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“History of times representeth the magnitude of actions, and the public faces and deportments of persons, and passeth over in silence the smaller passages and motions of men and matters. But such being the workmanship of God, as he doth hang the greatest weight upon the smallest wires, *maxima e minimis suspendens*, it comes therefore to pass, that such histories do rather set forth the pomp of business than the true and inward resorts thereof. But lives, if they be well written, propounding to themselves a person to represent, in whom actions both greater and smaller, public and private, have a commixture, must of necessity contain a more true, native, and lively representation.”—BACON, *Advancement of Learning*.

## P R E F A C E

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**AMONG** the extant Lives of Plutarch there are thirteen Lives of Romans which belong to the most eventful period of Roman history. They are the Lives of the brothers Tiberius and Caius Sempronius Gracchus, of Caius Marius, Lucius Cornelius Sulla, Quintus Sertorius, Marcus Licinius Crassus, Cneius Pompeius Magnus, Marcus Porcius Cato the Younger, Marcus Tullius Cicero, Lucius Iulius Lucullus, Caius Julius Cæsar, Marcus Junius Brutus, and Marcus Antonius. From the year of the death of Tiberius Gracchus, B.C. 133, to the death of Marcus Antonius, B.C. 30, a period of about one hundred years, the Roman State was convulsed by revolutions which grew out of the contest between the People and the Nobility, or rather, out of the contests between the leaders of these two bodies. This period is the subject of Appian's History of the Civil Wars of the Romans, in Five Books. Appian begins with the Tribunate and legislation of Tiberius Gracchus, from which he proceeds to the Dictatorship of Sulla, and then to

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the quarrels between Pompeius and Cæsar, and Cæsar's Dictatorship and assassination. He then proceeds to the history of the Triumvirate formed after Cæsar's death by his great nephew Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus, Marcus Antonius, and Lepidus, the quarrels of the Triumviri, the downfall of Lepidus, who was reduced to the condition of a private person, and the death of Sextus Pompeius, the last support of the party in whose cause his father, Cneius Pompeius, lost his life. The remainder of this History, which is lost, carried the narration down to the quarrels of Octavianus and Marcus Antonius, which ended in the defeat of Antonius in the battle of Actium, B.C. 31, and his death in Egypt, B.C. 30. The victory over Antonius placed all the power in the hands of Octavianus, who, in the year B.C. 27, received from the Roman Senate the title of Augustus, or the Sacred, by which name he is commonly known as the first of the long series of Roman Emperors. "He made himself," says Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 5) "like Caius Julius Cæsar, and still more than Cæsar, governor of his country and of all the nations under it, without needing either election or the popular votes, or any show of such things. After his government had subsisted for a long time, and been maintained with vigour, fortunate in all his measures, and feared, he left behind him descendants and successors who kept the power that he

transmitted to them. In this way, after various civil commotions, the Roman State was restored to tranquillity, and the government became a Monarchy. And how this came about I have explained, and brought together all the events, which are well worth the study of those who wish to become acquainted with ambition of men unbounded, love of power excessive, endurance unwearied, and forms of suffering infinite." Thus, the historian's object was to trace the establishment of the Imperial power in Rome back to its origin, to show that the contests of the rival heads of parties involved the State in endless calamities, which resulted in a dissolution of all the bonds that held society together, and rendered the assumption of supreme power by one man a healing and a necessary event.

As already observed, it happens that thirteen of Plutarch's extant Lives are the lives of the most distinguished of the Romans who lived during this eventful period; and though Plutarch's Lives severally are not histories of the times to which they respectively refer, nor collectively form a History of any given time, yet they are valuable as portraits of illustrious men, and help us to form a better judgment of those who make so conspicuous a figure in History.

Plutarch was a native of the town of Chæroneia, in Bœotia; the times of his birth and death are not exactly known, but we learn from his own works

gaged, is not biography, but history. This extract from Plutarch will also in some measure be an apology for the want of historical order observable in many of his Lives. Though altogether deficient in that critical sagacity which discerns truth from falsehood, and distinguishes the intricacies of confused and conflicting statements, Plutarch has preserved in his Lives a vast number of facts which would otherwise have been unknown to us. He was a great reader, and must have had access to large libraries. It is said that he quotes two hundred and fifty writers, a great part of whose works are now entirely lost." (*Penny Cyclopædia*, art. "Plutarch," by the writer of this Preface.)

