me a hundred of their best men for hostages." Acuphis smiled at this, and said; "I should govern "better, if you would take the worst, instead of the "best."

The dominions of Taxiles in India [153], it is said, were as large as Egypt: they afforded likewise excellent pasturage, and were in every respect most productive. As he was a man of consummate prudence, he waited upon Alexander, and after the first compliments thus addressed him: "What oc-"casion is there for wars between you and me, if "you are not come to deprive us of our water and "the other necessaries of life; the only things for "which reasonable men will take up arms? As to

[152] Arrian calls it 'Nyssa,' and so 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, *ibid.* Nerg.

[153] Between the Indus and the Hydaspes. (Strabo xv.) Taxiles was the common name of the princes of that country.

" 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 him by the hand and answered, " Do " you think then, by all this civility, to escape with- " out 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 outdo me in generosity." After having received great presents from him therefore, and made him greater in return [154], 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 were accustomed to fight for pay. Upon this invasion, they defended the cities which hired them with much vigour, and Alexander suffered not a little from their exertions. To one of the cities he granted an honourable capitulation; and yet he seized the mercenaries, as they were upon their march homeward, 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 [155].

The philosophers gave him no less trouble than the mercenaries, by endeavouring to fix a mark of infamy upon those princes who declared for him, and by exciting the free nations to take up arms; for

[154] See Q. Curt. viii. 12.*

[155] It was just and lawful, it seems, to go about harassing and destroying those nations which had never offended him, and upon which he had no claim, except that avowed by the northern barbarians when they entered Italy, viz. 'that the weak must submit to the strong!' Those barbarians, indeed, were much honester men, for they had another and a better plea; they went to seek bread. (L.) Besides, there were other traits of barbarity toward the conclusion of his reign, which are to be found detailed in M. de St. Croix.*

which reason, he ordered many of them to be hanged.

As to his war with Porus, we have an account of it in his own Epistles. 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 [156]. This done, he took the advantage 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 by 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, had by it's 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. Upon this occasion, he is said to have uttered the celebrated saying; "O Athenians, will you believe what dan-"gers I encounter, in order to secure your ap-"plauses [157]?" The last particular we have from Onesicritus. Alexander himself only says, that they quitted their boats, and armed as they were, waded

[156] See Frontin. i. 4., and Polyæn. iv. 3.*

[157] The love of fame has been well pronounced by Milton,

'The last infirmity of noble minds.'

but it is a motive, as Dacier observes, which neither Socrates, nor Zeno, nor Epictetus, would have approved; still less is it to be commended by those, who believe in the gospel. Of such, as perform their great actions to be seen of men; it has been pronounced by Christ himself, 'Verily I say unto you, they have their reward.' (Matt. vi. 2.)*

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 much an overmatch for them, and that if they made a movement with their infantry, his own would come up in time to receive them. Neither 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.

From this, Porus understood that Alexander himself had passed the river; and he therefore brought up his whole army, except what appeared necessary to keep the rest of the Macedonians from effecting 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 fell back upon the elephants in the centre, and rallied there. The combat then became of a more mixed kind; but was maintained with such obstinacy, that it was not decided till the eighth hour of the day[158]. This description of the battle we have from the conqueror himself, in one of his Epistles.

Most historians agree, that Porus was four cubits and a palm high, and that though the elephant upon which he rode was one of the largest, his stature and bulk was such, as to make him appear only proportionally mounted. This elephant, during the whole battle, gave extraordinary proofs of his sagacity and his care of the king's person. As long as that prince

[158] 2 P. M. This victory was gained B. C. 327. (Diod. Sic. xvii. 88.) About Porus' height there are different accounts. That in the text is the lowest. Diod. Sic. ib. makes this giant of the east five cubits high, and adds, that his chest was double the ordinary breadth, and that he darted his javelin with the force of an engine!*

was able to fight, he defended him with great courage, and repulsed all assailants; and when he perceived him ready to sink under the multitude of darts, and the wounds with which he was covered, to prevent his falling off, he kneeled down in the softest manner, and with his proboscis gently drew every dart out of his body.

When Porus was taken prisoner, Alexander asked him, "How he wished to be treated?" He answered, "Like a king." "And have you nothing "else to request?" demanded Alexander. "No," said he; "every thing is comprehended in the "word 'king.'" Alexander not only immediately restored to him his own dominions, which he was to govern as his lieutenant, but annexed to them very extensive territories; for having subdued a free country, which contained fifteen nations, five thousand considerable cities[159], and villages in proportion, he bestowed it upon Porus. Another country, thrice 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[160], of which he some time afterward died. This is the account, which most writers give us: But Onesicritus says, he died of age and fatigue, for he was thirty years old. Upon this occasion, Alexander showed as much regret, as if he had lost a faithful friend and companion. He esteemed him, indeed, as such; and built a city near the Hydaspes, near the place of his interment, which he called after him 'Bucephalia.' He is reported likewise to have built a city, and called it 'Peritas,' in memory of a dog of that name, which he had brought up and

[159] Some transcriber seems to have given us the number of inhabitants in one city, as the number of cities. Arrian's account is this; 'He took thirty-seven cities, the least of which contained five thousand inhabitants, and several of them above ten. He took also a great number of villages not less populous than the cities, and gave the government of the country to Porus.'

[160] Arrian v. states it as the report of some writers, that he was killed by Porus' son in the engagement.*

was very fond of. This particular, Sotio says, he had from Potamo of Lesbos [161].

The combat with Porus abated the spirit of the Macedonians, and made them resolve to proceed no farther in India. It was with difficulty that they had defeated an enemy, who brought only twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse into the field; and they therefore opposed Alexander with great firmness, when he insisted that they should pass the Ganges [162], which (they were informed) was thirty-two furlongs in breadth, and in depth a hundred fathoms. The opposite shore likewise, they understood, was covered with numbers of squadrons, battalions, and elephants. For the kings of the Gandarites and Præsians [163] were said to be there awaiting them, with eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eight thousand chariots, and six thousand elephants trained to war. Neither is this number at all magnified; for Androcottus, who reigned not long afterward, made Seleucus a present at once of five hundred elephants, and with an army of six hundred thousand men traversed India, and conquered the whole.

Alexander's grief and indignation at this refusal were such, that at first he shut himself up in his

[161] Who wrote an Account of Alexander's Indian exploits. To this very animal Pollux most probably alludes v. 5., where he says that Alexander bought in India a dog, which was accustomed to fight with lions, for a hundred minæ, &c.*

[162] The Ganges is the largest river in the three continents, the Indus the second, the Nile the third, and the Danube the fourth. (L.) In Strabo's time, a letter from Craterus to his mother was still extant, announcing Alexander's arrival on the banks of the Ganges, and the strange appearance of that river. But the rivers of the old world are mere streams, when compared with those of America.*

[163] These, as it appears from Strabo (though Q. Curt., ix. 2., has assigned only one king to them both) were two distinct nations; and the capital of the latter was Palibothra, which Robertson in an elaborate note, differing with great diffidence from Major Rennell, proves to be the modern Allahabad, while Major R. endeavours to identify it with Patna. (See Robertson's 'Hist. Disq. on India,' not. xiv.) Androcottus is by Justin xv. 4., and Athenæus i. 15. called 'Sandracottus.'*

tent, and lay prostrate on the ground, declaring "He did not thank the Macedonians in the least for "what they had done, if they would not pass the "Ganges; for he considered a retreat, as an abso-"lute acknowledgement 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 upon him to return. He first however sought to establish his fame, by many vain and ridiculous contrivances; 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. He built also great altars [164], for which the Præsians still retain much veneration, and their kings cross the Ganges every year to offer sacrifices upon them in the Grecian manner. Androcottus, who was at that time very young, had a sight of Alexander, and he is reported to have frequently observed afterward, "That Alexander was within a very little of making "himself master of the whole country; with such "hatred and contempt was the reigning prince re-"garded, on account of his profligacy of manners "and the meanness of his birth."

Alexander, in his march thence, formed a design to view the ocean; for which purpose he caused a number of row-boats and rafts to be constructed, and in them fell down the rivers at his leisure. Neither was this navigation unattended with hostilities. He made several descents by the way, and attacked the adjacent cities, which were all compelled to submit to his victorious arms. He was very near being cut in pieces however by the Malli [165], who are re-

[164] For the particulars of these altars, see Diod. Sic. xvii. 95., Arrian vii., Plin. H. N. vi. 17., Philostr. Life of Apollon. ii. 43., &c. Diod. Sic, likewise ib., and Q. Curt. ix. 2., gives some account of the low-born prince mentioned in the text *

[165] The scene of this adventure is not uniformly laid among the Malli. But the whole of Alexander's return is so ably investigated by the very learned and respectable Dr. Vincent, Dean of West-

presented as the most warlike people in India. He had driven some of them from the wall with his missive weapons, and was the first man to ascend. But, soon after he had reached the top, the scaling-ladder broke. Finding himself and his small party [166] 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 much 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. At first, therefore, they drew back and dispersed. But when they had recollected themselves, and saw him attended only by two of his guards, they attacked him hand to hand, and notwithstanding the valour with which he fought, wounded him through his armour with their swords and spears. One of them, standing farther off, drew an arrow with such strength, that it made it's way through his cuirass, and entered the ribs under the breast. The force of it was so great, that he shrunk and bent upon his knees, and the barbarian ran up with his drawn cimitar to despatch him. Peucestas and Limnæus [167] placed themselves before him; but the one was wounded, and the other killed outright. Peucestas the survivor was still making some resistance, when Alexander recovered himself, and laid the barbarian dead at his feet. He received however fresh wounds, and at last such a blow from a bludgeon upon his neck, that he was forced to support himself against the wall, and there stood with his face toward the ene-

minster, in his 'Voyage of Nearchus,' that the editor must refer to it generally, as leaving few or no difficulties in the remaining short part of Alexander's life unsolved.*

[166] The word ολιγος implies, that he was not quite alone: and it appears immediately afterward, that he was not.

[167] Q. Curt. calls him 'Timæus.' Arrian, Diod. Sic., and Q. Curt. claim for Peucestas, whom we have seen in the Life of Eumenes, pp. 60. 62. behaving himself subsequently in so dastardly a manner, the exclusive honour of this perilous interposition.*

my. The Macedonians, who by this time had entered, gathered about him, and carried him off to his tent.

His senses had forsaken him, and it was currently reported in the army, that he was dead. When they had with great difficulty sawed off the shaft of the arrow, which was of wood, and with equal trouble had taken off his 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 drawn, he came to himself. Yet, after the danger was over, he still continued weak, and for a great while 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, therefore, tumultuously 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 again retired. When he was able to pursue his journey 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[168], who had been principally concerned in instigating Sabbas to revolt, and had involved the Macedonians in many other distresses. As these ten were reckoned the most acute and concise in their answers, he proposed to them the most difficult questions which could be devised, and at the same time declared that he would put to death

[168] These philosophers, so called from their going naked, were divided into two sects, the Brachmani and the Germani. The Brachmani were the most esteemed, because there was a consistency in their principles. Apuleius informs 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 in which they had been engaged, were not allowed any dinner. See Strabo xv. They had not, however, the name of Brachmani in Alexander's time.

the first who answered wrong, and after him all the rest. The oldest man among them was to be judge.

He demanded of the first, "Which were most numerous, the living or the dead?" He answered, "The living; for the dead no longer exist[169]."

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[170]."

The fourth, "What was his reason for persuading Sabbas to revolt?" "Because," said he, "I "wished him either to live like a brave man, or to "die like a coward[171]."

The fifth had this question proposed, "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 inquired, "What are the best means for a man to make himself beloved?" He replied, "If possessed of great "power, not to make himself feared."

The seventh was asked, "How a man might become a god?" He answered, "By doing what it "is impossible for man to do."

[169] They did not hold the mortality, but the transmigration of the soul.

[170] This we suppose to mean man himself, as being 'to himself unknown.'

[171] One of the MSS. gives us καλως here, instead of κακως. Then the sense will be, 'Because I wished him either to live, or to die, with honour.' Which we cannot but prefer; for he, who has regard enough for a man to wish him to live with honour, cannot be so envious as to wish him to die with dishonour. At the same time we agree with M. Du Soul, that some archness is intended in most of the answers; but what archness is there in this, as it is commonly translated, 'Because I wished him either to live honourably, or to die miserably?'

The eighth, "Which is strongest, life or death?" "Life," said he; "because it bears so many evils."

The last question which he put was, "How long "is it good for a man to live?" "As long," replied 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 judgement," said Alexander, "thou "shalt die first." "No," replied the philosopher; "not so, except you choose to break your word: "for you declared that 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 the highest reputation and lived a retired life, to desire them to come to him. Onesicritus informs us, that Calanus treated him with great insolence and harshness, bidding him strip himself naked[172], 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 behaved with more courtesy; and when Onesicritus had given him an account of Pythagoras, Socrates, and Diogenes, he said, "They appeared "to him to have been men of genius, but to have "lived with too passive a regard to the laws[173]." According to others, he entered into no discourse with the messenger, but only inquired, "Why Alex- "ander had taken so long a journey?" Calanus, it is certain, was prevailed upon by Taxiles to go to Alexander. His true name was Sphines; but because he addressed them with the word 'Cale,'

[172] From Strabo's account of those philosophers (xv.), it would appear that they were of the ascetic sect of Yogeys or Pandarams; and also that they had some idea, corrupted by tradition, of Paradise and the Fall.*

[173] In opposition to the dictates of nature, says M. Ricard, which directed them forsooth to live more simply, and to go naked.*

which is the Indian form of salutation, the Greeks called him Calanus. This philosopher, we are told, exhibited to Alexander an excellent representation of his empire. He laid a dry and shrivelled hide before him, and first trod upon it's edges. This he did all round; and still as he trod on one side, it started up on the other. At last, he placed his feet upon the middle, and then it lay still. By this emblem he showed him, that he ought to fix his residence and plant his principal force in the heart of his empire, and not wander to it's 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 [174], 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 pass beyond the "bounds of his expedition," he prepared to set out on his way back. He appointed Nearchus admiral and Onesicritus pilot of the royal galley, 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 not less than a hundred and twenty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse. Violent distempers, bad diet, and excessive heats destroyed multitudes; but famine made still greater ravages. For it was a barren and uncultivated country; the natives lived miserably, having nothing to subsist upon except a few scraggy sheep, which used to feed on the fish thrown up by the sea, and were consequently extremely lean and very ill-flavoured.

[174] Arrian vii. calls it 'Cilluta.' Here they first observed the ebbing and flowing of the sea, which caused them not a little surprise.

With much difficulty he traversed this country in sixty days, at the end of which he arrived in Gedrosia. There he found provisions in abundance; for, beside that the land is in itself fertile, the neighbouring princes and grandees sent him supplies. 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 extremely 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 single buckler, a helmet, or a spear; but instead of them, cups, and flaggons, and goblets [175]. 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 by a very immodest figure [176], and with all the licentious ribaldry of the Bacchanals, as if Bacchus himself had been present to carry on the debauch.

When Alexander arrived at the royal palace of Gedrosia [177], he again gave his army time to refresh

[175] Θηκαλεσσις. See the Life of Paulus Æmilius, Vol. II. not. (95).*

[176] M. le Fevre (in his notes upon Anacreon) seems to have restored the genuine reading of this passage, by proposing to read, instead of ταις φιαλαις, ὁ Φαλης or Φαλλος.

[177] 'Gedrosia' is certainly corrupt. We should probably read 'Carmania.' Βασιλειον signifies a capital city, as well as a royal palace, because princes generally reside in their capitals. (L.) The whole of this licentious procession is denied by Arrian vi. as totally

themselves, and entertained them with feasts and public spectacles. At one of these, in which the chorusses disputed the prize of dancing, he appeared inflamed with wine. His favourite Bagoas [178], who happened to win it, crossed the theatre in his habit of ceremony, and seated himself by the king. The Macedonians expressed their satisfaction with loud plaudits, and called out to the king to kiss him, with which he at last complied.

At this place he was rejoined by Nearchus, who gave him so much pleasure by the account of his voyage, that he formed a design to sail in person from the Euphrates with a large fleet, go round the coast of Arabia and Africa, and enter the Mediterranean by the Pillars of Hercules. For this purpose, he constructed at Thapsacus [179] a number of vessels of all kinds, and collected mariners and pilots. But the report of the difficulties which he had encountered in his Indian expedition, particularly in his attack upon the Malli, his great loss of men in the country of the Orites, and the supposition that he would never return alive from the projected voyage, excited his new subjects to revolt, and stimulated his generals and governors of provinces to display their injustice, insolence, and avarice. In short, the whole empire was in commotion, and ripe for rebellion. Olympias and Cleopatra, leaguing against Antipater, had seized his hereditary dominions, and divided them between themselves. Olympias took Epirus, and Cleopatra Macedon. Intelligence of this being brought to Alexander, he said, "His mo-"ther had chosen rightly, for the Macedonians would "never bear to be governed by a woman."

unfounded, and indeed, considering the exhausted state of the Macedonian army, perfectly incredible. See also M. de St. Croix.*

[178] This effeminate creature had, previously, been in equal favour with Darius. How had Alexander at this time

'Fallen from his high estate'

of moral purity! Compare p. 295.

[179] A city of Syria, near the Euphrates.*

In consequence of this unsettled state of things, he sent Nearchus again to sea, having determined to carry the war into the maritime provinces. In the mean time, he marched in person to chastise his lieutenants for their misdemeanors. Oxyartes, one of the sons of Abulites [180], 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 service "will all this be to me?" and immediately ordered him to be taken into custody.

His first measure upon entering Persia was to give this money to the matrons, according to the ancient custom of the kings, who upon their return from any excursion to their Persian dominions, used to present every woman with a piece of gold [181]. For this reason several of them, we are told, made it a rule to return but seldom; and Ochus never returned at all, but banished himself to save his money. Having found Cyrus' tomb [182] broken 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

[180] Satrap of Susiana, who upon Darius' defeat had put that province with it's capital, Susa, into Alexander's hands. (Q. Curt. 2., Arrian vii.)*

[181] This custom had been established by Cyrus, in compliment, as we learn from one of Plutarch's Moral Treatises, to their courageous behaviour.*

[182] This, according to Strabo xvi. and Arrian vi., was in the country of the Pasagadæ. The latter has preserved Aristobulus' description of it, from which it would seem to have been much richer than the epitaph implies: the former imputes the sacrilege to robbers.*

not the little earth, that covers my body.' Alexander was much affected by these words, which placed before him in so strong a light the uncertainty and the vicissitude of things.

It was here that Calanus, after having been disordered a short time by the colic, desired to have his funeral-pile erected. He approached it on horseback, offered up his prayers to heaven, poured the libations upon himself, cut off part of his hair [183] and threw it on the fire, and before he ascended the pile took leave of the Macedonians, desiring them to spend the day in jollity and drinking with the king; "For I shall see him," said he, "in a little "while at Babylon." So saying, he stretched himself upon the pile, and covered himself up. Neither did he move at the approach of the flames, but remained in the same posture till he had finished his sacrifice, according to the custom of the sages of his country. Many years afterward, another Indian did the same in the presence of Augustus Cæsar at Athens [184], whose sepulchre is shown to this day under the name of 'the Indian's Tomb.'

Alexander, as soon as he retired from the funeral-pile, invited his friends and officers to supper; and, in order to give spirit to the carousal, promised that the man who drank most, should be crowned for his victory. Promachus drank four measures of wine [185],

[183] As some of the hair used to be cut from the forehead of victims. (L.) See Hom. Il. xix. 254., Odyss. xiv. 422. An account of this Indian suicide is given by Arrian vii., Diod. Sic. xvii. 107., Ælian v. 6. He had attained the age of seventy-three years. See also references to his prediction in Cic. de Div. i. 23., and Val. Max. i. 8.*

[184] B. C. 21. This Indian was in high health at the time: his name, according to Dio. liv., was Samarus; but Strabo calls him Zarmanochegus.*

[185] About fourteen quarts. The *choïs* was $6\frac{9}{10}$ pints. (L.) See the Table, Vol. I. Athenæus x. 10., after Chares, states that there were three prizes proposed (of sixty, thirty, and ten minæ respectively) for the first, second, and third drinkers; and that of these brutal competitors thirty-five were left dead on the spot, and five more died soon afterward in their tents!*

and carried off the crown, which was worth a talent, but he survived it only three days. The rest of the guests, as Chares informs us, drank to such a degree, that forty-one of them lost their lives, the weather having set in extremely cold during their intoxication.

When he arrived at Susa, he married his friends to Persian ladies. He himself set them the example, by taking Darius' daughter Statira to wife, and then distributed among his principal officers the virgins of the highest quality. As for those Macedonians, who had already married in Persia, he made a general entertainment in commemoration of their nuptials[186]. Not fewer than nine thousand guests, it is said, sat down to table, and yet he presented each with a golden cup for performing the libation. Every thing else was conducted with the utmost magnificence; he even discharged all their debts: so that the whole expense amounted to nine thousand eight hundred and seventy talents.