The lively portraiture of men drawn in Plutarch's Lives have made them favourite reading in all ages. Whether Plutarch has succeeded in drawing the portraits true, we cannot always determine, because the materials for such a judgment are sometimes wanting. But when we can compare his Lives with other extant authorities, we must admit, that though he is by no means free from error as to his facts, he has generally selected those events in a man's life which most clearly show his temper, and that on the whole, if we judge of a man by Plutarch's measure, we shall form a just estimate of him. He generally wrote without any predilections or any prejudices. He

tells us of a man's good and bad acts, of his good and bad qualities; he makes no attempt to conceal the one or the other; he both praises and blames as the occasion may arise; and the reader leaves off with a mixed opinion about Plutarch's Greeks and Romans, though the favourable or the unfavourable side always predominates. The benevolent disposition of Plutarch, and his noble and elevated character, have stamped themselves on all that he has written. A man cannot read these Lives without being the better for it: his detestation of all that is mean and disingenuous will be increased; his admiration of whatever is truthful and generous will be strengthened and exalted.

The translation of these Lives is difficult. Plutarch's text is occasionally corrupted; and where it is not corrupted, his meaning is sometimes obscure. Many of the sentences are long and ill constructed; the metaphors often extravagant; and the just connection of the parts is sometimes difficult to discover. Many single words which are or ought to be pertinent in Plutarch, and which go towards a description of character in general or of some particular act, can hardly be rendered by any English equivalent; and a translator often searches in vain for something which shall convey to the reader the exact notion of the original. Yet Plutarch's narrative is lively and animated; his anecdotes are appropriately introduced and well



told ; and if his taste is sometimes not the purest, which in his age we could not expect it to be, he makes amends for this by the fullness and vigour of his expression. He is fond of poetical words, and they are often used with striking effect. His moral reflections, which are numerous, have the merit of not being unmeaning and tiresome, because he is always in earnest and has got something to say, and does not deal in commonplaces. When the reflection is not very profound, it is at least true ; and some of his remarks show a deep insight into men's character.

I have attempted to give Plutarch's meaning in plain language ; to give all his meaning, and neither more nor less. If I have failed in any case, it is because I could do no better. But, though I have not always succeeded in expressing exactly what I conceive to be the meaning of the original, I have not intentionally added to it or detracted from it. It may be that there are passages in which I have mistaken the original ; and those who have made the experiment of rendering from one language into another, know that this will sometimes happen even in an easy passage. A difficult passage attracts more than usual of a translator's attention, and if he fails there, it is either because the difficulty cannot be overcome, or because he cannot overcome it. Mere inadvertence or sleepiness may sometimes cause a translator to blunder, when he

would not have blundered if any friend had been by to keep him awake.

The best thing that a man can do to avoid these and other errors is to compare his translation, when he has finished it, with some other. The translation which I have compared with mine is the German translation of Kaltwasser, Magdeburg, 1799, which is generally correct. Kaltwasser in his Preface speaks of the way in which he used the German translations of two of his predecessors, J. Christopher Kind, Leipzig, 1745-1754, and H. v. Schirach, 1776-1780, and some others. He says, "These two translations, with the French translations above mentioned, I have duly used, for it is the duty of a translator to compare himself with his predecessors; but I lay my labour before the eyes of the public, without fearing that I shall be accused of copying or of close imitation. First of all, I carefully studied the text of my author and translated him as well as I could: then, and not before, I compared the labour of my predecessors, and where I found a more suitable expression or a happier turn, I made use of it without hesitation. In this way, every fault, every deviation of the old translators must be apparent; the most striking of them I have remarked on in the notes, but I have more frequently amended such things silently, as a comparison will show the reader." The translator has not compared his version with any English version.

The translation of North, which has great merit in point of expression, is a version of Amyot's French version, from which, however, it differs in some passages, where it is decidedly wrong and Amyot's version is right. Indeed, it is surprising to find how correct this old French translation generally is. The translation of 'Plutarch's Lives from the Greek by several hands,' was published at London in 1683-86. It was dedicated by Dryden to James Butler, the first Duke of Ormond, in a fulsome panegyric. It is said that forty-one translators laboured at the work. Dryden did not translate any of the Lives; but he wrote the Life of Plutarch which is prefixed to this translation. The advertisement prefixed to the translation passes under the name and character of the bookseller (Jacob Tonson), but, as Malone observes, it may from internal evidence be safely attributed to Dryden. The bookseller says, "You have here the first volume of Plutarch's Lives turned from the Greek into English; and give me leave to say, the first attempt of doing it from the *originals*." This is aimed at North's version, of which Dryden remarks in his Life of Plutarch: "As that translation was only from the French, so it suffered this double disadvantage; first, that it was but a copy of a copy, and that too but lamely taken from the Greek original; secondly, that the English language was then unpolished, and far from the per-

fection which it has since attained ; so that the first version is not only ungrammatical and ungraceful, but in many places almost unintelligible." There is another English version, by the Langhorns, which has often been reprinted ; there is an edition of it with notes by Wranghäm. I have compared my translation carefully with the German of Kaltwasser, and sometimes with the French of Amyot, and I have thus avoided some errors into which I should have fallen. There are errors both in the versions of Amyot and Kaltwasser which I have avoided ; but I may have fallen into others.

The translation of Kaltwasser contains some useful notes. Those which I have added to this translation are intended to explain so much as needs explanation to a person who is not much acquainted with Roman history and Roman usages ; but they will also be useful to others. The notes of Kaltwasser have often reminded me of the passages where some note would be useful, and have occasionally furnished materials also. But as I have always referred to the original authorities, I do not consider it necessary to make more than this general acknowledgment. The notes added to this translation are all my own, and contain my own opinions and observations.

This translation has been made from the edition of C. Sintenis, Leipzig, 1839, and I have compared the text of Sintenis with that of G. H. Schaefer,

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contemplation than experience, more commendable in students themselves, than profitable unto others. Whereas stories are fit for every place, reach to all persons, serve for all times, teach the living, revive the dead, so far excelling all other books, as it is better to see learning in Noblemen's lives, then to read it in Philosophers' writings."

GEORGE LONG.

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## CIVIL WARS OF ROME.

### TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.

1. HAVING finished the first history, it remains to contemplate equal calamities in the pair of Roman Lives, in a comparison of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus with Agis and Cleomenes. Tiberius and Caius were the sons of Tiberius Gracchus, who was censor and twice consul, and celebrated two triumphs, but was still more distinguished for his personal character, to which he owed the honour of having for his wife Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal, whom he married after Scipio's death, though Tiberius had not been a friend of Scipio, but rather a political opponent. A story is told that Tiberius once caught a couple of snakes in his bed, and the diviners, after consulting on the matter, told him that he must not kill both nor yet let both go; as to the male, they said, if it were killed, the death of Tiberius would follow, and if the female were killed, Cornelia would die. Now Tiberius, who loved his wife and thought it would be more suitable for him to die first, as he was an elderly man and his wife was still young, killed the male snake and let the female go; and he died no long time after, leaving twelve

children by Cornelia. Cornelia undertook the care of her family and her husband's property, and showed herself so prudent, so fond of her children, and of so exalted a character, that Tiberius was judged to have done well in dying in place of such a wife. And though Ptolemæus, king of Egypt, invited Cornelia to share his crown, and wooed her for his wife, she refused the offer and continued a widow. All her children died before her, except one daughter, who married the younger Scipio, and two sons, of whom I am going to speak, Tiberius and Caius, who were brought up by their mother so carefully that they became beyond dispute the most accomplished of all the Roman youth, which they owed perhaps more to their excellent education than even to their natural good qualities.