An officer who had but one eye, named Antigenes, fraudulently put himself upon this list of debtors, and produced a person, who declared that he was so much in his books. Alexander paid the money; but having subsequently detected the knavery, he angrily forbade him the court, and took away his commission. There was no fault to be found with him, as a soldier. He had distinguished himself in his youth under Philip, at the siege of Perinthus, where he was wounded in the eye with a dart discharged from one of the engines; and yet he would neither suffer it to be taken out, nor quit the field, till he had repulsed the enemy, and forced them to retire into the town. This poor wretch could not bear the disgrace, which he had now brought upon himself;

[186] For an account of the magnificence of these nuptials, see Ælian viii. 7. Alexander (we are told by Arrian vii.) had already, beside Roxana, married Parysatis the youngest daughter of King Ochus. From his connexion with Statira the kings of Balaxaam derived themselves in the time of Marco Polo, i. 25.*

his grief and his despair were so immoderate, that it was apprehended he would put an end to his life. To prevent this catastrophe, the king forgave him, and ordered him to keep the money.

The thirty thousand boys, whom he had 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 highly delighted with them. But it was matter of uneasiness to the Macedonians, who were apprehensive that the king would have less regard for themselves. When he gave the invalids therefore 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 "propriety, of their services; and he now sends "them back with disgrace, and turns them upon "the hands of their country and their parents, "in a very different condition from that in which he "received them. Why does not he dismiss us all? "Why does not he reckon all the Macedonians in-"capable of service, now he has procured 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 surrounded by these new attendants, and themselves rejected and spurned with dishonour, they were greatly humbled, bewailed to each other their hard fate, and became almost frantic with jealousy and anger. At last recovering their senses, 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, that he would treat them as ungrateful men deserved.

Their complaints softened him, but he would not appear to hearken to them. They stood two days and

nights, bemoaning themselves in this manner, and calling for their master. On 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 more freely, and such as were disabled he sent away 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, and wear chaplets of flowers in the theatres; 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 again employed himself in the celebration of games and other public solemnities; for which purpose three thousand artificers, lately arrived from Greece, were very useful to him. But, unfortunately, in the midst of this festivity, Hephæstion fell sick of a fever.

As a young man, and a soldier, he could not bear to be kept to strict diet: and seizing the opportunity of dining, when his physician Glaucus was gone to the theatre, he ate a roasted capon, and drank a cooler full of wine; in consequence of which he grew worse, and died a few days afterward.

Alexander's grief, upon 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 he pulled down the battlements of the neighbouring cities[187]. The poor physician he crucified. He forbade the flute, and all other music, in his camp for a long time. This continued till he received an oracle from Jupiter Ammon, injoining him to revere He-

[187] Only of Ecbatana, if we may trust Ælian vii. 8., where his favourite had expired. See also Arrian vii., who contradicts much of this account of his grief, as exaggerated; though, in what regards the horses, &c. he might be desirous of imitating the Persian customs. See the Life of Aristides, Vol. II. and not. (43.)*

phæstion, and sacrifice to him as a demi-god [188]: upon which, he sought to relieve his sorrow by hunting, or rather by war; for his game were men. In this expedition he conquered the Cussæans, and put all who had attained years of puberty to the sword. This he called a sacrifice to Hephæstion's *manes!*

It was his intention to lay out ten thousand talents upon his tomb, and other monumental ornaments; and he was anxious that this expense, enormous as it was, should be exceeded by the workmanship, as well as the design. He therefore desired to have Stasicrates for his architect, whose genius promised a happy boldness and grandeur and sublimity in every thing that he planned. This was the man who had told him, some time before, that Mount Athos in Thrace was perfectly capable of being cut into a human figure; and that, if he had but his orders, he would convert it into a statue for him, the most lasting and the most conspicuous in the world: a statue, which should have a city with ten thousand inhabitants in it's left hand, and a river flowing to the sea with a strong current in it's right [189]. Alexander did not however embrace the proposal, though he was at that time busying himself with his architects, in contriving and laying out even more absurd and extravagant designs.

As he was advancing toward Babylon, Nearchus, having returned from his expedition on the ocean and come up the Euphrates, declared that he had met with some Chaldæans, who were strongly of

[188] After this, he so far resented all appearances of grief upon Hephæstion's account, that Lucian Περι τε μη ραδιως πιστευειν διαβολη informs us, he was on the point of throwing Agathocles to a lion, merely for having shed a few tears as he passed by his tomb. This story however, being wholly unsupported by other writers, M. de St. Croix treats as apocryphal. The people, mentioned below, are by Arrian vii., and Diod. Sic. xvii. 3., called 'Cossëians;' but neither of those historians mentions the sanguinary and improbable massacre here recorded.*

[189] He built also Alexandria, and rebuilt the temple of Diana at Ephesus.*

opinion that Alexander should not enter that city. 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 dead at his feet. Soon after this, being informed that Apollodorus governor of Babylon had been sacrificing, in order to consult the gods concerning him, he sent for Pythagoras the soothsayer [190]; and, as he did not deny the fact, he asked him how the entrails of the victim appeared. "The liver," Pythagoras answered, "was without a head." "A "terrible presage, indeed!" said Alexander. He let Pythagoras, however, go with impunity; but he began to be sorry, that 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 occurred several other ill omens, which caused him considerable disturbance. One of the largest and handsomest lions, kept in Babylon, was attacked and kicked to death by an ass. He had stripped one day for the refreshment of oil, and to play at ball: at the conclusion of the sport the young men who played with him, going to fetch his clothes, beheld a person sitting in profound silence upon his throne, dressed in the royal robes, and with the diadem upon his head. They demanded who he was, and it was a long time before he would give them any answer. At last, recovering his senses, he said; "My name is Dionysius, and I "am a native of Messene. In consequence of the "institution of a criminal process against me, I left "that place, and embarked for Babylon. There I "have been kept in confinement a long time. 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."

[190] Brother of Apollodorus, as we learn from Arrian ib., and Diod. Sic. xvii. 116. The latter historian gives us a great many other presages, equally terrible!*

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 support of heaven, and on the other, he distrusted his friends. He was most afraid of Antipater and his sons; one of whom, named Iolaüs [191], was his cup-bearer; the other, named Cassander, had lately arrived from Macedon, 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 subsequently attempted to vindicate his father against his accusers, which greatly irritated the king. "What is this talk of thine?" said he. "Dost thou think that men, who had suf-"fered no injury, would come so far to adduce a "false charge?" "Their coming so far," replied Cassander, "is an argument that the charge is false, "because they are at a distance from those, who are "able to contradict them." At this Alexander smiled, and said, "These are some of Aristotle's "sophisms, which are equally conclusive on either "side of the question. But be assured, if these men "have had the least injustice done them, I will make "you repent it."

This and other menaces left such a terror upon Cassander, and made so lasting an impression upon his mind, that many years afterward, when he was king of Macedon and master of all Greece, as he was walking about at Delphi and taking a view of the statues, the sudden sight of that of Alexander is said to have struck him with so much horror, as to

[191] Arrian and Curtius call him 'Iollas.' Plutarch calls him 'Iolas' below. (L.) For Alexander's suspicion of Cassander, see Val. Max. i. 7. Plutarch is rather too compendious in what follows, as he says nothing of any accusers of Antipater having arrived at Babylon.*

have made him shiver and shake in every joint; and it was with difficulty that he recovered from the giddiness of brain, which it produced.

When Alexander had once abandoned himself to superstition, his mind was so worried by empty fears and anxieties, that he turned the least incident, which was in any respect strange and extraordinary, into a sign or a prodigy. The court swarmed with sacrificers, purifiers, and prognosticators; there they were all to be seen exercising their talents. 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 [192], so superstition prevails over a dejected mind, and fills it with fear and folly. This was now the case with Alexander. Upon the receipt however of some oracles concerning Hephæstion, from the god whom he commonly consulted, he dismissed 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, before he retired 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 the whole of 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 [193], neither did he find a sudden

[192] The text in this place is corrupt. For the sake of those readers, who have not Bryan's edition of the Greek, we give the emendation which the learned M. du Soul proposes: ἡ δεισιδαιμονία, δίκην ὕδατος ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ ταπεινούμενον καὶ ΚΑΤΑΝΤΕΣ ΡΕΟΥΣΑ, πᾶσι τερπνὰ καὶ φοβερὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ΑΝΕΠΛΗΡΟΥ.

[193] Plutarch here seems to intend negativing the account given by Diod. Sic. xvii. 117., and Q. Curt. x. 4. The 'Cup of Hercules,' Xylander thinks, was only a cup drunk in honour of that demigod: but Athenæus xi. 5., and Cicero Verr. vi., speak expressly of cups of this name, which the former in particular represents as having two handles and being very large. In the same writer x. 9., and Ælian iii. 53., we have a detail of the excesses of Alexander's drinking-bouts.*

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 informs 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 phrensy, and that he died the thirtieth of the month Dæsius [194].

But, in his own journal, the account of his sickness is as follows. 'On the eighteenth of the month Dæsius, finding himself feverish, he lay in his bath-room. The next day, after he had bathed, he removed into his bed-chamber, and played many hours with Medius at dice. In the evening he again bathed, and after having sacrificed to the gods ate his supper. In the night, the fever returned. On the twentieth he also bathed, and after the customary sacrifice sat in the bath-room, and diverted himself with hearing Nearchus relate the story of his voyage, and all that was most observable with respect to the ocean. The twenty-first was spent in the same 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 that they might be filled up with experienced officers. On 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 others keep watch all night without. On 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 throughout the whole of the following day. The

[194] B. C. 324. At the age of thirty-two years, ten months, and twenty-two days, of which he had reigned upward of twelve.*

Macedonians by this time, thinking that he was dead, came to the gates with loud clamours; 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 bed-side. On the twenty-seventh, Python and Seleucus [195] were sent to the temple of Serapis, to inquire whether they should carry Alexander thither, and the deity gave orders that he should not be removed. On the twenty-eighth, in the evening, he died.' These particulars are extracted, almost word for word, from his own Diary.

There was no suspicion of poison at the time of his death; but six years afterward (we are told) Olympias, upon some information given her, put a number of people to death; and ordered the remains of Iolas, who was supposed to have administered the draught, to be dug out of his grave. Those who affirm that Aristotle advised Antipater to this horrid deed, and furnished him with the poison sent to Babylon, quote one Agnothemis as their author, who pretended to have had the story from king Antigonus. The poison, they add, was a water of a cold and deadly quality [196], which distils from a rock in the territory of Nonacris; and that they receive it, as they would do so many dew-drops, and keep it in an ass' hoof: it's extreme coldness and acrimony being such, that it makes it's way through all other kinds of vessels. The generality, however, look upon the story of the poison as a mere fable; and they have this strong argument in their favour, that though on account of the disputes in which the

[195] With some others, according to Arrian vii. For Olympias' sanguinary executions, mentioned below, see Diod. Sic. xix. 11.*

[196] Hence it was called 'the Stygian Water.' Nonacris was a city in Arcadia. (L.) Herod. vi. 74. A water equally deleterious was to be found in Thessaly, near Tempe, as we are told by Seneca Quæst Nat. xxv., and Plin. H. N. xii. 64. See also Q. Curt. x. 14., who apparently comprehends Thessaly under the name 'Macedon.' Some authors for an 'ass'' hoof read that of 'a horse,' or 'a mule.'

great officers were for many days engaged, the body lay in a sultry place unembalmed, it showed no sign of any such taint, but continued fresh and clear [197].

Roxana was now pregnant [198], and therefore had great attention paid her by the Macedonians. But being extremely jealous of Statira, she laid a snare for her by a forged letter, as from Alexander; and having thus gotten her into her power, she sacrificed both her and her sister, and threw their bodies into a well, which she filled up with earth. In this murther, Perdiccas was her accomplice. He now indeed exercised the principal power, in the name of Arrhidæus, whom he treated rather as a screen than as a king.

Arrhidæus was the son of Philip by a courtesan named Philinna, a woman of low birth. His deficiency in understanding was the consequence of a distemper, in which neither nature nor accident had any share. For it is said, there was something amiable and great in him, when a boy; which Olympias perceiving, gave him potions that disturbed his brain [199].

[197] Thirty days, according to Ælian xii. 64.: after which, on Aristander's announcing that the possession of the royal corpse would give stability to the kingdom where it was interred, Ptolemy by many stratagems got it conveyed to Alexandria (see also Diod. Sic. xix., Strabo xvii., and Q. Curt. x.); and the *conditorium* of this great conqueror, if we admit the arguments adduced by Dr. Clarke in his 'Tomb of Alexander,' is now in the British Museum.*

[198] Her son, called Alexander, with his half-brother Hercules (the son of Barsine) and the two mothers, were put to death by Cassander. See Justin xv. 2., Diod. Sic. xix. 105., xx. 28. Philinna, mentioned below, was of Larissa. Just. xiii. 2. Her son Arrhidæus (as the name, according to the correct Dr. Gillies, in his late work on the History of the Interval between Alexander and Augustus, ought to be written) took the appellation of Philip, and reigned six years; at the expiration of which, Olympias got him put to death.*

[199] Portraits of the same person, taken at different periods of life, though they widely differ from each other, retain a resemblance upon the whole. And so it fares, in general, with the characters of men. But to this remark Alexander seems to have been an exception; for nothing can admit of greater dissimilarity than that which at different times, and in different circumstances, entered

into his disposition. He was brave and pusillanimous, merciful and cruel, modest and vain, abstemious and luxurious, rational and superstitious, polite and overbearing, politic and imprudent. Neither were these changes casual, or temporary: the stile of his character underwent a total revolution, and he passed from virtue to vice in a regular and progressive manner. Munificence and pride were the only characteristics, which never forsook him. If there was any vice, of which he was incapable, it was avarice; if any virtue, it was humility.

THE

LIFE

OF

JULIUS CÆSAR.

SUMMARY.

Enmity of Cæsar and Sylla. Cæsar taken by pirates, holds them in great contempt, and afterward gets them crucified. His great turn for eloquence; and popularity. He pronounces a funeral panegyric upon his wife; and marries Pompeia. Places the images and trophies of Marius in the Capitol: is elected chief pontiff. Cicero reproached for having spared him, at the time of Catiline's conspiracy. The senate, to counterbalance his power, make a monthly distribution of bread-corn to the people. Clodius introduced into Pompeia's house, at the celebration of the Mysteries of the Bona Dea. Cæsar divorces his wife, and Clodius is acquitted. Cæsar's conduct in Spain, of which province he had been appointed governor. He mediates between Pompey and Crassus; and by their influence obtains the consulship. Disgraceful behaviour of Cæsar and Pompey: by Cæsar's direction Cato is taken into custody, and immediately released. Summary of Cæsar's successes in Gaul. Instances of the attachment of his officers and soldiers: how he wins their affection. His temperance: first expedition into Gaul: second war against Ariovistus. He gains a complete victory over him: defeats the Belgæ: cuts in pieces the Nervii: procures a grant of the government of Gaul for five years: makes war upon the Usipetes and Tenchteri; ravages the country beyond the Rhine; passes over into Britain. Revolt in Gaul. He defeats Ambiorix. Vercingetorix rebels. Cæsar invests him in Alexia; and defeats a large army, which advanced to it's relief. Vercingetorix surrenders. Commencement of the quarrel between Cæsar and Pompey. Pompey elected sole consul. Cæsar applies for another consulship, and for a continuance of his commission in Gaul.

Pompey's error, with regard to the levying of troops. Cæsar proposes to lay down his arms, on condition that Pompey does the same; lowers his demands; sets off for Ariminum; and takes possession of it. Consternation excited in Rome. Pompey leaves that city. Different feelings of it's inhabitants. Cæsar enters it: goes into Spain: sets out in pursuit of Pompey: undertakes to cross to Brundusium in a small vessel. Distresses of his army. Pompey gains a victory, but neglects to improve it. Cæsar decamps: and Pompey is unwillingly induced to march after him. Abundance restored to Cæsar's troops. The armies in sight of each other at Pharsalia. Different presages. Arrangements of the two generals. Cæsar gains the victory. His subsequent expressions and behaviour. Prediction of Cornelius. Cæsar's tears on receiving the signet of Pompey. Cleopatra orders herself to be conveyed to Cæsar, as a bale of goods: he places her on the throne of Egypt. Rapidity of his Asiatic victories. Insolence of Antony, and his other friends. Cæsar passes over into Africa: His distress for provisions. In one day he defeats three generals, and takes their three camps. His motive for composing the 'Anti-Cato.' Census, proving the immense depopulation occasioned by the civil wars. Cæsar defeats Pompey's sons in Spain: is appointed perpetual dictator. His irreproachable conduct. He projects new conquests, and other great undertakings; reforms the calendar; incurs general odium by his passion for the title of 'king.' Antony offers him a diadem, which he refuses. Commencement of the conspiracy of Brutus and Cassius: Presages ominous of his death. He goes to the senate, notwithstanding various warnings: is first wounded by Casca, then slain by the rest of the conspirators. Brutus and Cassius address the people. Popular fury against the murtherers. Death of Cassius; and of Brutus.

WHEN Sylla had rendered himself master of Rome[1], he endeavoured to make Cæsar repudiate

[1] Some imagine, that the beginning of this Life is lost; but, if they re-peruse the Introduction to the Life of Alexander, that notion will vanish. (L.) Plutarch indeed, hastening to more important matters, neglects giving any account of his youth (which was distinguished by nothing very memorable) as Suetonius, and V. Pater. ii. 41., have also done in their respective compositions.*

Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, one of the late tyrants; and finding he could not effect it, either by hopes or by fears [2], he confiscated her dowry. Cæsar, indeed, as a relation to Marius, was naturally hostile to Sylla. Old Marius had married Julia, Cæsar's aunt; and therefore young Marius, his son by that marriage, was Cæsar's cousin-german. At first Sylla, amidst the vast number of proscriptions which engaged his attention, overlooked this enemy; but Cæsar, not so content, offered himself to the people as a candidate for the priesthood [3], though he had not yet attained to years of maturity. Sylla, however, exerted his influence against him, and he miscarried.

The dictator subsequently thought of having him taken off; and upon some of his friends remarking, that there was no need to put such a boy to death, observed, "Their sagacity was small, if they did "not in 'that boy' see many Mariuses." This saying being reported to Cæsar, he for a long time concealed himself, wandering up and down in the country of the Sabines. Amidst his movements from house to house he fell sick, and upon that account was obliged to be carried in a litter. The soldiers employed by Sylla to search those parts, and to drag the proscribed persons from their retreats, one night fell in with him; but Cornelius [4], who commanded

[2] Cæsar would not make such a sacrifice to the dictator as had been made by Piso, who divorced his wife Annia at his command. Pompey likewise, for the sake of Sylla's alliance, divorced Antistia.

[3] Cæsar gained the priesthood, before Sylla was dictator. In the seventeenth year of his age, he broke his engagement to Cossutia (though she was of a consular and opulent family) and married Cornelia the daughter of Cinna, by whose interest and that of Marius he was created *Flamen Dialis*, or Priest of Jupiter. Sylla, when absolute master of Rome, insisted upon his divorcing Cornelia, and on his refusal deprived him of that office. (Suet. in Jul., and V. Pater. ii. 43.)

[4] Phagita, a freedman of Sylla. This exaction Cæsar, upon his attaining sovereign power, could never persuade himself to resent. (Suet. 74.) The 'isle,' or rather isles, of Pharmacusa (for, according to Steph. Byzant., there were two of that name) which are mentioned below, were near Salamis.*

them, was prevailed upon by a bribe of two talents to let him go.

He then hastened to sea, and sailed to Bithynia, where he craved protection from Nicomedes the king. His stay, however, with him 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 required of him only twenty talents for his ransom. He laughed at their demand, as the consequence of their not knowing whom they had in their possession, and promised them fifty. To raise the money, he despatched his attendants to different cities, and in the mean time remained with only a single friend[5] and two footmen among these Cilicians, who considered murther 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. He lived thus 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 that city[6], in order to attack these corsairs. He found

[5] 'A physician,' says Suet. 5., which Casaubon well defends; though many critics for *medicus* would read *amicus*, as the Roman physicians were not elevated to the rank or society of gentlemen till the ensuing generation, when Augustus was cured of a dangerous illness by Antonius Musa. The ransom, we learn from V. Paterc. ii. 42., was advanced by the cities of Asia out of the public purse.*

[6] Dacier reads 'Melos,' which was one of the Cyclades, but he does not quote his authority.

them still lying at anchor off the island, took most of them together 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 himself, as he had often threatened to do at Pharmacusa, when they supposed him to be only in jest.

Sylla's power now beginning to decline, Cæsar's friends pressed him to return to Rome. But he first went to Rhodes, to study under Apollonius the son of Molo[7], who taught rhetoric there with great reputation, and was a man of irreproachable manners. Cicero, likewise, was one of his scholars. Cæsar is said to have had happy talents from nature for a public speaker, and he did not want ambition to cultivate them, so that he was undoubtedly the second orator in Rome; and he might have been the first, had he not rather chosen the pre-eminence in arms.

[7] 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 pirates. In the Life of Cicero, Plutarch falls into the same mistake. Thus far Dacier; and Ruauld and other critics say the same. Yet Strabo (xiv.) informs us, that Molo and Apollonius were two different men; both however natives of Alabanda a city of Caria, both scholars of Menacles the Alabandian, and both professing the same art at Rhodes; though Molo went thither later than Apollonius, who upon that account applied to him the phrase of Homer, ὀψὲ μολών. Cicero likewise seems to distinguish them, calling one 'Molo' and the other 'Apollonius the Alabandian,' especially in his *De Oratore* (i.), where he introduces M. Antonius speaking of him thus: 'For this one thing, I always liked Apollonius the Alabandian: though he taught for money, he did not suffer any, whom he thought incapable of making a figure as orators, to lose their time and labour with him; but sent them home, exhorting them to apply themselves to that art, for which they were in his opinion the best qualified.' To solve this difficulty, we are willing to suppose with Ruauld, that there were two Molos, contemporaries; for the testimonies of Suetonius (Jul. iv.) and of Quintilian (xii. 6.), that Cæsar and Cicero were pupils to Apollonius Molo, can never be over-ruled.

Thus he never reached that pitch of eloquence, to which his powers would have raised him, being engaged in those wars and political intrigues, which at last gained him the empire. Hence it was, that subsequently in his 'Anti-Cato,' which he wrote in answer to a book of Cicero's, he desired his readers, "Not to expect in the performance of a military man the stile of a complete orator, who had bestowed the whole of his time upon such studies."

On his return to Rome, he impeached Dolabella for misdemeanors in his government, and many cities of Greece by their evidence supported the charge. Dolabella was acquitted. Cæsar however, in acknowledgement of the readiness which Greece had shown to serve him, assisted her in her prosecution of Publius Antonius for corruption. The cause was brought before Marcus Lucullus, prætor of Macedon, and pleaded with so much energy by Cæsar, that the defendant was forced to appeal to the tribunes of the people, alleging that he was not upon equal terms with the Greeks in Greece.

The eloquence, which he displayed at Rome in defending persons impeached, gained him a considerable interest, and his engaging address and conversation carried the hearts of the people. For he had a degree of condescension, not to be expected from so young a man. At the same time, the liberality of his table and 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 growing popularity. But when it had sprung up to such a height that it was scarcely possible to destroy it, and plainly tended to the ruin of the constitution, they discovered too late, that no beginnings of things however small are to be neglected; because continuance renders them great, and the very contempt, in which they are held, enables them to gain irresistible sway.

Cicero seems to have been the first, who suspected

something formidable from the flattering calm of Cæsar's political conduct, and under the smiles of his benignity detected his pernicious intentions. "I "perceive," said the orator, "an inclination for ty- "ranny, in all that 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 [8], I can hardly believe that "such a man can conceive so vast and fatal a design "as the destruction of the Roman commonwealth." This, however, was an observation made at a much later period than that, of which we are now writing.

The first proof, which he had of the affection of the people, was when he obtained a tribuneship in the army in preference to his competitor Caius Popilius. The second, however, was more remarkable: It was on 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 hardiness to produce the images 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 having brought back Marius' honours after so long a suppression, and raised them as it were from the shades below.

It had been the custom in Rome, for the aged women to have funeral panegyrics [9], but not the

[8] This, as before observed in the Life of Pompey, (p. 186. not. 64.) was the established mark of an unmanly character. Hence the epigrammatist;

——*qui digito caput uno*
Scalpit, quid credis hunc sibi velle? Virum.

And the satirist;

*Qui digito scalpunt uno caput.**

[9] Ever since their generous contribution to the sum stipulated

young. Cæsar first broke through it, by pronouncing one upon his own wife, who died in her prime. This contributed to fix him in the affections of his countrymen: they sympathised with him, and considered him as a man of great good-nature, and one who had the social duties deeply at heart.

After the funeral of his wife, he went out quæstor into Spain [10] with Antistius Vetus the prætor, whom he honoured all his life afterward; and, when he came to be prætor himself, he acknowledged the favour by selecting Vetus' son for his quæstor. When that commission was expired, he took Pompeia [11] to his third wife; having had a daughter [Julia] by his first wife Cornelia, whom he subsequently gave in marriage to Pompey the Great.

Many people, who observed his prodigious expense, thought that he was purchasing a short and transient honour very dearly; when, in fact, he was gaining the chief objects of his ambition at a small price. He is said to have been thirteen hundred talents in debt, before he obtained any public employment. When he had the superintendence of the Appian Road, he laid out considerable sums of his own money; and, when ædile, he not only exhibited three hundred and twenty pair of gladiators [12], but in the other diversions also of the theatre, in the processions and public entertainments, 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 offices, to recompense his generosity.

There were two factions in the state; that of Sylla, which was the strongest, and that of Marius, which

with the Gauls for the ransom of that city, A. C. 360. See the Life of Camillus, Vol. I. not. (24.)

[10] See Vell. Paterc. ii. 43.

[11] Daughter of Q. Pompey, and grand-daughter of Sylla.*

[12] And these (as Suetonius informs us) were fewer, through the envy of his enemies, than he had originally intended.*

was in a low and broken condition. It was Cæsar's study to raise and revive the latter. In pursuance of this intention, when the exhibitions which he gave as ædile were in their 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. Next morning, these figures were seen glistening with gold, of the most exquisite workmanship, and bearing inscriptions which declared the achievements of Marius against the Cimbri. The spectators were astonished at the boldness of the man, who had erected them; neither was it difficult to know, who he was. The report spread with the utmost rapidity, and the whole city assembled to see them. Some exclaimed, that "Cæsar plainly affected the tyranny, by openly producing those honours, which the laws and decrees of the state had condemned to oblivion. This," they said, "was done to try the people, whom he had prepared by his caresses; whether they would suffer themselves to be entirely caught by his venal benefactions, and let him play upon them, and introduce what innovations he pleased." 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. Some of them even wept for joy, at the sight of Marius' countenance. They bestowed the loudest encomiums upon Cæsar, and declared that he was the only relation worthy of that eminent man.

The senate was assembled upon the occasion; and Lutatius Catulus, a person of the highest reputation in Rome, rose and accused Cæsar. In his speech against him, was this memorable expression; "You no longer attack the commonwealth by mines, but by open battery." Cæsar however defended his cause so well, that the senate decided in his favour: and his admirers, still more elated, desired him to keep up a spirit of enterprise, as he might gain every

thing with the consent of the people, and easily become the first man in Rome.

Amidst these transactions died Metellus, the chief pontiff. The office was solicited by Isauricus and Catulus, two of the most illustrious men in the city, and of the greatest interest in the senate. Nevertheless, Cæsar did not shrink from the contest, but presented himself to the people as a candidate. The pretensions and prospects of the competitors seemed nearly equal; and Catulus, who on account of his superior dignity was most uneasy about the event, 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 "still larger sums, to enable him to stand the strug-"gle."

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 mo-"ther, 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 to Cæsar. The senate, and others of the principal citizens, were deeply alarmed at this success, apprehending that he would now urge the people into all kinds of licentiousness and misrule. Piso and Catulus therefore blamed Cicero exceedingly for having spared Cæsar, when Catiline's conspiracy gave him an opportunity of taking him off. Catiline, whose intention was not so much to make alterations in the constitution, as entirely to subvert it and throw all into confusion, upon some slight suspicions appearing against him, had quitted Rome before the whole was unravelled; but he left behind him Lentulus and Cethegus, to conduct the conspiracy within the city.

Whether Cæsar privately encouraged and supported them, or not, is uncertain; but what is universally admitted, is this: The guilt of those two conspirators clearly appearing, Cicero as consul took

the sense of the senators with regard to their punishment; and they all gave it for death, till it came to Cæsar's turn, who in a studied speech 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, except in case of ex-"treme necessity, without an open trial. They "should rather be kept (he contended) in prison, in "any of the cities of Italy which Cicero might "select, till Catiline was subdued; after which the "senate might take cognisance 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 afterward, and even many who had previously 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 [13]; and this with other arguments had so much weight, that the two conspirators were consigned to the hands of the executioner. Nay, as Cæsar was going out of the senate-house, several of the young men who guarded Cicero's person ran upon him with their drawn swords, but Curio (we are told) covered him with his gown, and so carried him off; and Cicero himself, when the young men looked at him for a nod of consent, refused it, either out of fear of the people, or because he thought such an assassination unlawful and unjust. If this had been true, I know not why it should have been omitted by Cicero in the history of his consulship. He was subsequently blamed however for not having availed himself of so good an opportunity as he then had, and for having been influenced by his fears of the people, who were indeed strongly attached to Cæsar: For a few days afterward, when Cæsar en-

[13] Those speeches, and the whole of the proceedings upon the occasion, are beautifully detailed by Sallust, in his Catilinarian war.*

tered the senate, and endeavoured to clear himself from the suspicions entertained of him, his defence was received with indignation and loud reproaches; and as they sat longer than usual, the people beset the house, and with violent outcries demanded Cæsar, absolutely insisting on his being dismissed in safety.

Cato therefore apprehending an insurrection of the indigent populace, who were the very tinder of all seditions, and who had fixed their hopes upon Cæsar, persuaded the senate to order a distribution of bread-corn among them every month, which added five millions five hundred thousand drachmas to the yearly expense of the state [14]. This expedient certainly obviated the present danger, by seasonably reducing the power of Cæsar, who was now prætor elect, and had on that account become still more formidable.

Cæsar's prætorship was not productive of any trouble to the commonwealth, but in the course of it a disagreeable event occurred in his own family. There was a young patrician named Publius Clodius, of great fortune and distinguished eloquence, but at the same time one of the foremost among the vicious and the profligate. This man entertained a passion for Pompeia, Cæsar's wife, nor did she discountenance it. But the women's apartment was so narrowly observed, and all the steps of Pompeia so closely watched by Aurelia Cæsar's mother, who was a woman of consummate virtue and prudence, that it was difficult and hazardous for them to have an interview.

Among the goddesses, whom the Romans worship, is one named Bona Dea, or 'the Good Goddess,' as the Greeks have one whom they call Gynæcea, 'the Patroness of the Women.' The Phrygians claim her, as the mother of their king Midas; the Romans say, she was a Dryad, and the wife of

[14] But this distribution did not continue long.

Faunus; and the Greeks assure us, she is the mother of Bacchus with the unutterable name[15]. For this reason the women, when they observe her festival, cover their tents with vine-branches; and, according to the fable, a sacred dragon lies at the feet of the goddess. No man is allowed to be present, or even to be in the house, at the celebration of her orgies. Many of the ceremonies, which the women then perform by themselves, are said to be like those in the feasts of Orpheus.

Upon the anniversary of the fertival, the consul or prætor (for it is kept at the house of one of them) goes out, and not a male is left in it. The wife, now having the house to herself, decorates it in a proper manner: the Mysteries are performed in the night; and the whole is spent in music and play. Pompeia was, this year, the directress of the feast. Clodius, who was yet a beardless youth, thought he might pass in women's apparel undiscovered, and having taken the garb and instruments of a female musician, perfectly resembled one. He found the door open, and was safely introduced by a maid-servant, who was privy to the affair. She ran before to tell Pompeia; and as she stayed a considerable time, Clodius durst not remain where she had left him, but wandered about the immense house endeavouring to avoid the lights. At last, Aurelia's woman fell in with him, and supposing she spoke to a woman, challenged him to play. Upon his refusing it, she drew him into the midst of the room, and asked him "Who he was, and whence he came?"

[15] This name, however, according to Cicero (who, in his Oration *De Haruspicum responsis*, dilates upon the subject of these Mysteries) was revealed to the women. Whence Dacier deduces a high compliment to the secrecy of the Roman ladies, and by implication passes a sneer upon that of his own countrywomen. But it is not for us to quarrel with the Frenchman, for his want of courtesy to the sex, when we have ourselves a popular comedy, with the ungallant and obnoxious title of

'The Wonder, or a Woman keeps a Secret!'*

He said, "He was waiting for Abra, Pompeia's "maid;" for that was her name. His voice immediately detected him: Aurelia's woman ran up to the lights and the company, crying out that "She "had found a man in the house." The thing struck them all with terror and astonishment. Aurelia put a stop to the ceremonies, and covering up the symbols of their mysterious worship, ordered the doors to be made fast, and with lighted torches hunted up and down for the man. He was at length discovered lurking in the chamber of the maid-servant, who had introduced him. The women knew him, and turned him out of the house; after which, they immediately went home, though it was still night, and informed their husbands of what had happened.

Next morning, the report of the sacrilegious attempt spread throughout Rome; and nothing was talked of, but that Clodius ought to make satisfaction with his life to the family which he had offended, as well as to the city and to the gods. One of the tribunes impeached him of impiety; and the principal senators strengthened the charge, by accusing him to his face of many villainous debaucheries, and (among the rest) of incest with his own sister, the wife of Lucullus. On the other hand, the people exerted themselves with equal vigour in his defence; and the great influence, which the fear of them had upon his judges, was of much service to his cause. Cæsar immediately divorced Pompeia; yet, when summoned as an evidence upon the trial, he declared that he knew nothing of what was alleged against Clodius. As this declaration appeared somewhat strange; the accuser demanded "Why, if that was "the case, he had divorced his wife?" "Because," said he, "I would have the chastity of my wife free "even from suspicion." Some say, Cæsar's evidence was according to his conscience; others, that he gave it to oblige the people, who were bent upon saving Clodius. Be that as it might, Clodius was

acquitted, most of the judges having confounded [16] the letters upon the tablets, that they might neither expose themselves to the resentment of the plebeians by condemning, nor lose their credit with the patricians by acquitting him.

The government of Spain [17] was allotted to Cæsar, after his prætorship. 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 wealthiest man in Rome; who requiring the aid of his warmth and vigour to keep up the balance against Pompey, took upon him to satisfy the most inexorable of his creditors, and engaged for eight hundred

[16] Here it is, συγκεχυμενας τοις πραγμασι τας γραμμας. M. Dacier would from this correct the passage in the Life of Cicero τας δελτους συγκεχυμενας τοις γραμμασι. He translates it, *la plûpart des juges ayant donné leurs avis sur plusieurs affaires en même tems:* 'the greatest part of the judges comprehending other causes along with this in their sentence.' But that could not be the case; for this manner of passing sentence, or rather of passing bills, was forbidden by the Lex Cæcilia et Didia. Besides, it would not have answered the purpose: their sentence would have been equally known. We therefore rather choose to correct this passage by that in the Life of Cicero. (See Barton *in loc.*)

After the pleadings were finished, the prætor gave each of the judges three tablets; one marked with the letter *A*, which acquitted; another with the letter *C*, which condemned; and a third with *N. L. (Non Liquet)* 'the case is not clear.' Each judge put into an urn which tablet he pleased; and as they withdrew to consult before they did it, it was easy to deface or obscure any letters upon the tablets, because they were only written in wax.

Still this objection occurs, Would the prætor who was to count them, and pass sentence according to the majority, admit of tablets with letters so defaced or obscured? A corrupt one indeed might, and might also interpret them as he chose. But as Plutarch does not say 'obscured,' but 'confused,' possibly he only meant that the judges, instead of putting in tablets all marked with the same letter, put in several of each kind, in order to prevent the displeasure of the senate or the people from fixing upon any of them in particular.

[17] It was the government of Farther Spain only, as we learn from Suetonius, 18. that fell to his lot. This province comprehended Lusitania and Bætica, i. e. Portugal and Andalusia. Casaubon supposed the word εκτος to have slipped out of the text, between την and Ἱσπριαν; but it is a matter of little importance.

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 a joke inquired, "Can there be in this place any disputes for "offices, any contentions for precedency, or any "such envy as we observe among the great?" Upon which Cæsar asserted with the utmost 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 by 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 con-"quered countries, and I have not a single proud "achievement to boast?"

From this principle it was, that immediately upon his arrival in Spain he applied to business with diligence; and having added ten newly-raised cohorts to the twenty which he found there, he marched against the Callæcians [18] and Lusitanians, defeated them, and penetrated to the ocean, reducing nations on his way which had never 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 remainder, till the loan was discharged. 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.'

[18] In the text Καλλαϊκοὺς. Cruserius renders it, 'Gallæcos;' but, according to Cellarius, he is under a mistake.

Upon his return, he found himself under a troublesome dilemma: Those who solicit a triumph being obliged to remain without the walls[19], and such as sue for the consulship, to make their personal appearance in Rome. As these were things which he could not reconcile, and his arrival happened at the time of the election of consuls, he applied to the senate for permission to stand candidate though absent, and to offer himself to the people through his friends. Cato strongly opposed his request, insisting on the legal prohibition: and, when he saw numbers yielding to Cæsar's influence, he attempted by gaining time to prevent his success; with which view he protracted the debate, till it was too late to conclude upon any thing that day. Cæsar then determined to resign the triumph, and solicit the consulship.

As soon as he had entered the city, he went to work in an underhand way, upon a measure which deceived every body except Cato. It was the reconciling of Pompey and Crassus, two of the most powerful men in Rome. By making them friends, Cæsar secured to himself the interest of both; and thus, while he seemed to be only doing an office of humanity, he was actually undermining the constitution. For it was not (as most people imagine) the disagreement between Cæsar and Pompey, which produced the civil wars, but rather their union: they first combined to ruin the authority of the senate, and when that was effected, they separated to pursue each his own designs. Cato, who often prophesied what would be the consequence, was at that time looked upon as a troublesome and meddling fellow; but he was afterward considered as a wise, though not a fortunate, counsellor. In the mean time, Cæsar walked to the place of election between

[19] To prevent the violences of military interference, which would otherwise have frequently enforced the object of the victorious general's petition, without leaving the citizens an option upon the occasion.*

Crassus and Pompey; and, under the auspices of their friendship, was declared consul with distinguished honour, having Calpurnius Bibulus appointed for his collegue.

He had no sooner entered upon his office, than he proposed laws less suitable to a consul, than 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. These being opposed by the virtuous and patriotic part of the senate, he was furnished with the pretext which he had long desired: 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 senators laid him under the dis-"agreeable necessity of seeking protection from the "commons." To them, accordingly, he immediately applied.

Having placed Crassus on one side of him, and Pompey on the other, he demanded of them aloud, "Whether they approved his laws, or not?" and as they answered in the affirmative, he desired their assistance against those, who threatened to oppose them with the sword. This they promised; and Pompey added, "Against those, who come with "the sword, I will bring both sword and buckler:" an expression, which gave the patricians great concern, as it appeared not only unworthy of the respect entertained for him by the senate, and the reverence due to that body, but even desperate and childish. The people, however, were delighted with it.

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 indeed was not properly at liberty, as she had been 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 ensu-

ing. Meanwhile Cato exclaimed loudly against these proceedings, and called both gods and men to witness the intolerable abuse of prostituting by marriage the first dignities of the state, and through this traffic of women mutually bartering the command of provinces and of armies.

As for Bibulus, Cæsar's collegue, when he found his opposition to the new laws entirely unsuccessful, and that his own life as well as that of Cato was often endangered in the public assemblies, he shut himself up at home for 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 in order to ingratiate himself with the people. At the same time the government of Gaul, both on this and the other side of the Alps, was decreed to Cæsar for five years; to which was added Illyricum, with four legions. As Cato remonstrated against these regulations, Cæsar ordered him to be taken into custody, imagining that he would appeal to the tribunes. But when he saw him going to prison without speaking a single word, and observed that it not only gave the nobility great uneasiness, but that the people out of reverence for his virtue followed him in melancholy silence, he whispered one of the tribunes to take him out of the lictor's hands.

Very few of the body of senators followed Cæsar, upon this occasion, to the house. The chief part, offended at such acts of tyranny, had seceded. Considius, one of the oldest who attended, remarking "That it was the soldiers and their naked swords, "which kept the rest from assembling;" Cæsar asked, "Why does not fear keep you at home too?" Considius replied, "Old age is my defence; the "very small remains of my life do not deserve much "precaution."

The most disgraceful step however, taken by Cæsar during his whole consulship, was his getting

Clodius elected tribune of the people; the same, who had attempted to dishonour his bed, and who had profaned the mysterious rites of the Good Goddess. He pitched upon him, in order to ruin Cicero; neither would he set out for his government, before he had embroiled them, and procured Cicero's banishment. For history informs us, that all these transactions preceded his wars in Gaul. The wars which he subsequently waged, and the 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 general, we behold him in no respect inferior to the greatest and most admired commanders that the world ever produced. For whether we compare him with the Fabii, the Scipios, and the Metelli, with the generals of his own time, or with those who flourished a little before him, with Sylla, with Marius, with the two Luculli, or even 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 subdued: this, in the number and strength of the enemies conquered, that, in the savage manners and treacherous disposition of the people humanised: one in mildness and clemency to his prisoners, another in bounty and munificence to his troops; and all, in the number of battles won, and of enemies destroyed. 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 whom he cut in pieces, and made another million prisoners.

Such likewise 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 which nothing could resist. To give three or four instances:

Acilius in a sea-fight near Marseilles, after he had boarded one of the enemy's ships, had his right-hand cut off with a sword; yet he still held his buckler in his left, and pushed it in the enemy's faces, till he defeated them, and took the vessel.