2. Now as the figures of the Dioscuri, whether sculptured or painted, though resembling one another, still present such an amount of difference as appears when we contrast a boxer with a runner, so in these two youths, with all their resemblance in courage, temperance, generous temper, eloquence, and magnanimity, yet great contrasts also in their actions and polity blossomed forth, so to speak, and displayed themselves, which I think it well to set forth. First, in the character and expression of his countenance, and in his movements, Tiberius was mild and sedate; Caius was animated and impetuous. When Tiberius harangued the people, he would stand composedly on one spot; but Caius was the first Roman who moved about on the rostra and pulled his toga from his shoulder while he was speaking, as Cleon the Athenian is said to have been the first popular orator at Athens who threw his cloak from him and struck his thigh. The manner of

Caius was awe-striking and vehemently impassioned; the manner of Tiberius was more pleasing and calculated to stir the sympathies: the language of Tiberius was pure and elaborated to great nicety; that of Caius was persuasive and exuberant. In like manner, in his mode of life and his table Tiberius was frugal and simple; compared with others, Caius was moderate and austere, but, contrasted with his brother, luxurious and curious, as we see by Drusus charging him with buying silver dolphins at the price of twelve hundred and fifty drachmas for every pound that they weighed. The differences in their character corresponded to their respective styles of speaking: Tiberius was moderate and mild; Caius was rough and impetuous, and it often happened that in his harangues he was carried away by passion, contrary to his judgment, and his voice became shrill, and he fell to abuse, and grew confused in his discourse. To remedy this fault, he employed Licinius, a well educated slave, who used to stand behind him when he was speaking, with a musical instrument, such as is used as an accompaniment to singing, and whenever he observed that the voice of Caius was becoming harsh and broken through passion, he would produce a soft note, upon which Caius would immediately moderate his vehemence and his voice, and become calm.

3. Such were the contrasts between the two brothers; but in courage against the enemy, in justice to the subject nations, in vigilance in the discharge of public duties, and in self-control over indulgence, they were both alike. Tiberius was the elder by nine years, a circumstance which caused their political career to be separated by an



interval, and greatly contributed to the failure of their measures, for they did not rise to eminence at the same time nor unite their strength in one effort, which from their union would have been powerful and irresistible. I must accordingly speak of each separately, and of the elder first.

4. Immediately on attaining man's estate, Tiberius had so great a reputation that he was elected a member of the college of Augurs, rather for his excellent qualities than his noble birth. Appius Claudius, a man of consular and censorian rank, who in consideration of his dignity was appointed Princeps Senatus, and in loftiness of character surpassed all his contemporaries, showed his opinion of Tiberius; for when the augurs were feasting together, Appius addressed Tiberius with many expressions of friendship, and solicited him to take his daughter to wife. Tiberius gladly accepted the proposal, and the agreement was forthwith made. As Appius was entering the door on his return home, he called out to his wife in a loud voice, "Antistia, I have given our daughter Claudia to wife." Antistia in surprise replied, "What is the need or the hurry, unless you have got Tiberius Gracchus for her husband?" I am aware that some writers tell this story of Tiberius the father of the Gracchi and of Scipio Africanus; but the majority have the story as I give it, and Polybius says that after the death of Scipio Africanus, his kinsmen selected Tiberius to be the husband of Cornelia, and that she had neither been given in marriage nor betrothed by her father in his lifetime. Now the younger Tiberius served in the army in Africa with the second Scipio, who had married his sister, and by living in the general's tent he soon learned his

character, which exhibited many and great qualities for virtuous emulation and practical imitation. Tiberius also soon surpassed all the young soldiers in attention to discipline and in courage; and he was the first to mount the enemy's wall, as Fannius says, who also asserts that he mounted the wall with Tiberius and shared the honour with him. While he was in the army Tiberius won the affection of all the soldiers, and was regretted when he went away.

5. After that expedition he was elected quæstor, and it fell to his lot to serve in that capacity under the consul Caius Mancinus, no bad man, but the most unlucky of Roman generals. Accordingly in adverse fortune and critical affairs the prudence and courage of Tiberius became the more conspicuous, and not only his prudence and courage, but what was truly admirable, his consideration and respect to his general, whose reverses almost made him forget who he was. Having been defeated in several great battles, Mancinus attempted to leave his camp by night and make a retreat. The Numantines however perceived his movements, and immediately seizing the camp, fell on the Romans in their flight and killed those in the rear; and at last, when they were surrounding the whole army and driving them to unfavourable ground, from which escape was impossible, Mancinus, despairing of all chance of saving himself by resistance, sent to treat for a truce and terms of peace. But the Numantines declared that they would trust nobody except Tiberius, and they bade Mancinus send him. The Numantines had come to this resolution as well from a knowledge of the young man's character, for there was much talk about him in this cam-

sign, as from the remembrance of his father Tiberius, who, after carrying on war against the Iberians and subduing many of them, made peace with the Numantines, and always kept the Roman people to a fair and just observance of it. Accordingly Tiberius was sent and had a conference with the Numantines, in which he got some favourable conditions, and by making some concessions obtained a truce, and thus saved twenty thousand Roman citizens, besides the slaves and camp-followers.