Cassius Scæva in the battle of Dyrrhachium, after he had had an eye shot out by an arrow, his shoulder wounded with one javelin, his thigh transfixed by another, and had received a hundred and thirty darts upon his shield[20], called out to the enemy, as if he wished to surrender himself. Upon this two of them coming up to him, he gave one of them such a stroke upon the shoulder with his sword, that the arm dropped off; the other he wounded in the face, and compelled to retire. His comrades then advanced to his assistance, and he saved his life.

In Britain, some of the vanguard happened to be entangled in a deep morass, and were there attacked by the enemy; upon which a private soldier, in the sight of Cæsar, threw himself into the midst of the assailants, and after prodigious exertions of valour beat off the barbarians, and rescued the men. After this he with much difficulty, partly by swimming and partly by wading, recrossed the morass, but in the passage dropped his shield from his arm. Cæsar and those about him, astonished at the action, ran to meet him with acclamations of joy; but the soldier in great distress threw himself at Cæsar's feet, and

[20] Cæsar (B. C. iii. 53.) says, this brave soldier received two hundred and thirty darts upon his shield; and adds, that he rewarded his bravery with two hundred thousand sesterces, and promoted him from the eighth rank to the first. He likewise ordered the soldiers of that cohort double pay, beside other military rewards. (L.) To both these authorities D. Vossius prefers those of Suetonius and Celsus, who state that he received only 'a hundred and twenty.' The private soldier, in the next story, was the same Cassius, then in the ranks; for Plutarch has, in these two narratives, inverted the order of the events. (See Val. Max. III. ii. 23.)

with tears in his eyes begged pardon for the loss of his shield.

In Africa, Scipio having taken one of Cæsar's ships, on board of which was Granius Petronius lately appointed quæstor, put the rest to the sword, but told the quæstor, "He gave him quarter." Petronius answered, "It is the custom of Cæ-"sar's soldiers to give, not to receive quarter," and immediately plunged his sword into his own breast.

This generous and lofty ambition was cultivated and cherished, in the first place, by the noble manner in which Cæsar rewarded his troops, and the honours which he paid them. For his whole conduct showed, that he did not accumulate riches in the course of his wars, with a view to minister to any 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, which contributed to render them invincible, was that they observed Cæsar always taking his share in danger, and never desiring any exemption from fatigue.

As for his exposing his person to danger, they were not surprised at it, because they knew his passion for glory; but they were astonished at his patience under fatigue, so far in all appearance above his bodily powers. For he was of a slender make, fair complexion, and delicate constitution, and subject to violent head-achs and epileptic fits. He had the first attack of the falling-sickness at Corduba[21]. 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, and by simple diet, and seldom coming

[21] *Hod.* Cordova, a city in Andalusia upon the Guadalquivir.*

under covert. Thus he contended with his distemper, and fortified himself against it's attacks.

When he slept, it was commonly upon a march, either in a chariot or a litter, that rest might be no hindrance to business. In the day-time he visited the castles, cities, and fortified camps, with a servant by his side, whom he employed upon 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 thither from Rome.

He was a good horseman in his early years, and brought that exercise to such perfection by practice, that he could sit a horse at full speed with his hands behind him. In this expedition he also accustomed himself to dictate letters as he rode on horseback, and found sufficient employment for two secretaries at once, or according to Oppius for more. It is also said, that Cæsar was the first who contrived to communicate his thoughts by letter to his friends, though both parties were in Rome, when any urgent affair required it, and the multitude of business or the great extent of the city did not admit an interview [22].

Of his indifference with respect to diet, we have the following remarkable proof: Happening to sup with Valerius Leo, a friend of his, at Milan, sweet ointment had been poured upon the asparagus instead of oil. Cæsar ate of it freely notwithstanding, and afterward rebuked his friends for having expressed their dislike of it. "It was enough," said he, "to forbear eating, if it was disagreeable to you.

[22] Here we discover the rudiments of the Twopenny Post. But this surely was no great discovery, even if we can suppose that till Cæsar's time it was unknown. Sueton. 56. in a more probable story, informs us that his invention was a mode of cypher, in which *D* was written for *A*, *E* for *B*, &c. But at this, too, our modern diplomatists will smile.*

" 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 scarcely big enough for a single person 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 he himself and the rest of the company slept under a shed at the door.

His first expedition in Gaul was against the Helvetii and the Tigurini; who after having burnt twelve of their own towns and four hundred villages, had begun their march [23], with a view of penetrating into Italy, through that part of Gaul which was subject to the Romans, as the Cimbri and Teutones would have done before them. Neither were these new adventurers inferior to the other in courage, or in numbers; being in all three hundred thousand, of whom a hundred and ninety thousand were fighting men. Cæsar sent against the Tigurini his lieutenant Labienus [24], who routed them near the river Arar. But the Helvetii suddenly attacked Cæsar, as he himself was upon the march to a confederate town [25], He gained, however, a strong post for his troops, notwithstanding the surprise; and, when he had drawn them up, his horse was brought him. Upon which he said, " When I have won the battle I " shall want my horse for the pursuit; at present let

[23] The Helvetii, who had left their native country upon this expedition, amounted (according to their own registers) to 368,000, including 92,000 fighting men. The Tigurini inhabited the canton of Zurich.*

[24] Cæsar says himself, that he left Labienus to guard the works, which he had raised from the Lake of Geneva to Mount Jura; and marched in person, at the head of three legions, to attack the Tigurini in their passage over the Arar (*hod.* La Sâone) where he killed great numbers of them.

[25] Bibracte, *hod.* Autun.

"us march as we are, against the enemy." Accordingly, he charged them with vigour on foot[26].

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, so that the battle did not end before midnight.

To this great action, he added a still greater. He collected the barbarians who had escaped out of the battle, to the number of a hundred thousand and upward, and obliged them to resettle the country which they had relinquished, and to rebuild the cities which they had destroyed. This he did from the apprehension that, if the country were left without inhabitants, the Germans would pass the Rhine, and seize it.

His second war was in defence of the Gauls[27] against the Germans, though he had before honoured their king Ariovistus with the title of an ally of Rome. But they proved insupportable neighbours to those, whom he had subdued; and it was easy to see, that instead of being satisfied with their present acquisitions, if opportunity offered, they would extend their conquests over the whole of Gaul[28]. He found however his officers, particularly the young

[26] He sent back his horse, and the rest followed his example. This he did to prevent all hopes of a retreat, as well as to show his troops, that he would take his share in all the danger. (B. G. i. 25.)

[27] Those called the Celtæ.*

[28] The Ædui implored his protection against Ariovistus, king of the Germans; who, taking advantage of the differences which had long subsisted between them and the Arverni, had joined the latter, made himself master of great part of the country of the Sequani, and obliged the Ædui to give him their children as hostages. The Ædui were the people of Autun, Lyons, Macon, Chalons sur la Sâone, and Nevers; the Arverni of Auvergne, particularly of Clermont and St. Fleur; and the Sequani of Franche-Comté, &c.

For an illustration of the whole passage, see Divitiacus' speech to Cæsar (B. G. i. 31.)

nobility, afraid of this expedition; for they had entered into Cæsar's service only with the hope of living luxuriously, and making their fortunes. He therefore called them together, and told them before the whole army, "That they were at liberty to "withdraw, and were not required to hazard their "persons against their inclination, since they were "so unmanly and spiritless. For his part, he would "march with the tenth legion only against those bar-"barians; for neither were they better men than "the Cimbri, nor was he a worse general than Ma-"rius." Upon this, the tenth legion deputed some of their corps to thank him. The other legions threw the whole blame upon their officers, and all followed him with great spirit and alacrity. After a march of several days, they encamped within two hundred furlongs of the enemy.

Cæsar's arrival broke the confidence of Ariovistus. Instead of expecting that the Romans would come and attack him, he had supposed that they would not dare to withstand the Germans advancing in quest of them. He was much surprised therefore at this bold attempt of Cæsar, and, what was worse, he perceived his own troops were disheartened. They were dispirited still more by the prophecies of their matrons who had the care of divining [29], and used to do it by the eddies of rivers, and the windings and murmurs or other noises made by the stream. Upon this occasion, they charged the army not to give battle before the new moon appeared.

Cæsar having gained information of these matters, and seeing the Germans lie close in their camp, thought it better to engage them while thus dejected, than to sit still and wait their time. He therefore attacked their entrenchments, and the hills upon

[29] For ἱερων γυναικων De Thou would read ἰδιων, justifying his conjecture, by Dion's αἱ γυναικες αυτων βαρβαρων, and by Cæsar's *Matres-familias eorum*. (B. G. i. 50.) Of these women, however, as held 'holy' among the Germans, we have mention in Tacitus. Hist. iv. 61., De Mor. Germ. 8. See also Strabo vii., and Pomp. Mela iii. 6.*

which they were posted; which provoked them to such a degree, that they descended in great fury to the plain. They fought, and were entirely routed. Cæsar pursued them to the Rhine, which was three hundred furlongs from the field of battle[30], covering all the way with carcases and spoils. Ariovistus reached the river, in time to cross it 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 Cisalpine Gaul, which was part of his province, in order to attend the better to transactions passing in Rome. For the river Rubicon parts the rest of Italy from Cisalpine Gaul. 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 expectation. In the same manner throughout all his wars, without Pompey's observing it, he was alternately subduing his enemies by the arms of the citizens, and seducing the citizens by the money of his enemies.

Having received intelligence that the Belgæ, the most powerful people in Gaul, whose territories occupied a third part of the whole country, had revolted and assembled a large army, he marched to that quarter with incredible expedition. He found them ravaging the lands of the Gauls in alliance with Rome, defeated the main body which made but a feeble resistance, and slew such numbers that lakes and rivers were filled with the dead, and bridges

[30] Cæsar (ib. 53.) says, it was only five miles from the field of battle; instead of τριακοσιους, therefore, we should read τεσσαρακοντα, (L.) or Plutarch might erroneously have writen τριακοντα. Hotomannus however, in his note upon this passage of Cæsar, corrects the Roman by the Grecian writer, in spite of all the MSS., and reads 'fifty miles;' not scrupling to enhance the wonder, in order to effect a complete coincidence, by reading in Plutarch 'four hundred furlongs!'*

were formed of their bodies. Such of the insurgents, as dwelt upon the sea-coast, surrendered without opposition.

Thence he led his army against the Nervii[31], who live among thick woods. After they had secured their families and their most valuable property in the heart of a large forest full of under-wood, 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 apprehension of so sudden an attack[32]. They first routed his cavalry, and then surrounded the twelfth and seventh legions, and killed all the officers. And had not Cæsar snatched a buckler from one of his own men, forced his way through the combatants before him, and rushed upon the barbarians; or had not the tenth legion[33], seeing his danger, hastened from the heights where they were posted, and mowed down the enemy's ranks, in all probability not a single Roman would have survived the battle. But though,

[31] *Hod.* The people of Hainault and Cambresis.

[32] As this attack was unexpected, Cæsar had almost 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, &c. &c. In this surprise he ran from place to place, exhorting his men to remember their former valour; and, having marshalled them 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 tenth legions did wonders, drove the Atrebates into a neighbouring river, and made a great slaughter of them. In another place, the eighth and eleventh legions repulsed the Vermandui. 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 (as it is stated above) '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 most dreadful havock. (B. G. ii. 20—27.)

[33] In the original, it is 'the twelfth;' but it appears from Cæsar himself (ib. 26.) confirmed by the Paris MS. of Plutarch, that we should read here δεκατον, not δωδεκατον.

encouraged by this bold act of their general, they fought with a spirit above their strength, they were not able to make the Nervii turn their backs. These brave men maintained their ground, and were hewed to pieces upon the spot. It is said that out of sixty thousand not above five hundred were saved, and out of four hundred Nervian senators not more than three.

Upon the news of this signal victory, the senate of Rome decreed that sacrifices should be offered, and all kinds of festivities continued for fifteen days together, which was a longer term of rejoicing than had ever been known before. The danger, indeed, appeared very great, on account of so many nations having risen at once; and, as Cæsar was the man who had surmounted it, his popularity made the rejoicing more brilliant.

After he had settled the affairs of Cisalpine Gaul he recrossed the Alps, and wintered near the Po, in order to maintain his interests in Rome; where the candidates for the high offices of state were furnished with money out of his funds to corrupt the people, and after they had carried their election, exerted themselves to extend his power. Nay, the greatest and most illustrious personages went to pay their court to him at Lucca, among whom were Pompey, Crassus, Appius governor of Sardinia, and Nepos proconsul in Spain. So that there were a hundred and twenty lictors attending their masters, and above two hundred senators honoured him with their assiduities. After they had arranged their plan, they separated. Pompey and Crassus were to be consuls the ensuing year, and to get Cæsar's government prolonged for five years more, with supplies out of the treasury for his occasions. To men of sense the last particular appeared extremely absurd. They, who received so much of Cæsar's money, persuaded the senate to give him money, as if he were in want of it; or rather, they insisted it should be done, and every honest man sighed inwardly, while

he suffered the decree to pass. Cato indeed was at this time absent, having been despatched with a commission to Cyprus, on purpose that he might be out of the way. But Favonius, who trod in his steps, vigorously opposed those measures; and when he found his opposition unavailing left the house, and applied to the people, exclaiming against such pernicious counsels. No one, however, attended to him; some being overawed by Pompey and Crassus, and others influenced by their regard for Cæsar, in whom alone they lived, and all their hopes flourished.

Cæsar, on returning to his army in Gaul, found another furious war lighted up in the country; the Usipetes and the Tenchteri[34], two great German nations, having crossed the Rhine to make conquests. The account of the affair with them we shall extract from his own Commentaries[35]. These barbarians sent deputies to him to propose a suspension of arms, which was granted. Nevertheless, they attacked him, as he was making an excursion. With only eight hundred horse however, and those unprepared for an engagement, he beat their cavalry, which consisted of five thousand. Next day, they sent fresh deputies to apologise for what had happened, but

[34] *Hod.* The people of Westphalia, and those of Munster and Cleves. This war happened under the consulship of Crassus and Pompey, A. U. C. 693. But there were several intermediate transactions of great importance, which Plutarch has omitted, viz. the reduction of the Atuatici by Cæsar; of seven other nations by P. Crassus, the son of the triumvir; the offers of submission from several nations beyond the Rhine; the attempt upon Galba in his winter-quarters at Octodurus, and his brave defence and victory; the severe chastisement of the Veneti, who had revolted; and the complete reduction of Aquitaine. These particulars, at several of which he was himself personally present (and which should therefore have been at least alluded to by Plutarch, had it but been in order to preserve the continuity of his biography), are contained in part of the second and the whole third book of the war in Gaul.

[35] Ruauld justly observes, that Plutarch should not have called the Commentaries ἐφημερίδες, but ὑπομνήματα, as usual. (L.) His Ephemerides were his Diary, in which he recorded little daily occurrences, and are now unfortunately lost.*

without any other intention than that of again deceiving him. These agents he detained, and immediately marched against their nation; thinking it absurd to stand upon honour with such perfidious men, who had not scrupled to violate the truce. Yet Canusius[36] informs us that, when the senate were voting a public thanksgiving and processions on account of the victory, Cato proposed that Cæsar should be delivered up to the barbarians, in order to expiate that breach of faith, and to make the divine vengeance fall upon it's author rather than upon Rome.

Of the barbarians, who had passed the Rhine, four hundred thousand perished. The few who escaped repassed the river, and were sheltered by a people of Germany called Sicambri[37]. Cæsar laid hold on this pretence against that people, but his true motive was a wish to be recorded as the first Roman, who had ever crossed the Rhine in a hostile manner. In pursuance of his design, he threw a bridge over it; though it was remarkably wide at the place selected for the purpose, and at the same time so rough and rapid, that it carried down with it trunks of trees and other timber, which considerably shook and weakened the pillars. To resist the impression of these bodies, and to break the force of the torrent, he drove great piles of wood into the bottom of the river above his works; and thus exhibited a spectacle astonishing to thought, an immense bridge completed in ten days. His army passed over it without opposition, the Suevi and the Sicambri (the most warlike nations in Germany) having retired into the depths of their forests, and concealed themselves in caverns overhung with wood. Having therefore laid waste the enemy's country with fire, and confirmed the better-disposed Germans in the interest

[36] Canusius Geminus, a great friend of Cicero, wrote a History and some Annals. See Voss. de Hist. Lat. i. 12.*

[37] These inhabited the southern part of Westphalia, &c.*

of Rome [38], he returned into Gaul, after spending not more than eighteen days in Germany.

But his expedition into Britain 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, of which the very existence was previously a matter of doubt. Some writers had represented it as so incredibly large, that others disputed it's being, and considered both the name and the thing itself 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 [39]. He did not, however, terminate the war as he could have wished; he only received hostages from the king, fixed the tribute which the island was to pay, and then returned to Gaul.

There he found letters, which were about to be despatched after him, and by which his friends in Rome informed him that his daughter, the wife of Pompey, had lately died in child-bed. This was a

[38] The Ubii, *hod.* The people of Cologne. (Cæs. B. G. iv. 19.)

[39] It does not appear, that there was much corn in Britain in Cæsar's time; for the inhabitants, he says, 'lived on milk and flesh:' *Lacte et carne vivunt* (ib. v. 14.) (L.) It is amusing to an Englishman (*toto divisus orbe*, as he may still be pronounced, from his political independence no less than his fortunate insularity) to read such passages as these, amidst the opulence and comforts flowing from modern improvements in the agriculture, and the extraordinary extensions of the commerce of his native island—not to mention that proud spirit of patriotism which sets invasion at defiance, and those pure flowers of protestantism, which were sublimed out of the defiled crucible of the Romish church! What is Plutarch's Chæronea? What is Cæsar's Rome herself, compared with 'still-increasing London,'

> —— by taste and wealth proclaim'd
> The fairest capital of all the world? (Cowper's Task, I.)*

great affliction, both to Pompey and Cæsar. Their friends also were very sensibly concerned to see an alliance dissolved, which had maintained the peace and harmony of the state, otherwise in a very unsettled condition: for the child survived the mother only a few days. The people took the corpse 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 [40], he was forced to divide it for the convenience of winter-quarters; after which, according to custom, he took the road to Italy. But he had not been long gone, before the Gauls again rising traversed the country with considerable armies, fell furiously upon the Roman quarters, and insulted their entrenchments. The strongest and most numerous body of the insurgents was that under Ambiorix, who attacked Cotta and Titurius in their camp, and cut them off with their whole party. After which, he went and 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 [41], they were very near being taken, for they were all wounded.

Cæsar, who was at a great distance, having at last received intelligence of their danger, returned with all expedition; and collecting a body of men, which did not exceed seven thousand, hastened to Cicero's relief. The Gauls, who were not ignorant of his motions, raised the siege, and went to meet him; for they despised the inferiority of his force, and

[40] 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 a considerable distance, which would otherwise have been impolitic. He tells us (v. 24.) that all the legions except one, which was in a quiet country, were posted within the compass of a hundred miles.

[41] Of this Cæsar (B. G. v. 44.) has preserved a striking instance, in the beautiful episode of the centurions Pulsio and Varenus.*

were confident of victory. Cæsar, in order to deceive them, made a feint as if he fled, till he came to a place convenient for a small army to engage a large one, and there he fortified his camp. He gave his men strict orders however 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. The plan succeeded according to his wishes. The Gauls advanced with the utmost insolence and disorder, to attack his trenches; upon which Cæsar, making a sudden sally, defeated and destroyed the greatest part of them. This success quieted the spirit of revolt in those parts; and for farther security he spent the whole winter in Gaul, visiting all the quarters, and keeping a sharp eye upon every motion toward war. Besides, he received a reinforcement of three legions, in the room of those which he had lost; two of them as a loan from Pompey, and one lately raised in Cisalpine Gaul.

After this[42] 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 ever witnessed in Gaul; whether we consider the number of troops and store of arms, the treasures amassed for the occasion, or the strength of the towns and fastnesses occupied. It was then, likewise, the most severe season of the year; the rivers were covered with ice, the forests with snow, and the fields overflowed in such a manner that they looked like so many ponds: the roads themselves were either buried in snow, or rendered doubtful on account of the floods disembogued by the lakes and rivers. So that it seemed impossible

[42] Plutarch skips over the whole sixth book of Cæsar's Commentaries, as he had done the third. Many considerable events happened between the victory last mentioned, and the affair with Vercingetorix; such as the defeat of the Treviri, Cæsar's second passage across the Rhine, and the pursuit of Ambiorix.

for Cæsar to march, or to pursue any other operations against them.

Many nations had entered into the league; the principal of which were the Arverni, and the Carnutes [43]. The chief direction of the war was given to Vercingetorix, whose father the Gauls had put to death for having aspired to monarchy. This chieftain, dividing his forces into several parts, and giving them in charge to his lieutenants, had the country at command as far as the Arar. His intention was to rouse the whole of Gaul against Cæsar, now when his enemies were rising against him at Rome. But had he waited a little longer, till Cæsar was actually engaged in the civil war, the Gauls would then have appeared not less formidable to Italy, than the Cimbri had formerly done.

Cæsar who knew perfectly how to avail himself of every advantage in war, particularly of time, was no sooner apprised of this immense defection, than he set out to chastise it's authors: and by the swiftness 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 scarcely have been supposed to arrive 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 stiled themselves 'brothers to the Romans,' and had been treated with particular regard. Their defection spread uneasiness and dismay throughout Cæsar's army. He therefore decamped in all haste, and traversed the country of the Lingones [44], in order to come into that of the Sequani, who were his firm friends, and nearer to Italy than the rest of the Gauls.

[43] *Hod.* The people of Chartres and Orleans, &c.
[44] *Hod.* The district of Langres.

Thither 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 eminently serviceable to him, gave them a total defeat[45]. But he seems to have received some check at first, for the Arverni still show a sword suspended in one of their temples, which by their account was taken from Cæsar. His friends pointed it out to him afterward, but he only laughed; and when they would have taken it down, he would not suffer it, because he considered it as a thing consecrated to the gods.

Most of those, who escaped out of the battle, retired into Alesia[46] 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 it's defenders. During the siege, he found himself exposed to an inconceivable danger from without. The bravest men in Gaul assembled from every quarter, to the number of three hundred thousand, and came armed to the relief of the place; and there were not fewer than seventy thousand combatants 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 which were come to it's succour; for, could the two armies have effected a junction, he had been inevitably lost. This dangerous action at Alesia contributed on many accounts to Cæsar's renown. He exerted indeed a more adventurous courage and greater generalship upon this, than upon any other occasion. But what seems astonishing is, that he could engage and con-

[45] This passage in the original is corrupt, or defective. We have endeavoured to supply it by reading, with M. Dacier, Γεργοβιαν, instead of αλλαις; which is agreeable to Cæsar's own account of the battle (B. G. vii. 67.)

[46] Cæsar calls it Alexia, *hod.* Alise near Flavigny.

quer so many myriads without, and yet keep the action secret from those within the town[47]. It is a still more wonderful circumstance, that the troops 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 the Gaulish fashion. Thus did this vast multitude vanish and disappear like a phantom or a dream, the chief part being killed on the spot.

The besieged, after having given both themselves and Cæsar much trouble, at last surrendered. Their general, Vercingetorix, accoutred himself and 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 reserve him for his triumph.

Cæsar had been for 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 in order to render himself the greatest of mankind, but to ruin him that was so; nor for Pompey, in order to prevent it, but to destroy the object of his apprehension. Pompey, it is true, had not long entertained any fear of him; he had rather looked upon him with contempt, imagining that he could as easily pull him down, as he had set him up: Whereas Cæsar from the first, designing to crush his rivals, had retired at a distance like a champion for exercise. By continued service and

[47] Cæsar says, that those in the town had a distinct view of the battle, neither can it indeed well be conceived, that they had not.*

eminent achievements in the wars of Gaul, he had so improved his army, and with it his own reputation, that he was considered as on a footing with Pompey; and in the times of the mis-government at Rome he found pretences for carrying his enterprise into execution. 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 votes for the man who had bought them, but with all kinds of offensive weapons to fight in his behalf. Hence it frequently happened, that before they separated they had polluted the tribunal with blood and murther, 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 did not scruple openly to assert, that monarchy was the only cure for the desperate disorders of the state, and that he ought to be selected as the physician (hinting at Pompey), who would apply that remedy with the gentlest hand.

Pompey uniformly in conversation pretended to decline the honour of a dictatorship, though at the same time all his measures were 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 forbear the adoption of violent measures to make himself dictator. To this the senate not only agreed, but continued to him his governments of Spain and Africa, the administration of which he committed to his lieutenants; keeping armies on foot, for whose maintenance he was allowed a thousand talents a-year out of the public treasury.

Upon this, Cæsar applied through his friends for another consulship, and for a similar continuance of his commission in Gaul. 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, which might reflect dishonour upon him. For they disfranchised the inhabitants of Novocomum in Gaul, which had lately been erected into a colony by Cæsar: Marcellus likewise, as consul, caused one of the senators of that place, who had come with some complaints to Rome, to be beaten with rods; and telling him, that 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 at the expiration of this consulship Cæsar opened the treasures, which he had amassed in Gaul, to all that were concerned in the administration, and satisfied their utmost wishes: he discharged the enormous debts of Curio the tribune; and presented the consul Paulus with fifteen hundred talents, which he employed in building the celebrated public hall near the Forum, in the place where that of Fulvius had formerly stood. 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 superseding Cæsar in the province of Gaul. He also sent to demand the troops, which he had lent him for his wars in that country, and Cæsar returned them with a gratuity of two hundred and fifty drachmas to each man.

The officers of those troops, on their return, spread reports among the people, which were neither favourable nor fair with respect to Cæsar, and which ruined Pompey by the vain hopes they inspired. For they asserted that, "He had the hearts "of all Cæsar's army; and that if envy and a cor- "rupt administration prevented him from gaining "what he desired at Rome, the forces in Gaul were "at his service, and would declare for him imme- "diately upon their entering Italy; so obnoxious "was Cæsar become, by hurrying them perpetually "from one expedition to another, and by the sus-

" picions which he had excited of his aiming at ab-
" solute power."

With these assurances Pompey was so much elated, that he neglected to levy troops, as if he had nothing to fear, and opposed his enemy only with speeches and decrees, of which Cæsar made no account. Nay, we are told that a centurion whom Cæsar had sent to Rome, waiting at the door of the senate-house for the result of the deliberations, and being informed that the senate refused to give Cæsar a longer term in his commission, laid his hand upon his sword and said, " But this shall give it."

Cæsar's requisitions, indeed, had a great appearance of justice and honour. He proposed to lay down his arms, on condition that Pompey did the same, and that they should both as private citizens leave it to their country to remunerate their services. For to deprive him of his commission and troops, and to continue those of Pompey, was to grant absolute power to the one, at the expense of the character of the other. Curio, who made these propositions to the people in Cæsar's behalf, 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 notwithstanding the opposition of the consuls[48], caused it to be read aloud. Upon this Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, proposed in the senate, that if Cæsar did not lay down his arms before such a day, he should be declared an enemy to the state; and the consuls putting it to the question, 'That Pompey should disband his forces:' and again, 'That Cæsar should disband his:' few of the members were for the first, and almost all for the second[49]. After

[48] Instead of διὰ των ὑπατων, some MSS. give us βια των ὑπατων.

[49] Dio (xli. 4.) says, there was not a man for the first question, whereas the whole house, with the exception of Cælius and Curio,

which Antony put the question, 'Whether, or not, 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 rob-"ber," caused the senate to break up; and with reference to this 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 still more moderate proposals. He offered to abandon all the rest, provided they would continue to him the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum with two legions, till he could apply for a second consulship. And Cicero, who was lately returned from Cilicia, and very desirous of effecting a reconciliation, used all possible means to soften Pompey. Pompey agreed to all, except the article of the two legions; and Cicero endeavoured to accommodate the matter, by persuading Cæsar's friends to be satisfied with the two provinces and six thousand soldiers only [50]. Pompey was on the point of accepting the compromise; but Lentulus the consul, disdainfully rejecting it, treated Antony and Curio with great indignity, and drove them out of the senate-house. He thus furnished Cæsar with the most plausible argument imaginable, of which he did not fail to make use, in order to exasperate his troops, by showing them persons of distinction and magistrates obliged to fly in hired carriages, and in the habit of slaves [51]; for their fears had made them leave Rome in that disguise.

Cæsar had not with him, at that time, above three hundred horse and five thousand foot. The rest of his forces were left on the other side of the Alps, and he had sent them orders to join him. But the

was for the second. Nor is this a fair subject of surprise: Pompey and his army were then at the gates of Rome.

[50] Or a single legion.*

[51] Cassius Longinus went with them in the same disguise.

beginning of his enterprise, he perceived, and the attack which he then meditated, did not require any very considerable numbers: His enemies were rather to be struck with consternation by the boldness and the expedition, with which he began his operations; for an unexpected movement would be more likely to make an impression upon them at that precise moment, than great preparations afterward. He therefore ordered his lieutenants and other officers to take their swords without any other armour, and to make themselves masters of Ariminum, a large city in Gaul, but to do it if possible without bloodshed or disturbance. Hortensius was at the head of this party. He himself spent the day at a public show of gladiators, and a little before evening bathed, and then went into the room where he was entertaining some company. When it grew dark, he left the party, after having desired them to make merry till his return, for which they should not have long to wait. To some of his friends he had given previous notice to follow him, not all together, but by various ways; after which taking a hired carriage, he set out on a different road from that which led to Ariminum, and turned into it afterward.

When he arrived at the banks of the Rubicon, which divides Cisalpine Gaul from the rest of Italy, his reflexions became more interesting in proportion as the danger drew near. Staggered by the magnitude of his attempt, he stopped, to weigh with himself it's 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 animadversions which might be made upon it by posterity. At last under 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

enterprises, he cried out, "Let the die be cast!" * and immediately crossed the river. He travelled so fast the rest of the way, that he reached Ariminum before day-light, and took it. It is said, that the preceding night he had a most abominable dream; he thought, he lay with his mother.

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, people were seen, not individually (as upon other occasions) wandering in distraction about Italy, but whole cities broken up and seeking refuge by flight. Of this tumultuous tide the greatest part flowed into Rome, which was so filled with the hasty conflux of the surrounding population, that amidst the violent tossing and eddies it would hardly either obey the magistrate, or listen to the voice of reason, but was in the utmost danger of falling by it's own violence. For the whole was a prey to contrary passions, and the most violent convulsions: Such as favoured these disorders were not satisfied with enjoying them in private, but reproached the other party amidst their fears and sorrows, and insulted them with menaces of what was to come; the necessary consequence of such troubles in so immense a city.

Pompey himself, who was already confounded at the strange turn of affairs, was still more disturbed by a variety of censures on his conduct. Some said, he suffered justly, for having exalted Cæsar against himself and his country; others, for having permitted Lentulus to over-rule him, when Cæsar departed from his first demands, and offered equitable terms of peace. Favonius went so far as to desire him to "stamp with his foot;" alluding to a vaunting speech of his in the senate, in which he bade them "take no thought about preparations for the war; "for, as soon as he marched out of Rome, if he did

* See p. 202. not. (87.)

"but 'stamp with his foot,' he should fill Italy with "his legions."

Pompey, however, at that time was not inferior in numbers to Cæsar, but his partisans would not suffer him to act upon his own judgement. By false reports and groundless terrors, as if the enemy was already at the gates, and had carried all before him, they forced him along with the general torrent. He procured it to be decreed therefore that things were in an insurrectionary state, and nothing to be expected but hostilities, and then quitted Rome; having first ordered the senate to follow, and every man who preferred his country and liberty to the rod of a tyrant. The consuls likewise fled with him, without having offered the customary sacrifices before their departure. Most of the senators snatched up those things in their houses which were next at hand, as if the whole were not their own, and joined in the flight. Nay, some who were previously well-affected to Cæsar, in the present alarm changed sides, and suffered themselves without necessity to be carried away by the torrent. What a miserable spectacle, at that time, was the city; in so dreadful a tempest, like a ship abandoned by it's pilots, and tossed about at the mercy of the winds and waves! But though flight was so unpromising an alternative, such was the love which the Romans bore to Pompey, that they considered his place of refuge as their country, and fled from Rome as Cæsar's camp. For even Labienus, one of Cæsar's principal friends, who had served under him as his lieutenant with the utmost alacrity in the wars of Gaul, now went over to Pompey. Nevertheless, Cæsar sent after him his money and his equipage.

Cæsar next invested Corfinium [52], where Domitius with thirty cohorts commanded for Pompey. Domitius [53] in despair ordered a servant of his, who

[52] *Hod.* San-ferino, in Abruzzo.*

[53] Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus was nominated to succeed

was his physician, to give him poison. He took the draught prepared for him, as the sure means of death; but, soon afterward hearing of Cæsar's clemency to his prisoners, he lamented his own case and the precipitancy of his resolution. Upon which the physician removed his fears, by assuring him that what he had drunk was only a sleeping potion, and not in the least deleterious. This gave him such spirits, that he rose up and went to Cæsar. But though Cæsar pardoned him, and gave him his hand, he soon revolted and again repaired to Pompey.

The news of this transaction reaching Rome considerably relieved the minds of the people, and many of the fugitives returned. In the mean time Cæsar, having added to his own army the troops of Domitius, and all the rest which Pompey had left in garrison, was strong enough to march against Pompey himself. The latter, however, did not wait for him; but retired to Brundusium, whence he despatched the consuls with part of the forces to Dyrrhachium, and a little afterward upon Cæsar's approach, as we have related at large in his Life, sailed thither himself. Cæsar would have followed him immediately, but he wanted ships. He therefore returned to Rome, having reduced Italy in sixty days, without spilling a single 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 with an offer of honourable terms of peace. But not one of them would take upon himself the commission: Whether it was, that they were afraid of Pompey whom they had deserted, or thought Cæsar not in earnest in the proposal, and that he only made it to save appearances. As Metellus the tribune opposed his taking

Cæsar, pursuant to the decree of the senate, in the government of Transalpine Gaul; but he imprudently shut himself up in Corfinium, before he left Italy.

money out of the public treasury, and cited some laws against it, Cæsar said; "Arms and laws do not "flourish together. If you are not pleased at what "I am about, you have only to withdraw: war, in- "deed, will not tolerate much liberty of speech. "When I say this, I am renouncing my own right; "for you and all those, whom I have found exciting "a spirit of faction against me, are at my disposal." Having said this, he approached the doors of the treasury, and as the keys were not produced, he sent for workmen to break them open. Metellus again opposed him, and gained credit with some for his firmness; but Cæsar with an elevated voice threatened to put him to death, if he gave him any farther trouble. "And you know very well, young "man," said he, "that this is harder for me to say, "than to do." Metellus, terrified by the menace, retired; and Cæsar was, afterward, easily and readily supplied with every thing necessary for the war.

His first movement was to Spain, whence he resolved to drive Afranius and Varro, Pompey's lieutenants; and after having rendered 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 by offering them battle, or by 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 despatch deputies to Pompey to treat of an accommodation; but Isauricus, in order 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 he relieved debtors, by cancelling part of the usurious interest which they had stipulated to pay [54]. 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 set out to prosecute the war. His march to Brundusium was so rapid, that all his troops could not keep up with him. He embarked, however, with only six hundred select horse and five legions [55]. It was at the period of the winter-solstice, the beginning of January, which answers to the Athenian month Posideon, that he set sail. He crossed the Ionian sea, made himself master of Oricum and Apollonia, and sent back [56] his ships to Brundusium, to bring over the forces which had been left behind. But those troops, exhausted with fatigue and worn down by the multitude of enemies, broke out into complaints against him, as they were upon their march to the port: "Whither will this man lead us," said they, "and where will be the end of our labours? Will "he harass us for ever, as if we had limbs of stone, "or bodies of iron? But iron itself yields to re-"peated blows; our very shields and cuirasses call "out for rest. Will he not learn from our wounds "that we are mortal, that we have the same feel-"ings, and are liable to the same impressions, with "other men? The gods themselves cannot control "the seasons, or clear the winter-seas of storms and "tempests. And it is in this season, that he would

[54] The term, here used, is the same previously employed in a similar quotation in the Life of Solon. See Vol. I. p. 288.*

[55] He himself says, 'seven;' but, as he elsewhere makes them only fifteen thousand men, they must have been very incomplete.*

[56] He sent them back, under the conduct of Calenus. That officer losing the opportunity of the wind fell in with Bibulus, who took thirty of his ships and burned them all, together with their pilots and mariners, in order to intimidate the rest. (L.) For many additional particulars, see Cæs. Bell. Civ. iii. Oricum and Apollonia were towns on the coast of Epirus. The latter still subsists under the name of 'Pollina,' to the south of Durazzo.*

"expose us, as if he was rather flying from, than "pursuing his enemies!"

Amidst such discourse as this, they moved on slowly to Brundusium. But when they arrived there, and found that Cæsar was gone, they changed their language, and reproached themselves as traitors to their general. They vented their anger upon their officers, likewise, for not having hastened their march. And sitting upon the cliffs, they kept their eyes upon the sea toward Epirus, to see if they could discover the transports in which they were to be conveyed.

In the mean time Cæsar, not having a sufficient force at Apollonia to make head against the enemy, and seeing the troops at Brundusium delayed to join him, in order to relieve himself from his anxiety and perplexity, 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 imparting to any person his intention, and sail to Brundusium[57]. In the night therefore he took the habit of a slave, and throwing himself into the vessel like a man of no account, sat in perfect silence. They fell down the Anias[58] for the sea, where the entrance is generally easy, because the land-wind rising in a morning usually repels the waves of the ocean, and smooths the mouth of the river. But unluckily that night a strong sea-wind sprung up, which overpowered that from the land; so that by the rage of the sea, and the counter-action

[57] Most historians blame this, as a rash action; and Cæsar himself, in his Commentaries, makes no mention either of it, or of another less dangerous attempt which is related by Suetonius. While he was making war in Gaul, upon advice that his army had been surrounded in his absence, he dressed himself like a native of the country, and in that disguise passed through the enemy's centinels and troops to his own camp. (L.) Our own annals furnish us in Alfred, when he assumed the disguise of a Danish harper, with a similar instance of equally successful daring, in a much better cause.*

[58] Strabo (vii.) calls this river 'Aous.' In Polybius it is called 'Eous;' but that is obviously a corruption, the A having been changed by the transcriber into a A.

of the stream, the river became extremely rough: the billows 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 Cæsar's fortune, in thy vessel[59]." The mariners then forgot the storm, and plying their oars with the utmost alacrity, endeavoured to overcome the resistance of the waves. But such was their violence at the mouth of the river, and the water flowed in so fast, that Cæsar at last, though with considerable reluctance, permitted the pilot to turn about. Upon his return to his camp, the soldiers met him in crowds; pouring out their complaints, and expressing the greatest concern that he had not assured himself of conquering with them alone, but in distrust of their support had given himself so much uneasiness, and exposed his person to so much danger on account of the absent.

Soon afterward, Antony arrived from Brundusium with the troops[60]. 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 he himself at first had nothing like plenty, and was subsequently in extreme want. The soldiers however found great relief from a root[61] in the adjoining

[59] The noble simplicity of the *Quid times? Cæsarem vehis* has been amplified by Lucan, as Blair well observes in his fourth Lecture, into tumid declamation:

Sperne minas, inquit, pelagi, &c. (v. 578.)*

[60] Antony and Calenus put on board the vessels, which had escaped Bibulus, eight hundred horse and four legions; and as soon as they were landed, Antony sent back the ships for the rest of the forces.

[61] This root was called 'Chara,' or 'Clara.' Some of Cæsar's soldiers, who had served in Sardinia, had there learned to make bread of it. (L.) Plin. H. N. xix. 8. informs us, that this bread

fields, which they prepared in milk. Sometimes they made it into bread, and going up to the enemy's advanced guards threw it among them, and declared, "that as long as the earth produced such roots, "they would continue to besiege Pompey."

Pompey would not suffer either such bread to be produced, or such speeches to be reported in his camp; for his men were already discouraged, and shuddered at the very thoughts of the impenetrable hardness of Cæsar's troops, who could bear as much as so many wild beasts. There were frequent skirmishes about Pompey's entrenchments[62], and Cæsar had the advantage in them all except one, in which his party was compelled to fly with such precipitation, that he was in danger of having his camp taken. Pompey led the attack in person, and not a man could stand before him. He drove them upon their own lines in 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, while others threw them upon the ground, so that not fewer than thirty-two standards were taken. Cæsar himself was very near losing his life; for having seized on a tall strong man, in order to stop him and make him face about, the soldier in his terror and confusion lifted up his sword to strike him; but his armour-bearer prevented it, by a blow which cut off his arm.

was made of a kind of wild cabbage, *olus sylvestre trium foliorum*, or *lapsana*, which he also calls (lib. 5.) *armoracia*. See also Isidor. xvii. 10., and Theophr. ix.*

[62] Cæsar observed an old camp, which he had occupied in the place where Pompey was inclosed, and afterward abandoned. Upon his quitting it, Pompey had taken possession of it, and left a legion to guard it. Cæsar attempted to recover it, and it was in this attempt that he lost nine hundred and sixty foot and four hundred horse, among whom were several Roman knights, five tribunes, and thirty-two centurions. (B. C. iii. 71.) What inclosed Pompey on the land-side, was a line of circumvallation drawn by Cæsar.

Cæsar saw his affairs that day in so bad a posture, that when 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 then sought repose in his tent, but it proved the most melancholy night of his life: for he abandoned himself to endless reflexions upon his own misconduct in the war. He considered how wrong it was, when the wide countries and rich cities of Macedon and Thessaly lay before him, to confine himself to so narrow a scene of action, and sit still by the sea (where 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 besieged 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 Macedon: concluding, that he should either draw Pompey after him, and force him to fight where he could not receive supplies, as he had hitherto done, from the sea; or else that he should easily crush Scipio, if he found him unsupported.