6. All the property that was taken in the camp became the booty of the Numantines; and among it were the tablets of Tiberius, which contained the entries and accounts of his administration as quaestor. Being very anxious to recover them, though the army had already advanced some distance, he returned to the city with three or four companions, and calling forth the magistrates of Numantia, he begged to have back his tablets, in order that his enemies might not have an opportunity of calumniating him if he should not be able to give an account of his administration of the public money. The Numantines were pleased at the opportunity of doing him a service, and invited him to enter the city; and when he stood hesitating, they came near and clung to his hands, and were urgent in entreating him not to consider them as enemies any longer, but as friends, and to trust them. Tiberius determined to do so, as he was very anxious to get the tablets, and feared to irritate the Numantines if he should seem to distrust them. When he had entered the city, the first thing they did was to prepare an entertainment, and to urge him most importunately to sit down and eat with them. They afterwards gave him back the tablets, and

bade him take anything else that he liked. Tiberius however would have nothing except the frankincense which he wanted for the public sacrifices, and after a friendly embrace he took his leave of them.

7. On his return to Rome, the whole transaction was greatly blamed as dishonourable and disgraceful to Rome. The kinsfolk and friends of the soldiers, who were a large part of the people, crowded about Tiberius, charging the general with the disgraceful part of what had happened, and declaring that Tiberius had been the saviour of so many citizens. Those who were most vexed at the events in Iberia, recommended that they should follow the example of their ancestors; for in former times the Romans stripped of their clothes and delivered up to the Samnites those who had purchased their safety on dishonourable terms, both the generals and all who had any share or participation in the treaty, quæstors and tribunes all alike, and on their heads they turned the violation of the oaths and the infraction of the agreement. It was on this occasion particularly, that the people showed their affection and zeal towards Tiberius: for they decided to deliver up the consul, stripped and in chains, to the Numantines, but they spared all the rest on account of Tiberius. It appears that Scipio also, who was then the most powerful man in Rome, gave his assistance in this matter, but nevertheless he was blamed for not saving Mancinus, and not making any exertion to ratify the treaty with the Numantines which had been concluded by his relation and friend Tiberius. But whatever difference there was between Scipio and Tiberius on this occasion, perhaps originated mainly in jealousy and

was owing to the friends of Tiberius and the sophists, who endeavoured to prejudice him against Scipio. There was however no irreconcilable breach made between them, and no bad result from this affair; indeed it seems to me that Tiberius would never have been involved in those political measures which cost him his life, if Scipio Africanus had been at Rome while they were going on. But it was while Scipio was carrying on the war at Numantia that Tiberius commenced his legislation, to which he was led from the following motives.

8. Whatever territory the Romans acquired from their neighbours in war, they sold part, and retaining the other part as public property, they gave it to the poorer citizens to cultivate, on the payment of a small sum to the treasury. But as the rich began to outbid the poor and so to drive them out, a law was passed which forbade any one to have more than five hundred jugera of land. This law restrained the greediness of the rich for a short time, and was a relief to the poor, who remained on the land which they had hired, and cultivated the several portions which they originally had. But in course of time their rich neighbours contrived to transfer the holdings to themselves in the names of other persons, and at last openly get possession of the greater part of the public lands in their own names, and the poor, being expelled, were not willing to take military service and were careless about bringing up families, in consequence of which there was speedily a diminution in the number of freemen all through Italy, and the country was filled with ergastula of barbarian slaves, with whom the rich cultivated the lands from which