By this retreat of Cæsar Pompey's troops and officers were highly elated, considering it as a flight, and an acknowledgement that he was beaten, and were therefore eager to pursue him: but Pompey himself was unwilling to hazard a battle of so much 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 remaining vigour of the enemy. The most valuable of Cæsar's troops had, indeed, an experience and courage which were irresistible in the field; but age had rendered them unfit for long marches, for throwing up entrenchments, for attack-

ing walls, and passing whole nights under arms. They were too unwieldy to endure much fatigue, and with their strength their inclination for labour was abated. Besides, there was said to be a contagious distemper among them, which arose from their wretched diet: And, what was a still more important circumstance, 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 anxious to spare the blood of his countrymen: for when he saw the bodies of the enemy who had fallen in the late action, to the number of a thousand, laid 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, calling him 'Agamemnon,' and 'King of Kings;' as if he was unwilling to be deprived of the monarchy he possessed, and delighted to see so many generals waiting his orders, and attending to pay their court. Favonius, who affected to imitate Cato's bold manner of speaking, but carried it much too far, lamented that Pompey's wishing to retain his royal state would prevent their eating figs that year at Tusculum. And Afranius lately come from Spain, where he had succeeded so ill in his command that he was accused of having been bribed to betray his army, asked Pompey, "Why he did not fight that merchant, who "trafficked in provinces?"

Piqued at these reproaches Pompey, against his own judgement, marched after Cæsar, who proceeded on his route with great difficulty; for in consequence of his late loss, all looked upon him with contempt, and refused to supply him with provisions. Upon his taking Gomphi[63] however, a town in Thessaly,

[63] See Cæs. Bell. Civ. iii. 80. Cæsar, perceiving of how much importance it was to his service to make himself master of the place,

his troops not only found sufficient refreshments, but recovered surprisingly from their distemper. For drinking plentifully of the wine which they found there, and immediately marching forward in a bacchanalian manner, the increase of circulation threw off the disorder, and gave them another habit of body.

When the two armies were encamped opposite to each other on the plains of Pharsalia, Pompey returned to his old opinion; in which he was confirmed by some unlucky omens, and by an alarming dream. He dreamed, that the people of Rome received him in the theatre with loud plaudits, [and that he was adorning the chapel of Venus Nicephora, from whom Cæsar derived his pedigree.] But if Pompey was alarmed, those around him were so absurdly sanguine in their expectations of victory, that Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio quarrelled about Cæsar's pontificate; and numbers sent to Rome, to engage houses convenient for consuls and prætors, making themselves sure of being soon raised to those high offices after the war. But the cavalry testified the greatest impatience for a battle; so proud were they of their fine arms, of the condition of their horses, and of the beauty and vigour of their persons; besides, they were much more numerous than those of Cæsar, being seven thousand to one. Neither were the numbers of infantry equal; for Pompey had forty-five, and Cæsar only twenty-two thousand.

Cæsar called his soldiers together, and told them, "That Cornificius was far advanced on his way with "two additional legions, and that he had fifteen "cohorts more 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, "Don't let us wait; but find out

before Pompey or Scipio came up, ordered a general assault about three in the afternoon; and, though the walls were very high, he carried it before sun-set.

" some stratagem to bring the enemy, as soon as " possible, to action."

He began with offering sacrifices of purification for his army, and upon opening the first victim, the soothsayer cried out, " You will fight within three " days." Cæsar then inquired, if there appeared in the entrails any auspicious presage? He replied, " It is you, who can best resolve that question. " The gods announce a great change and revolution " in affairs. If you are happy at present, the alter- " ation will be for the worse; if otherwise, expect " better fortune." 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 brilliance, and seemed to fall in that of Pompey. And in the morning, when the guards were relieved, a tumult, not unlike a panic terror, was observed in the enemy's camp. Cæsar however so little expected an action that day, that he had ordered his troops to decamp, and march to Scotusa [64].

But as they were striking their tents, his scouts rode up and informed him, the enemy were coming down to give him battle. Happy in the intelligence, he made his prayer to the gods, and then drew up his army, which he divided into three bodies. Domitius 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 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[65]. Pompey's dis-

[64] Cæsar hoped, by his frequent decampings, to provide better for his troops, and perhaps to gain a favourable opportunity of fighting.

[65] Cæsar and Appian agree, that Pompey posted himself in his left wing, not in the right. It is also highly probable that

position was as follows: He commanded the right wing himself, Domitius the left, and his father-in-law Scipio the main body. The whole weight of the cavalry was in the left wing, for their project was to surround the right of the enemy, and to make a powerful effort where Cæsar fought in person; thinking no body of foot could be deep enough to bear such a shock, but that they must necessarily be broken to pieces upon the first impression.

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. This measure Cæsar thought highly injudicious. "Pompey was not aware," he said, "what weight the swift and fierce advance to "the first charge gives to every blow, nor how the "courage of the soldier is augmented and inflamed "by the rapid motion of the whole[66]."

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 Crassinius[67]? How do we "stand, think you?" "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, alive or dead." So saying, he rushed upon the enemy, at the head of his company, which consisted of a hundred and twenty men, and after having done considerable exe-

Afranius, not Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, commanded Pompey's right wing. Cæsar does not indeed expressly inform us who commanded there, but he says; 'On the right was posted the legion of Cilicia, with the cohorts brought by Afranius out of Spain, which Pompey esteemed the flower of his army.' (ib. 88.) See the notes, however, on the correspondent part of the Life of Pompey.

[66] 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.

[67] Plutarch, in the Life of Pompey, calls him 'Crassianus,' and Cæsar 'Crastinus.'

cution among the first ranks, was pressing forward with unabated 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 squadrons, to surround Cæsar's right wing. But, before they could begin the attack [68], the six cohorts which Cæsar had placed behind came boldly up to receive them. These did not, according to custom, attempt to annoy the enemy with their javelins at a distance, or strike at the legs and thighs when they came nearer, but agreeably to the orders which they had received, they aimed at their eyes and wounded them in the face. For Cæsar hoped that these young cavaliers, who had not been used to wars and wounds, and who set a high value upon their beauty, would avoid above all things a stroke in that part, and immediately give way, on account as well of the present danger as of the future deformity. The event answered his expectation. They could not bear the spears pointed upward, or the steel gleaming on their eyes, but turned away their faces, and covered them with their hands. This caused such confusion, that at last they shamefully fled, and ruined the whole cause. For the cohorts which had beaten them off surrounded their infantry, and charging them in rear, as well as in front, soon cut them in pieces.

Pompey, when from the other wing he perceived his cavalry put to the rout, was no longer himself, neither did he remember that he was Pompey the Great: but like a man deprived of his senses by some superior power, or struck with consternation at his defeat as the consequence of a divine decree, he re-

[68] Cæsar says, they did engage his right wing, and obliged his cavalry to give ground. (ib. 93.) (L.) Upon these six cohorts, he had previously stated, the victory of that day would depend; and Frontinus has highly commended the stratagem, as most judicious and effectual.*

tired to his camp without speaking a word[69], and sat down in his tent to wait the issue. At last, after his whole army was broken and dispersed, and the enemy had mounted his ramparts, and were engaged with the troops appointed to defend them, he seemed to come to himself, and crying out; "What! my camp "too?" without uttering another word, he laid aside the ensigns of his dignity as general, and taking a habit which might favour his flight, privately made his escape. What misfortunes befel him afterward, how he put himself into the hands of the Egyptians, and was assassinated by the traitors, we have related at large in his Life.

When Cæsar entered the camp, and saw what numbers of the 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." Asinius Pollio informs us, that Cæsar spoke those words in Latin, and subsequently recorded them in Greek. Most of those, he adds, who were killed at the taking of the camp were slaves, and of soldiers there did not fall in the battle above six thousand[70]. Cæsar incorporated with his own legions most of the infantry, that had been taken prisoners, and pardoned many persons of distinction. Brutus, who subsequently killed him, was of the number. As he did not make his appearance however immediately after the battle, Cæsar

[69] Cæs. ib. 94.*

[70] Cæsar says, there fell about fifteen thousand of the enemy, and that he took above four and twenty thousand prisoners; while upon his own side, the loss only amounted to about two hundred private soldiers and thirty centurions. (L.)

Asinius Pollio was eminent as an orator, an historian, and a poet. To his account of the civil wars, and his tragic compositions, Horace in his Od. II. i. refers; and from Suet. (Jul. 56.) we learn, that he charged Cæsar with inaccuracy in his Commentaries. In this imputation, however, no one seems to have seconded him.*

was very uneasy; but upon his at last presenting himself unhurt, he expressed the utmost joy.

Among the many signs, which announced this victory, that at Tralles was the most remarkable[71]. There was a statue of Cæsar, in the temple of Victory; and though the ground about it was naturally hard, and paved with hard stones besides, a palm-tree (we are told) sprung up at the pedestal of the statue. At Padua Caius Cornelius, a countryman and acquaintance of Livy, and a celebrated soothsayer, was observing the flight of birds on the day upon which the battle of Pharsalia was fought. By this, according to Livy's account, he first discerned the time of action, and said to those about him, "The important "affair now draws to a decision; the two generals "are engaged." He then made another observation, and the signs appeared so obvious, that he leaped up in the most enthusiastic manner, and cried out; "Cæsar, thou art the conqueror." As the company stood in great astonishment, he took the sacred fillet from his head, and swore he "would "never put it on again, till the event had placed his "art beyond question." This Livy affirms for a truth.

Cæsar granted the whole nation of Thessaly their liberty, for the sake of the victory which he had there gained, and then went in pursuit of Pompey. He bestowed the same privilege upon the Cnidians, in compliment to Theopompus, to whom we are indebted for a Collection of Fables; and he exonerated the inhabitants of Asia from a third part of their imposts.

Upon his arrival at Alexandria, he found Pompey had been assassinated, and when Theodotus presented the head to him, he turned from the sight with deep abhorrence. The signet of that general was the only thing which he accepted, and on receiving it he wept. As often as any of Pompey's friends

[71] Cæsar mentions some others, as extraordinary and as absurd (ib. 105.). Tralles was a city of Lydia.*

and companions were taken by Ptolemy wandering about the country, and brought to Cæsar, he loaded them with favours, and admitted them into his service. He assured his friends indeed at Rome by letter, "That the chief enjoyment which 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 strongest influence at court, and who having taken off Pompey and removed Cleopatra, privately meditated an attempt against Cæsar. Hence Cæsar, it is affirmed, for the greater security of his person, began to pass the night in entertainments among his friends. The behaviour indeed of this eunuch in public, every thing that he said and did with respect to Cæsar, was intolerably insolent and invidious. The corn, with which he supplied his soldiers, 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 the 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 forgiven his children the surplus, but he thought fit to demand the ten millions at this time for the maintenance of his army. Photinus advised him to go and finish the weighty affair then 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 Sicilian) with her, got into a small boat,

and in the dusk of the evening set off for the palace. As she saw it was difficult to enter undiscovered, she rolled herself 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 captivated Cæsar's heart; and the conquest advanced so fast by the charms of her conversation, that he engaged to reconcile her brother to her, and insisted that she should become the partner of his throne.

An entertainment being given on account of this reconciliation, a servant of Cæsar's (his barber) a most cowardly fellow, led by his natural caution to inquire into every thing and to listen every where about the palace, discovered that Achillas 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 Achillas 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 large city and a powerful army.

The first difficulty, which he encountered[72], was the want of water, the Egyptians having stopped up the aqueducts that supplied his quarter[73]. The second was the loss of his ships in the harbour, which he was himself obliged to burn, in order to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands; when the flames, unfortunately spreading from the dock to the palace, consumed the great Alexandrian library. The third[74] was in the sea-fight near the isle of

[72] He had previously been in great danger, when attacked in the palace by Achillas, who had made himself master of Alexandria. (Ib. iii., and Hirt. Bell. Alex. 6.)

[73] They also contrived to raise the sea-water by engines, and pour it into Cæsar's reservoirs and cisterns; but Cæsar ordered wells to be dug, and in a single night got a sufficient quantity of fresh water.

[74] First, there was a general naval engagement; after which Cæsar attacked the island and, last of all, the mole. It was in this

Pharos, when seeing his men hard pressed, he leaped from the mole into a little skiff to go to their assistance. The Egyptians making up on all sides, he threw himself into the sea, and with much difficulty reached his galleys by swimming[75]. Having several valuable papers, which he was not willing either to lose or to wet, he held them (it is said) above the water with one hand, and swam with the other. The skiff sunk, soon after he left it. At last the king joining the insurgents, Cæsar attacked and defeated him. Great numbers of the Egyptians were slain, and the king was heard of no more. This gave Cæsar an opportunity of establishing Cleopatra queen of Egypt. She bore him soon afterward a son, whom the Alexandrians named Cæsario.

He then departed for Syria, and thence marched into Asia Minor, where he received intelligence that Domitius (whom he had left governor) had been defeated by Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, and driven out of Pontus with his few remaining troops; and that Pharnaces, pursuing his advantage with great ardour, had rendered himself master of Bithynia and Cappadocia, and was attempting Armenia the Less, having stirred up all the kings and tetrarchs of Asia against the Romans. Cæsar immediately marched against him with three legions, and defeated him in a signal battle near Zela, which deprived him of the kingdom of Pontus, as well as ruined his whole army. In the account which he gave to Amintius, one of

last attack, that he encountered the difficulty mentioned by Plutarch (ib. 21.) For an account of the isle of Pharos, &c. see p. 280. not. (78.)

75 His first intention was to gain the admiral-galley; but, finding it very hard pressed, he made for the others. And it was fortunate for him, that he did; for his own galley soon went to the bottom. (L.) The king of Egypt himself, subsequently, it appears (ib. 31.) after an unsuccessful skirmish took refuge in a small vessel, which sunk from the number of fugitives crowding about it, and all on board perished. His dominions Cæsar divided between his elder sister Cleopatra, and his younger brother, in obedience to the old king's will, by which the Romans were appointed executors.*

his friends in Rome, of the rapidity and despatch of this victory, he used only three words[76], "I came, "I saw, I conquered." Their having all the same form and termination, in the Roman language, adds grace to their conciseness.

After this extraordinary success he returned to Italy, and arrived at Rome; as the year of his second dictatorship, an office which had never before been annual, was now on the point of expiring. He was there declared consul for the ensuing year. But it was a blot in his character, that he did not punish his troops, who in a tumult had killed Cosconius and Galba (men of prætorian dignity) in any harsher manner than by calling them citizens[77], instead of fellow-soldiers. Nay, he likewise gave each of them a thousand drachmas, and assigned them large portions of land in Italy. Other complaints against him arose from the madness of Dolabella, the avarice of Amintius, the drunkenness of Antony, and the insolence of Cornificius[78]; who having taken possession of Pompey's house, pulled it down and rebuilt it, because he thought it not large enough. These things were highly disagreeable to the Romans. Cæsar knew it, and disapproved their misbehaviour; but he was obliged, through political views, to continue the offenders in his service.

Cato and Scipio, after the battle of Pharsalia, had

[76] The celebrated *Veni, vidi, vici.* See the account of this action, ib. 72—76. The place is there called 'Ziela.'*

[77] But by this appellation they were cashiered. It was the tenth legion, which had mutinied at Capua, and afterward marched with the utmost insolence to Rome. Cæsar readily gave them the discharge they demanded, which so humbled them, that they begged to be again taken into his service; this, however, he did not grant without great seeming reluctance, nor till after much entreaty.

[78] It was Antony, not Cornificius, who obtained the forfeiture of Pompey's House; as appears from the Life of Antony, and Cicero's second Philippic, in which he exclaims, *O tecta illa misera, quam dispari domino!* There is probably, therefore, a transposition in this place, owing to the carelessness of some transcriber; and the passage should, perhaps, be read 'the drunkenness of Cornificius, and the insolence of Antony,' &c.

escaped into Africa, where with the assistance of king Juba they raised a respectable army. Cæsar resolved therefore to carry the war into their quarters, and for that purpose, though it was now about the time of the winter-solstice, crossed over to Sicily. To prevent his officers from entertaining any hopes of having the expedition postponed, he pitched his own tent almost in the wash of the sea; and, a favourable wind springing up, embarked with three thousand foot and a small body of horse [79]. After he had landed them safely and privately on the African coast, he set sail again in quest of the remainder of his troops, whose numbers were more considerable, and for whom he was under deep concern. He found them however on their way at sea, and conducted them all to his African camp.

He was there informed, that the enemy placed great dependence upon an ancient oracle, the purport of which was, 'That the race of Scipio would always be victorious in Africa:' and as he happened to have in his army a Scipio Sallution [80], of the family of Africanus, though in other respects a contemptible fellow, either in ridicule of Scipio the enemy's general, or to turn the oracle on his own side, in all engagements he gave this Sallution, as if he had been really general, the command of the forces. Frequent occasions of this kind occurred; for he was often compelled to fight for provisions, having neither a sufficiency of bread for his men, nor of forage for his horses. He was obliged indeed to give his horses the very sea-weed, only washing out the salt, and mixing a little grass with it in order to

[79] He had embarked six legions, and two thousand horse; but the number mentioned in the text was all that he landed with at first, many of the ships having been dispersed by a storm. (Hirt. Bell. Afr. 3., &c.)

[80] So called, we are told by Sueton. (Jul. 59.), from his infamous character. Upon it's etymology, a matter indeed of little consequence, Vossius and Lipsius differ. Plutarch is very brief in this part of the narrative, and omits several particulars, which may be well supplied however from Hirtius' account of the African war.*

make it go down. What laid him under a necessity of having recourse to this expedient, was the number of Numidian cavalry, who were extremely well mounted, and by swift and sudden impressions commanded the whole coast.

One day, when Cæsar's cavalry had nothing else to do, they were diverting themselves with an African, who danced and played upon the flute to a surprising degree of perfection. They had left their horses to the care of boys, and sat attending to the entertainment with high delight; when the enemy falling upon them at once killed part, and entered the camp with the rest, who fled with the utmost precipitation. Had not Cæsar indeed himself and Asinius Pollio hastened out to their assistance, and stopped their flight, the whole would that very hour have been at an end. In another engagement, the enemy had again the advantage; upon which occasion it was that Cæsar grasped an ensign, who was running away, by the neck, and making him face about said, "Look on this side for the enemy."

Scipio, flushed with these successful preludes, was desirous to come to a decisive action. Leaving Afranius therefore 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 he was there constructing his walls and ramparts, Cæsar with incredible despatch traversed a country almost impracticable on account of it's woods and difficult passes, and coming suddenly upon him attacked one part of his army in rear, and another in 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 Afranius' camp, and destroyed that of the Numidians; Juba their king being happy, on the first alarm, 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, with the loss of only fifty men.

Such is the account, which some give us of the action. Others say, that as Cæsar was drawing up his army and issuing his orders, he had an attack of his old distemper; and that upon it's approach, before it had overpowered him and deprived him of his senses, as he felt the first agitations, he directed his people to carry him to a neighbouring tower, where he lay perfectly still till the fit was over.

Many persons of consular and prætorian dignity escaped out of the engagement. Some of them being subsequently 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[81], of which that officer had the charge, and for that reason had not been in the battle. But by the way he learned that he had killed himself, and he was visibly much affected by the intelligence. As his officers were wondering what might be the cause of his uneasiness, he cried out; "O Cato, I envy thee thy death, since thou "enviedst me the glory of giving thee thy life." Nevertheless, by the book which he wrote against Cato after his death, it does not seem as if he had entertained any intention of showing him favour. For how can it be thought he would have spared the living enemy, when he subsequently poured so much venom upon his grave? Yet from his clemency to Cicero, Brutus, and others without number who had borne arms against him, it is conjectured that the book was written in a spirit not of personal rancour, but of political ambition. It was composed on the following occasion: Cicero had composed an encomium on Cato, and had given the name of 'Cato' to

[81] Before Cæsar left Utica, he gave orders for the rebuilding of Carthage, as he did likewise soon after his return to Italy for the rebuilding of Corinth; so that these two cities, which had been destroyed in the same year (B. C. 146, the first by Scipio, and the other by Mummius) were in the same year raised out of their ruins, in which they had lain about a hundred years. Two years afterward, as appears below, they were both re-peopled with Roman colonies.

the book. This was highly esteemed by many of the Romans (as might naturally be expected) as well from the superior eloquence of the author, as from the dignity of the subject. Cæsar was hurt at the success of a work, which in praising a man who had killed himself to avoid falling into his hands, he thought insinuated something to the disadvantage of his character. He therefore drew up an answer to it, under the title of 'Anti-Cato,' which contained a variety of charges against that great man. Both these works have still their respective friends, as a regard to the memory of Cæsar or of Cato predominates.

Upon his return from Africa to Rome, Cæsar spoke in high terms of his victory to the people. "He "had subdued," he told them, "a country so exten- "sive, 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[82]. In the title of the latter, mention was not made of Scipio, but of Juba alone. The son of that prince, who bore his father's name, and was then very young, walked in the procession. To him it proved a happy captivity; for, from a barbarous and unlettered Numidian, he became an historian worthy to be numbered among the most learned of Greece[83]. The triumph was followed by large donations to the soldiers, and feasts and public diversions for the people. He entertained them at twenty-two thousand tables, and presented them with a numerous show of gladiators and naval fights, in honour of his daughter Julia, who had now been long dead.

When those exhibitions were finished[84], an account was taken of the citizens, who from three

[82] Plutarch either forgot to make mention of the triumph over Gaul, which was the most considerable (Suet. Jul. 37.), or else τὸν Κελτικὸν has dropped out of the text.

[83] See the Life of Romulus, Vol. I. p. 70. not. (46.)*

[84] Ruauld takes notice of three gross mistakes in this passage.

hundred and twenty were reduced to a hundred and fifty thousand. So fatal a calamity had the civil war proved, and such a number of the people had it taken off; to say nothing of the misfortunes, which it had brought upon the rest of Italy and all the provinces of the empire!

This business completed, he was elected consul the fourth time; and his first measure was to march into Spain against the sons of Pompey, who though young had assembled a numerous army, and showed a courage worthy of their assumed command. The great battle, which put a period to that war, was fought under the walls of Munda[85]. Cæsar in the beginning saw his men so hard pressed, and making so feeble a resistance, that he rushed through the ranks amidst the swords and spears, crying; "Are

I. That Cæsar took a census of the people. Of this no mention is made by Suetonius, and Augustus himself in the Marmora Ancyrana states, that in his sixth consulate (that is, A. U. C. 725.) he numbered the people, which had not been previously done for forty-two years. II. That before the civil wars broke out between Cæsar and Pompey, the number of the people in Rome amounted to no more than three hundred and twenty thousand; whereas long before that it was much greater, and had continued upon the increase. III. That, in less than three years, those three hundred and twenty thousand had been reduced by that war to an hundred and fifty thousand; the falsity of which assertion is evident from this, that Cæsar subsequently made a draught of eighty thousand, to be sent to foreign colonies. But (what is still stronger) eighteen years afterward Augustus took an account of the people, and found the number to be four millions and sixty-three thousand. From a passage in Suetonius (Jul. 41.) these mistakes of Plutarch took their rise. He there says, *Recensum populi nec more nec loco solito, sed vicatim per dominos insularum egit: atque ex viginti trecentisque millibus accipientium frumentum e publico, ad centum quinquaginta retraxit*—referring to the citizens that shared in the public corn, whom he found to amount to three hundred and twenty thousand: this number, probably because he perceived that distribution answered in many only the purposes of idleness, he reduced to a hundred and twenty thousand. Plutarch mistook *recensum* for *censum*; and this error led him into the other mistakes.

[85] A city between Gibraltar and Malaga. This battle was fought, B. C. 45.*

" you not ashamed to deliver your general into the " hands of boys?" The vigorous efforts, which 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 his best soldiers. As he retired after the battle, he told his friends, " He " had often fought for victory, but that was the first " time in which he had fought for his life."

He won this battle on the day of the Liberalia [86], the very day upon which Pompey the Great had, four years before, marched out to commence the struggle. The younger of Pompey's sons made his escape; the other was a few days afterward taken by Didius, who brought his head to Cæsar.

This was the last of his wars: and his triumph upon this occasion gave the Romans more pain, than any of his other proceedings. He did not now mount the car for having conquered foreign generals, or barbarian kings; but for having ruined the children and destroyed the race of one of the greatest men, though he proved at last unfortunate, that Rome had ever produced. All the world condemned his triumphing in the calamities of his country, and rejoicing in things which nothing could excuse, in the sight either of gods or of men, but extreme necessity. And it was the more obvious to condemn it, because before this he had never sent messengers or letters, to acquaint the public with any victory which 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 except re-

[86] These, though sacred to Bacchus, were not the Bacchanalia (which, from their licentiousness, had been now long suppressed, Liv. xxxix. 8—18.), but were the same, according to Festus, with the Dionysiaca of the Greeks. They were celebrated on the seventeenth of March. (See Hirt. Bell. Hisp. 31.)*

ceiving 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 still honours within the measure of humanity. Those who followed contended with each other, which should pay him the most extraordinary compliments, and by the absurdity and extravagance of their decrees rendered him odious and insupportable even to persons of candour. In these sacrifices his enemies are supposed to have vied with his flatterers, that they might have the better pretence, and the stronger motive 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. It seems indeed, as if there was nothing unreasonable in their having decreed a temple to be built to Clemency, in gratitude for the mercy which they had experienced at his hands. For he not only pardoned most of those, who had appeared against him in the field, but upon some of them he likewise bestowed honours and preferments; on Brutus and Cassius, for instance, who were both created prætors. The statues of Pompey had been thrown down, but he did not suffer them to lie in that posture: he caused them to be replaced; upon which occasion Cicero observed, "That Cæsar, by rearing "Pompey's statues, had firmly fixed his own."

His friends pressed him to have a guard, and many offered to serve in that capacity, but he would not suffer it. "It was better," he said, "to die once, "than to live always in fear of death." The affection of the people he considered as his safest and most honourable guard; and he therefore endeavoured to gain them by feasts and distributions of corn, as he did also the soldiers by settling them in agreeable colonies. The most noted places, that he colonised, were Carthage and Corinth; of which it is remarkable, that as they had been taken and demo-

lished at the same time, so they were at the same time restored.

The nobility he gained by promising them consulates and prætorships, or if those 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 [87]. For this reason he was so studious to oblige, that when Fabius Maximus died suddenly toward the close of his consulship, he appointed Caninius Rebilius [88] consul for the single day remaining. Numbers went to pay their respects to him, according to custom, and to conduct him to the senate-house; upon which occasion Cicero said, "Let us make haste and pay "our compliments to the consul, before his office is "expired" [89].

Cæsar had such talents for great attempts, and so vast an ambition, that the numerous actions which he had performed by no means induced him to sit down and enjoy his glory; but rather whetted his appetite for other conquests, produced additional projects equally lofty, together with equal confidence of success, and inspired him with a passion for new renown, as if he had exhausted all the pleasures of the old. This passion was nothing but a self-jealousy, a contest with himself (as eager, as if it had been with another man) to cause his future achievements to outshine the past. In this spirit he had formed a design, and was making preparations

[87] This noble motto, *populo dat jura volenti*, from the fourth Georgic, was inscribed on the medals thrown among the populace at the coronation of our Edward III.*

[88] Macrobius calls him, 'Rebilus.'

[89] There are some others of Cicero's quaint jokes upon this occasion still extant; as

'We have a most vigilant consul, for he has not once closed his eyes, since he entered upon his office:'

'Our consul is a man of so much strictness and rigour, that not a man of us has dined, supped, or slept during his magistracy:'

'Caninius is reduced to such a pass, as to be obliged to inquire under what consuls he was consul,' &c.*

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 rounding the circle of the Roman empire, by extending it's 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[90]. He designed also to convey the Tiber by a deep channel directly from Rome to Circæi, and so into the sea near Tarricina, 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[91] and Setia, by which sufficient ground 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

[90] Ανιηνον επι τουτο προχειρισαμενος. The Latin and French translators join this with the sentence that follows, and render it; 'He designed to unite the Anio and the Tiber, and convey them by a deep channel directly from Rome to Circæi,' &c. But against that construction there is this strong objection, that the Anio, *hod.* Il Teverone, falls into the Tiber above Rome. In Greek too that river would be Ανιων, not Ανιηνος. And what indeed can fairly be made of Ανιηνον επι τουτο προχειρισαμενος, which would literally be, 'having previously fitted the Anio to that purpose?' On the other hand it may be alleged, that possibly Plutarch might not know where the conflux of the Anio and the Tiber was, though with respect to a man who had lived some time at Rome this is scarcely an admissible supposition. Neither is he remarkably accurate in his version of Roman names. And we must likewise acknowledge, that we have not elsewhere met with 'Anienus,' as a Roman name. Suetonius takes no notice of Cæsar's intention to make this cut.

[91] It appears, from a passage in Suetonius (Jul. 44.) *Siccare Pomptinas paludes*, as well as from another in Strabo, that for 'Nomentum,' we should here read 'Pomentium.'

fit to receive the many vessels which came in there. But these things were carried no farther than the design.

He completed however the regulation of the calendar, and corrected the erroneous computation of time [92], agreeably to a plan which he had ingeniously contrived, and which proved of the highest utility. For not only of old the Roman months so ill agreed with the revolution of the year, that the festivals and days of sacrifice gradually fell back into seasons quite opposite to those of their institution: but even in Cæsar's time, when the solar year was in use, the generality lived in perfect ignorance of the matter; and the priests, who alone knew any thing about it, used all at once, and when nobody expected it, to add an intercalary month called 'Mercedonius,' of which Numa was the inventor. This remedy however proved much too weak, and was far from operating, as we have already observed in that prince's Life, to the effectual correction of the great mis-computations which prevailed.

Cæsar, having proposed the question to the most able philosophers and mathematicians, published (upon principles previously verified) a new and more exact regulation, which the Romans still use, and by which they approach the truth more nearly than other nations, with respect to the difference between the sun's revolution and the period of the twelve months. Yet this useful invention furnished matter of ridicule to the envious, and to those who could but ill brook his power. For Cicero, if I mistake not, when some one happened to say, "Lyra [93] will "rise to-morrow:" answered, "Undoubtedly; there

[92] By this erroneous computation, the Roman calendar in the time of Cæsar had gained nearly three months. Endeavours had previously been used to correct it's irregularity, but it never could be done with exactness. See the Life of Numa, I. 198. not. (73.)

[93] A constellation in the northern hemisphere, consisting in Ptolemy's catalogue of ten, in Tycho's of eleven, in Hevelius' of seventeen, and in the Britannic of twenty-one stars.*

" is an edict for it:" As if the calendar like other things, had been forced upon their acceptance[94].

But what principally 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 furnished his inveterate enemies with a most plausible plea for their conduct. Those, who sought to procure him that honour, announced to the people, from the Sibylline books, that 'The Romans could never conquer the Parthians, unless 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 the people offended at this strange compliment, he affected an air of resentment, and said, " He was not called " King, but Cæsar." Upon this, a deep silence ensued, and he passed forward in no good humour.

At 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. Upon their approach 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, than to enlarge " his honours." This haughtiness gave pain not only to the senate, but to 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 which he had taken, he immediately retired to his own house; and laying

[94] Cæsar was charged, upon this occasion, with aspiring to be 'the dictator of the skies.' Such are the petty cavils of factious ignorance: but the translator of Aratus' Phænomena ought to have known, and in reality did know, the necessity of this reform, and the advantages which it produced. He could not, however, lose his *bon mot*. He is, indeed, by no means a solitary proof that genius sometimes, as well as dulness, 'loves a joke.'*

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 it's influence are apt to find their faculties fail them, when they speak standing; a trembling and giddiness coming over them, which bereaves them of their senses. This however was not really the case, for it is said that he was actually desirous to rise to the senate; but Cornelius Balbus, one of his friends (or rather flatterers) held him down, and had servility enough to say, "Won't you remember that you "are Cæsar, and suffer them to pay their court to you "as their superior?"

These discontents were much increased by the indignity, with which he treated the tribunes of the people. In the Lupercalia [95], which (according to most writers) is an ancient pastoral feast, and answers in many respects to the Lycæa among the Arcadians, young men of noble families, and indeed many of the magistrates run about the streets naked, and by way of diversion strike all they meet with hairy leathern thongs. Numbers of women of the first quality throw themselves into their way, and present their hands for stripes (as scholars do to a master) under a conviction, that the pregnant gain an easy delivery by it, and that the barren are enabled to conceive. Cæsar that day wore a triumphal robe, and seated himself in a golden chair upon the Rostra, in order to see the ceremony.

Antony, in compliance with the rules of the festival, for he was then consul, ran among the rest. When he came into the Forum, and the crowd had made way for him, he approached Cæsar, and offered him a diadem wreathed with laurel. Upon this some plaudits were heard, but those very feeble ones, as proceeding only from persons placed there for the purpose. Cæsar refused it, and the plaudits were then

[95] See the Life of Romulus, Vol. I. p. 86. not. (73.)*

loud and general. Antony presented it once more, and a small number applauded his officiousness; but, when Cæsar again rejected it, the applause was again universal. Cæsar, undeceived by this second trial, rose up, and ordered the diadem to be consecrated in the Capitol.

A few days afterward, 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 first 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 placed the government in the hands of the senate and people. Cæsar, highly incensed at their behaviour, deposed the tribunes; and by way of reprimand to them, as well as insult to the people, called them several times 'Brutes' and 'Cumæans'[96].

Upon this, many applied to Marcus Brutus, who by the father's side was supposed to be a descendent of that ancient Brutus, and whose mother was of the illustrious house of the Servilii. He was also the nephew, and the son-in-law, of Cato. No man was more inclined than he to lift his hand against monarchy, but he was withheld by a sense of the honours and kindnesses received from Cæsar, who had not only given him his life after the defeat of Pompey at

[96] One thing which Strabo (xiii.) mentions as an instance of the stupidity of the Cumæans, namely, their not laying any duty upon merchandise imported into their harbour, seems a very equivocal proof of it: for their leaving the port free might bring them trade, and make them a flourishing people. Another thing which he mentions (though it is scarcely worth repeating) is, that they had mortgaged their porticoes, and upon failure of payment of the money, were prohibited by their creditors from walking under them; but at last, when some heavy rains came on, public notice was given by the creditors, that their debtors would be allowed that indulgence. Hence (as he informs us) the saying, 'The Cumæans have not sense to go under shelter when it rains, till they are put in mind of it by the cryer.'

Pharsalia, and pardoned many of his friends at his request, but had also continued to favour him with his confidence. That very year he had procured for him the most honourable prætorship, and had named him for the consulship four years afterward, in preference to Cassius his competitor. Upon which occasion Cæsar is reported to have said, "Cassius ad-"duces the strongest reasons, but I cannot refuse "Brutus."

After the conspiracy was formed, some persons lodged an impeachment against Brutus; but instead of listening to them, Cæsar laid his hand upon 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 solely, or him principally at least: and as they durst not give utterance to their sentiments, they filled with billets night after night the tribunal and the seat which he used as prætor, generally 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 more closely than before, and spur him forward to the great enterprise; as he himself, for reasons which we have assigned in the Life of Brutus, had a particular enmity against Cæsar. Of this, Cæsar had some suspicion; and he even said one day to his friends, "What think you of Cassius? I don't like his pale "looks." At another time, when Antony and Dolabella were accused of some designs against his person and government, he said; "I have no appre-"hensions from those fat and sleek men, I rather "fear the pale and lean ones*:" meaning Cassius and Brutus.

* This story recurs in the Life of Antony, Vol. V., and of Brutus, Vol. VI.*

From this instance it appears, that fate is not so secret, as it is inevitable. For we are told, there were strong signs and presages of Cæsar's death. As to the lights in the heavens, the strange noises[97] heard in various quarters by night, and the appearance of solitary birds in the Forum, perhaps upon an event so important as this they hardly deserve our notice; but some attention should be paid to Strabo the philosopher. According to him, there were seen in the air men of fire encountering each other; such a flame appeared to issue from the hand of a soldier's servant, that all the spectators thought it must be consumed, yet on it's going out it was discovered not to have sustained any injury; and one of the victims, which Cæsar offered, was found without a heart. The latter was certainly a most alarming prodigy; for no creature can naturally exist without a heart. What is still more extraordinary, many report, that a certain soothsayer forewarned him of a great danger, which threatened him on the ides[98] 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 calmly replied, "Yes; they are come, 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 the windows of the room suddenly flew open. Disturbed both with the noise and the light, he observed by moonshine Calpurnia in a deep sleep, uttering broken

97 With some of the MSS. we read ΚΤΥΠΟΥΣ νυκτωρ πολλαχῃ διαφερομενους. If the common reading, ΤΥΠΟΥΣ κ. τ. λ. be preferred, the sense will be 'the spectres seen hovering about in the night.'

98 Or fifteenth. The soothsayer's name, according to Suet. Jul. 81., was Spurinna.

words and inarticulate groans. She dreamed, that she was weeping over him, as she held him murthered in her arms. Others say, she dreamed, that the pinnacle[99] was fallen, which (as Livy informs us) the senate, by way of ornament and distinction, had ordered to be erected upon Cæsar's house, and that it was this which occasioned her sobbing and tears. Be that as it may, next morning she conjured Cæsar not to go out that day, if he could possibly avoid it, but to adjourn the senate; and if he paid no regard to her dreams, to inquire by some other species of divination, or by sacrifices, into his future fate. This gave him some suspicion and alarm; for he had never before observed in Calpurnia, though now so deeply affected, any thing of the weakness or superstition of her sex.

He therefore offered a number of sacrifices, and as the diviners found no auspicious tokens in any of them, he sent Antony to dismiss the senate. In the mean time Decius Brutus[100], surnamed Albinus, came in. He was a person in whom Cæsar placed such confidence, that he had appointed him his second heir, and 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 soothsayers, and told Cæsar he would be highly to blame, if by such neglect he gave the senate an occasion of complaint or accusation against him. "For they were "met," he said, "at his summons, and came pre-"pared 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," he proceeded,

[99] The pinnacle was an ornament usually placed upon the tops of their temples, and adorned with some statues of their gods, figures of victory, or other symbolical device. (L.) With regard to the honours lavished upon Cæsar, see Suet. Jul. 76.*

[100] Plutarch finding a D. prefixed to Brutus, took it for 'Decius;' but his name was 'Decimus' Brutus. See App., and Suet.

" now that they have taken their places, bid them go " home again, and return when Calpurnia happens " to have better dreams, what room will not your " enemies have to inveigh against you? Or who will " listen to your friends, when they attempt to show, " that this is not open servitude on the one hand, and " complete tyranny on the other? At all events, if " you are absolutely persuaded that this is an un- " lucky day, it is certainly better to go yourself, and " tell them you have strong reasons for adjourning " the business before them." So saying, he took Cæsar by the hand, and led him out.

He had not proceeded far from the door, when a slave belonging to some other person attempted to get up to speak to him; but finding it impossible on account of the surrounding crowd, 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, as he had matters of the utmost importance to disclose.

Artemidorus the Cnidian, who by teaching the Greek eloquence had become acquainted with some of Brutus' friends, and had procured intelligence of most of the transactions, approached Cæsar with a paper, explaining what he had to disclose. Observing that he gave the papers, as fast as he received them, to his officers, he approached him as close as possible, and said; " Cæsar, read this to yourself, and " quickly; for it contains matters of great conse- " quence, and of the utmost concern to you." He took it, and frequently attempted to read it; but he was always prevented by one application or another. He therefore kept that paper, and that only in his hand, when he entered the house. Some say, it was delivered to him by another person[101], Artemidorus

[101] By Caius Trebonius. So Plutarch says, in the Life of Brutus, Vol. VI.: Appian says the same; and Cicero likewise, in his Philipp. xiii. 10.

in his endeavours to approach him having been constantly obstructed by the crowd.

These things might, indeed, fall out by chance; but as in the place where the senate was that day assembled, and which proved the scene of the tragedy, there stood a statue of Pompey, and it was an edifice which Pompey had consecrated for an ornament to his theatre, nothing can be more obvious than that some deity conducted the whole business, and directed the execution of it to that very spot. Even Cassius himself, though inclined to the doctrines of Epicurus[102], turned his eye to Pompey's statue, and secretly invoked his aid before the great attempt. The arduous occasion, it seems, over-ruled his former sentiments, and laid him open to all the influence of enthusiasm. Antony, who was a faithful friend to Cæsar and a man of considerable muscular 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' accomplices came up behind his chair and others before it, pretending to intercede, along with Metillius Cimber[103], for the recal of his brother from exile. These entreaties they continued, till he reached his chair. 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; for in the onset of so tremendous an enterprise, he was, probably, in

[102] Who taught, that the gods took no concern in sublunary affairs.

[103] 'Metillius' is plainly a corruption. Suetonius (Jul. 89.) calls him 'Cimber Tullius.' In Appian he is denominated 'Atilius Cimber,' and there is a medal which bears that name, but it is believed to be spurious. Some call him 'Metellus Cimber;' and others suppose we should read 'M. Tullius Cimber.'

some disorder. Cæsar therefore turned upon him, and laid hold on 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, so 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 whichsoever 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 a taste of his blood. Hence 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; but that he then 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 fewer than twenty-three wounds. Many of the conspirators, likewise, as they were aiming their blows at him, wounded one another.

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 was running away from it. Antony and Lepidus, Cæsar's principal friends, withdrew and hid themselves in other people's houses. In the 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 gayety 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 subsequently paid dear for their vanity, being put to death by Antony and young Cæsar. So that they did not even gain the honour, for which they lost their lives: for nobody believed, that they had borne 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 had been done. But from their silence it appeared that they pitied Cæsar, though at the same time they revered Brutus. The senate passed a general amnesty, and to reconcile all parties, decreed Cæsar divine honours, and confirmed all the acts of his dictatorship; while upon Brutus and his friends they bestowed governments, and other suitable honours: So that it was generally imagined, the commonwealth was firmly re-established, and every thing settled in the best possible manner.

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 in order. They stopped the procession, and tearing up the benches with the doors and tables, heaped them into a pile, and burned the corpse there. Then snatching flaming brands from the pile, some ran to set on fire the houses of the assassins, while others

ranged the city to seize their persons, and tear them in pieces; but they had taken such care to secure themselves, that they could nowhere be found.

One Cinna, a friend of Cæsar, had a strange dream the preceding night. He dreamed (we are told) that Cæsar invited him to supper, and upon his refusal to go caught him by the hand, and drew him after him, in spite of all his resistance. Hearing however that the Body of Cæsar was to be burnt in the Forum, he went to assist in paying him the last honours, though he had a fever upon him, the consequence of his uneasiness about his dream. On his coming up, one of the populace asked, "Who he was?" and having learned his name, told it to his next neighbour. A report immediately spread through the whole company, that it was one of Cæsar's murtherers; and one of the conspirators did, indeed, bear the same name. The multitude taking this for the man, fell upon him, and tore him to pieces on the spot. This rage of the populace so terrified Brutus and Cassius, that a few days afterward they left the city. An account of their subsequent actions, sufferings, and death, may be found in the Life of Brutus.

Cæsar died at the age of fifty-six[104], not having survived Pompey above four years. His object was sovereign power and authority, which he pursued through innumerable dangers, and by prodigious efforts at last acquired. 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 as his avenger after death, and pursued and hunted out the assassins over sea and land; not resting so long as a single individual remained, either of those who had dipped their hands in his blood, or of those who gave their sanction to the deed.

The most remarkable of natural events relative to

[104] B. C. 44.*

this affair was that Cassius, after he had lost the battle of Philippi, killed himself with the same dagger which he had used against Cæsar; and the most signal phenomenon in the heavens, a great comet [105], which shone very bright seven nights after Cæsar's death, and then disappeared. To which we may add the fading of the sun's lustre; for his orb looked pale throughout the whole of that year: he rose not with a sparkling radiance, nor had his heat it's usual strength and fulness. The air was of course dark and heavy, for want of that vigorous warmth, by which it is cleared and rarefied; and the fruits were so crude and unconcocted, that they pined away and decayed through the chillness of the atmosphere.

We have a proof still more striking, that the assassination of Cæsar was displeasing to the gods, in the phantom which appeared to Brutus. The story of it is as follows: Brutus was on the point of transporting his army from Abydus [106] to the opposite continent; and the night before, he lay in his tent awake according to custom, and in deep thought about what might be the event of the war; for no general ever required so little sleep; he usually, indeed, watched the greatest part of the night. With all his senses about him, he heard a noise at the door of his tent; and looking toward the light, which was now burnt very low, he saw a terrible appearance in the human form, but of prodigious stature and the most hideous aspect. At first, he was struck with astonishment: when he perceived however that it neither did nor spoke any thing to him, but stood in silence by his bed-side, he asked it, "Who it was?"

[105] 'A comet made it's appearance in the north, while we were celebrating the games in honour of Cæsar, and shone bright for seven days. It arose about the eleventh hour of the day, and was seen by all nations. It was commonly believed to be a sign, that the soul of Cæsar was admitted among the gods; we therefore added a star to the head of his statue, which was consecrated soon afterward in the Forum.' (Fragm. Aug. Cæs. ap. Plin. H. N. ii. 25.)

[106] An Asiatic city on the Hellespont opposite to Sestus, celebrated as the scene of the Loves of Hero and Leander.*

The spectre answered, "I am thy evil genius, "Brutus; thou shalt see me at Philippi." Brutus boldly replied, "I'll meet thee there;" upon which the spectre immediately vanished.

Some time afterward, he engaged Antony and Octavius Cæsar at Philippi, and the first day was victorious, carrying all before him where he fought in person, and even pillaging Cæsar's camp. The night before he was to fight the second battle, the spectre again appeared to him, but spoke not a word. Brutus however understood that his last hour was near, and courted danger with all the violence of despair. Yet he did not fall in the action: but perceiving that every thing was lost, he retired to the top of a rock, where he presented his naked sword to his breast, and a friend (as we are told) assisting the thrust, he died upon the spot [107].

[107] Whatever Plutarch's motive may have been, it is certain that he has given us a very inadequate and imperfect idea of the character of Cæsar. The Life which he has written is a confused jumble of facts, compiled from different historians without order, consistency, regularity, or accuracy. He has left us none of those finer and more delicate traits, which (as he himself justly observes in the beginning of Alexander's Life, p. 239.) distinguish and characterise the man, more than his most popular and splendid operations. He has written, in short, like a man under restraint; skimming over his actions, and showing a manifest satisfaction when he could draw the attention of the reader to other characters and circumstances, however insignificant, or how often soever repeated by himself in the narrative of other Lives. Yet from the little light which he has afforded us, and from the better accounts of other historians, we may easily discover, that Cæsar was a man of uncommon virtues. Had he been as able in his political as he was in his military capacity, had he been capable of hiding or even of managing that openness of mind, which was the connate attendant of his liberality and ambition, the last prevailing passion would not have put so early a period to his race of glory.

ALEXANDER AND JULIUS CÆSAR

COMPARED.†

THESE two warriors stand so high above all others in military reputation, that it is difficult to compare them, and still more difficult to determine which of them deserves the preference. With some very marked features of resemblance, they are still more sensibly distinguished by the differences in their characters, the motives of their enterprises, their modes of warfare, their enemies, their exploits, their political conduct, and the deaths which closed their tumultuary lives.

The names of Alexander and Cæsar have long been proverbially identified with heroic bravery. The first was never conquered; the latter never sustained any serious disaster, and his slight ones he compensated by innumerable victories. Uniting all the great qualities of great generals, though the courage of the Macedonian was more vehement and impetuous than that of the Roman general, they were equally enlightened in the choice of their means, and equally certain of the extent of their effects. Theirs was an ardour, which obstacles only served to inflame; a patience, which toils never tired; an intrepidity, which no dangers could daunt; a penetration which no intricacy could elude; a skill the most profound, in forming encampments and conducting sieges; and an art the most invaluable, of inspiring their troops with that assured pledge of success, implicit confidence in their leader. The number, and the rapidity, of their triumphs are almost miraculous. Their progress through the numerous nations, which within a very few years yielded to their arms, was rather a series of marches than of engagements: and even their deaths, though widely different, in

this respect resembled each other, that they surprised their respective victims in the meditation of still loftier projects, and cut them off in the midst of their career of glory. But to come to a little more of detail.

Alexander born a prince, and the son of a king whose education had profited from Epaminondas, was brought up in a manner worthy of his birth and of his father. Aristotle, to whom Philip confided this precious charge, developed the native endowments of his illustrious pupil by teaching him not only morals and politics, sciences indispensable for those who are entrusted with the happiness of mankind, but also the most abstruse mysteries of philosophy. These Alexander apprehended with the utmost facility, and by the splendour of his attainments did ample justice to the genius and the industry of his tutor.

Of the early years of Cæsar, and of his youthful studies, little is particularly known. We are only told, that he went to Rhodes to study eloquence under Apollonius; but from the remains of his literary labours, executed as they were amidst the bustle of arduous military undertakings, we cannot doubt that his faculties were naturally most admirable, and the improvement of them by education most judicious.

Alexander preserved to the last a high relish for letters. Indifferent to the renown of excelling in bodily exercises, he almost exclusively confined his exertions to the cultivation and improvement of his mind. In his enthusiastic veneration for Homer, and in the prizes instituted at his great festivals, this was his obvious feeling. Cæsar had equal taste and zeal for study, and superior eloquence. His youthful success indeed at the bar gained him such high reputation, that it was supposed, if he had pursued his fortune as an advocate, he would have risen above all his competitors; and stood as unrivalled in civil, as by a different direction of his powers he subsequently did in military renown. His commentaries are pronounced by the best critics perfect in their

kind, and not less useful as models to the historian, than as lessons to the warrior. And his reformation of the calendar, involving accurate disquisitions in a science then little understood at Rome, has gained him a less melancholy, though not less permanent glory than that, which he has derived from his wars.

But the principal points of difference between these two eminent men are chiefly observable in their youth: Alexander, proof to all the temptations of a court, steadily pursued the dignified and princely objects placed before him by his virtuous preceptor. Cæsar, abandoned to every species of voluptuousness and libertinism, became the proverb of the day; and the former had already by his achievements earned immortality at an age, at which the latter was still wallowing in the grossest sensuality. Yet, amidst all this profligacy, his refusal to divorce his wife in obedience to the omnipotent Sylla announced that lofty love of independence, which was at a future day to bear him on to the sovereignty of the world. Alexander with equal pride, and equal independence of spirit, inflexibly resisted every attempt to compel his concurrence, but easily yielded to the gentle empire of reason and remonstrance. All his projects, all his sentiments, displayed the elevation of his soul. Neither does that of Cæsar appear less elevated, when he mocks and threatens the pirates, who had taken him prisoner; or, while the storm is raging around him, hardily cries to the pilot, "Fear nothing; thou bearest Cæsar, and his for-"tune."

The education of Alexander had prepared him for temperance; and we are therefore little surprised to see him rejecting the dainties of Asia, and seasoning his simple repasts with exercise and sobriety. But the abstemiousness of Cæsar, after his debauched and effeminate youth, his readiness to sacrifice the gratification of his own wants to those of others, his prompt surrender of the single bed-room at the cottage to his sick friend, excite our astonishment,

Alexander's refusal of water, when parched by the most painful thirst, was a noble mode of encouraging his fainting army: but by his love of wine toward the end of his career he tarnished the glory of his early temperance, and sunk under his excesses into a premature tomb. Cæsar in more advanced life equally reversed his character, and exhibited a signal example of self-denial and moderation.

In the midst of perils and hardships, both evinced unconquerable fortitude. The Macedonian, always foremost to encounter toil and danger, plunges into a deep and rapid river under a shower of darts from all quarters, throws himself among the thickest of the enemy, and irresistibly draws after him his amazed and panting forces. The Roman, with a feeble and sickly habit of body, surmounts every natural weakness; and, still more to his honour, displays a degree of patience and intrepidity not outdone by that of the constitutionally-robust king of Macedon himself.

Hence arise the confidence and the heroism of their followers, strengthened indeed and confirmed by their occasional largesses and uniform liberality. In the distribution of these, however, Alexander appears to have had the advantage. What indeed could be more noble, than his bestowing upon his friends his whole property, on setting out for Asia, and reserving only 'hope' for himself? Can we wonder that, if their troops occasionally despond amidst a succession of sufferings, they are soon recalled to a sense of duty by generals at once so popular and so persevering [108]?

[108] Alexander, when on the point of being abandoned by his troops, exclaimed, 'Fly, cowards, I will subdue the world without you: Alexander will never want soldiers, so long as he can find men.' This anecdote, not preserved by Plutarch, the great Condé accounted the most brilliant trait in the character of a prince, in many respects his own exact prototype. The same noble critic, with reference to the hazardous bravery of Alexander, preferred him to Cæsar: '*J'aimerois mieux être Alexandre, que César.*' This hero's character has lately been much illustrated by a variety of writers, and not least ably by the learned and accurate Dr. Vincent, in his 'Voyage of Nearchus,' &c.

In his outset, Alexander displayed great clemency and moderation. Even his destruction of Thebes is palliated, if not expiated, by the remorse which followed it. He not only shed tears over Darius, 'fallen from his high estate,' but unrelentingly pursued and punished his assassins. Cæsar, after the battle of Pharsalia in particular, gave abundant proofs of his mercy; and in many instances lavished his pardon and his bounties upon men, at that time his enemies, and subsequently his murtherers. He bewails the numbers, who perished on that disastrous day; he weeps over the fate of his mighty rival; he rears afresh his statues, which had been thrown down; and only appears inferior to Alexander in this respect, by not having equally avenged that rival's death.

Both, however, are chargeable with occasional cruelty and treachery. Cæsar put to death many eminent officers, whom he had taken at the battle of Thapsus; and, violating his recent peace with the Germans, massacred in one bloody day three hundred thousand men. Alexander is still more deeply criminal. Upon entering Asia, he ordered his troops to give no quarter. He destroyed Clitus. "This," it will be said, "was done in a transport of drunken-"ness." But not even this wretched apology can be pleaded in vindication of his treatment of the blunt and honest Callisthenes, and the loyal veteran Parmenio. And what shall we say of his wholesale murther of an Indian garrison, to which he had just granted honourable terms of capitulation?

His continence with regard to the princesses of Darius' family, whom he would not even see or permit to be named in his presence, and who found the holiness of a sanctuary amidst the licentiousness of a camp, is a glorious feature in his character. Cæsar, to the end of his life, could never overcome his devoted attachment to the sex. In Cleopatra, he nearly met his ruin; for to his wish of serving this second Omphale most writers have ascribed his dangerous

Alexandrian war. But Alexander seduced by augmented power, and in some measure perhaps by the manners and the climate of Persia, fell into fatal debauchery. His ridiculous self-praise, the lying monuments left on the banks of the Hyphasis to mislead posterity, and his absurd longing for Athenian applause, form a strong contrast with the unostentatious narratives of the Roman chieftain.

Religion is too seldom the characteristic of generals, particularly of successful ones. To his judicious education the Macedonian prince owed tolerably correct notions of Divine Providence, and of human dependence. His days open with sacrifice, and he is always grateful to Heaven for his victories. In what may by courtesy be called the 'religious' part of Cæsar's Catilinarian speech, we discover nothing but atheism; and his attendance upon the ceremonies of his country is, obviously, in mere external conformity to the established prejudices of Rome. Alexander could only affect to filiate himself to Jupiter Ammon, with the political view of facilitating the progress of his arms; and his final turn to superstition must be set down to the irregularities of his more advanced life. This superstition Cæsar, indeed, avoided; but it was by an excess still more unjustifiable and more injurious, that of infidelity.

In policy, the son of Philip seems to have been inferior to the Roman dictator; and his situation from his birth was such, as less imperiously to call it into exercise. From his different plans however, regarding the critically-happy site of Alexandria, the conciliating adoption of oriental manners and customs, the educating of thirty thousand young Persian noblemen in Grecian literature and Macedonian discipline, and (above all) the intermarrying of his chief officers with the females of distinction in the conquered countries, we cannot but infer great political talents. Cæsar, in order to gratify his ambition, sticks at nothing: he cringes to the dregs of

the Roman vulgar; he combines with the scum of the plebeian magistrates; he procures the enactment of popular, but pernicious, laws; he mediates between Pompey and Crassus, only for the sake of playing them off against each other: and even in his more reputable measures, in restoring liberty to some of the states of Greece, in equitably regulating the affairs of Spain, in relieving from oppressive imposts the cities of Asia, we trace motives of interest; motives disgraceful to that policy, which is never sound or honourable, except when it rests upon morality as it's basis.

They were both ambitious of universal empire: Alexander weeps over his father's victories, as having preoccupied what he wished to owe only to his own. On the same principle he turns away from the liberal offers of Darius. Cæsar peruses Alexander's triumphs with tears, and, dissatisfied with regal power unaccompanied by the titles and emblems of royalty, grasps at a visionary diadem, and perishes in the effort.

In motives, and in remunerations, Alexander has greatly the superiority. He sets out to avenge Greece for the ravages of her Persian invaders. He scatters the fruits of his conquests upon all around him, and bestows kingdoms even on his vanquished enemies. Without the dignity of these comparatively-noble feelings, Cæsar in the government of Gaul sees only the means of enhancing his reputation, of attaching his followers, and of teaching them by the subjugation of barbarians to subjugate their fellow-citizens. His immense wealth he lavishes upon his vile instruments of faction: and, after a few feeble (and, perhaps, insincere) attempts at accommodation, he deluges his country with civil blood.

In valour, the prominent characteristic of both, they widely differ. Cæsar, at the head of his army, is the greatest of men: Alexander, in the heat of conflict, is one of Homer's gods, and marks his station by the havock which he deals around him.

The extent of their achievements may, probably, be nearly equal: but those of the king of Macedon are invested with a grandeur and a heroism, appearing almost like inspiration to a heathen age. His very youth is crowded with victories. Once engaged, he never remits. The impetuous Granicus, the straits of Issus, the almost impregnable towers of Tyre, the deserts of Arabia, the plains of Arbela, are the successive scenes of his renown. The forests of Gaul and of Germany, which witnessed ten years of nearly continuous war, the fields of Spain, of Thessaly, of Egypt, and of Africa were Cæsar's theatres of exhibition, and crowned him with abundant glory. He was the first to convey an army across the Rhine by a bridge, of which the plan and the completion do equal honour to his genius and his courage. He first penetrated into Britain; and by extending his country's power over nations, which had never before heard her name, accomplished in the west, what Alexander had previously achieved in the eastern extremity of the globe. The reduction of Alesia may fully rank with that of Tyre; and, if in original grandeur the feats of the Roman sink beneath those of the Macedonian general, they at least equally rise above them in the durability of their effects. With Alexander, his conquests expired: whereas Rome long maintained the sway, which had been won for her by the arms of Cæsar, and under his more artful and fortunate nephew successfully asserted to herself the dominion of the world.

Let us compare their resources. With a force of at most fifty thousand men, and an ill-filled military chest, Alexander marched against a prince, who had millions of soldiers and of treasure to oppose him. Cæsar generally fought, indeed, against superior numbers; but he had always the means of recruiting his army, and of replenishing his exchequer: whereas Alexander was long obliged to subsist, without either kind of supplies. His troops, it is true, were valiant, and their opponents with few exceptions ef-

feminate; while the Gauls and the Germans were hardy, and strong, and brave. The Roman generals likewise, whom Cæsar conquered, were of high professional character; and his chief rival, in particular, by his early victories had earned the surname of 'the Great:' but it must not be forgotten that at Tyre, in Scythia, from the Malli, and in his action with Porus, Alexander encountered considerable resistance, and was occasionally in imminent personal danger.

Alexander's proud distinction consists in his never having been beaten, whereas Cæsar by his own misconduct, as he nobly confesses, sometimes was. From his defeat of Pompey however at Pharsalia, till he fell at the feet of his statue in the senate-house, he was uniformly prosperous: and can we confidently pronounce, that the conqueror of Darius, if his career had been extended beyond the short term assigned to it, would not also have had his reverses?

Of their deaths we have already briefly spoken. Intemperance dispatched the one, and ambition the other. Vice and passion may be more or less tardy in their operations, but they never forego their claims upon their devotees.

To sum up the chief points of this parallel. In the youthful Alexander, we contemplate nearly the perfect model of a great prince: but drunkenness, vanity, suspicion, and cruelty deformed his maturity. By the correctness of his manhood Cæsar compensated the profligacy of his early years. With the exception of his passion for Cleopatra, a passion equally unsuitable to his age and to his interest, he became generally sober, moderate, and prudent. Yet the first, notwithstanding the frailties of his closing life, and the disgrace of his death, died equally regretted by his Persian and his Macedonian subjects: whereas the latter, who had pardoned and promoted his enemies, who by his victories over the barbarians of the west had relieved Rome from her alarms, and given extent and stability to her power, fell a victim to the

daggers of those whom he had loaded with kindnesses, and even by his assassination conferred upon them for a while the lofty title of 'Preservers of their Country.' Alexander was the admiration and the love of his enemies: Cæsar, by a fate fortunately common to usurpers, incurred the hatred of his fellow-citizens, and even of his friends [106].

[106] For some high-wrought traits of Cæsar, see Cic. Orat. pro M. Marcell. 2, 3, &c.; for his contrast with Cato the Younger, Sall. Bell. Cat. 57.; and for an eloquent though partial comparison of the generalship, fortune, and forces of Alexander with the contemporaneous ones of Rome, Liv. ix. 16—19. The last section, in particular, supplies some very interesting and encouraging suggestions for our own eventful times; of which the Great Disturber is said never to seek repose, without a Plutarch by his bed-side. And would it imply any subtlety to detect, in the Lives of the commanders who have just passed under our review, in their art of 'inspiring confidence into their followers,' in the project of 'intermarrying the Macedonian officers with females of distinction in the conquered countries,' &c. &c. &c., abundant points of comparison between the two ancients and their modern copyist? Neither has his celebrity been purchased at a much less expense of blood; though the infamous immortality of the Roman is derived from his having sacrificed to his ambition what Plutarch grossly calls above a million, but what minuter accounts (quoted with powerful effect by Burke, in his ironical vindication of Natural, and by Godwin in his serious attack upon Political Society) advance to the shocking aggregate of 1,200,000 men. Well may Darwin observe, 'The works of Homer are supposed to have done great injury to mankind, by inspiring the love of military glory. Alexander was said to *sleep with them always on his pillow.* How like a mad butcher amidst a flock of sheep appears the hero of the Iliad, in the following fine lines of Mr. Pope, which conclude the twentieth book!

> His fiery coursers as the chariot rolls,
> Tread down whole ranks and crush out heroes' souls:
> Dash'd from the hoofs, as o'er the dead they fly,
> Black bloody drops the smoking chariot dye;
> The spiky wheels through heaps of carnage tore,
> And thick the groaning axles dropp'd with gore;
> High o'er the scene of death Achilles stood,
> All grim with dust, and horrible with blood:
> Yet still insatiate, still with rage on flame—
> Such is the lust of never-dying fame!'
>
> (Zoonom. III. i. i. 9. *Ambitio.*)

END OF VOL. IV.