they had expelled the citizens. Now Caius Lælius, the friend of Scipio, attempted to remedy this mischief, but he desisted through fear of the disturbances that were threatened by the opposition of the rich, whence he got the name of wise or prudent, for such is the signification of the Roman word Sapiens. Tiberius, on being elected tribune, immediately undertook the same measures, as most say, at the instigation of the orator Diophanes and the philosopher Blossius. Diophanes was an exile from Mitylene: Blossius was an Italian from Cumæ, and had been intimate at Rome with Antipater of Tarsus, who had done him the honour of dedicating to him some of his philosophical writings. Some give part of the blame to Cornelia also, the mother of Tiberius, who frequently reproached her sons that the Romans still called her the mother-in-law of Scipio, but not yet the mother of the Gracchi. Others say that jealousy of one Spurius Postumius, a contemporary of Tiberius, and a rival of his in reputation as an orator, was the immediate motive: for it is said that when Tiberius returned to Rome from his military service, he found that Postumius had far outstripped him in reputation and influence, and seeing the distinction that Postumius had attained, he determined to get the advantage over him by engaging in measures which were attended with hazard, but promised great results. But his brother Caius in a certain book has recorded, that as Tiberius was passing through Tyrrenia (Tuscany), on his road to Numantia, he observed the deserted state of the country, and that the cultivators and shepherds were foreign slaves and barbarians; and that he then for the first time conceived those political

measures which to them were the beginning of infinite calamities. But the energy and ambition of Tiberius were mainly excited by the people, who urged him by writing on the porticoes, the walls, and on the tombs, to recover the public land for the poor.

9. He did not however draw up the law without assistance, but took the advice of the citizens most eminent for character and reputation, among whom were Crassus, the Pontifex Maximus, Mucius Scaevola, the jurist, who was then consul, and Claudius Appius, his father-in-law. Never was a measure directed against such wrong and aggression conceived in more moderate and gentle terms; for though the rich well deserved to be punished for their violation of law and to be compelled to surrender under penalties the land which they had been illegally enjoying, the law merely declared that they should give up their unjust acquisitions upon being paid the value of them, and should allow the lands to be occupied by the citizens who were in want of this relief. Though the reform of this abuse was so moderate and reasonable, the people were satisfied to take no notice of the past and to secure themselves against wrong for the future. But the rich and those who had possessions detested the proposed law because of their greediness, and the proposer of it was the object of their indignation and jealousy; and accordingly they attempted to divert the people from the measure, by insinuating that Tiberius was proposing a division of land merely to disturb the state and to bring about a revolution. But they failed altogether; for Tiberius, supporting a measure, in itself honourable and just, with an eloquence cal-

culated to set off even a meaner subject, showed his power and his superiority over his opponents, whenever the people were crowded round the Rostra and he addressed them about the poor. "The wild beasts of Italy," he would say, "had their dens and holes and hiding-places, while the men who fought and died in defence of Italy enjoyed indeed the air and the light, but nothing else: houseless and without a spot of ground to rest upon, they wander about with their wives and children, while their commanders with a lie in their mouth exhort the soldiers in battle to defend their tombs and temples against the enemy, for out of so many Romans not one has a family altar or ancestral tomb, but they fight to maintain the luxury and wealth of others, and they die with the title of lords of the earth, without possessing a single clod to call their own."

10. Such language as this, proceeding from a lofty spirit and genuine feeling, and delivered to the people who were vehemently excited and roused, none of the enemies of Tiberius attempted to refute. Abandoning therefore all idea of opposing him by words, they addressed themselves to Marcus Octavius, one of the tribunes, a young man of sober and orderly disposition, and a companion and friend of Tiberius. At first Octavius from regard to Tiberius evaded the proposals, but being urged and importuned by many of the powerful nobles, and as it were driven to it, he set himself in opposition to Tiberius and prevented the passing of the law. Now all the power is virtually in the hands of the dissentient tribune, for the rest can do nothing if a single tribune oppose them. Irritated at this, Tiberius withdrew his moderate measure and intro-



duced another, more agreeable to the people and more severe against the illegal possessors of land: this new measure ejected persons out of the lands which they had got possession of contrary to existing laws. There was a daily contest between him and Octavius at the Rostra, but though they opposed one another with great earnestness and rivalry, it is said they never uttered a disparaging word against one another, and that no unbecoming expression ever escaped either of them against the other. It is not then in bacchanalian revelries only, as it seems, but also in ambitious rivalry and passion, that to be of noble nature and to have been well brought up restrains and governs the mind. Tiberius, observing that Octavius himself was obnoxious to the law and possessed a considerable tract of the public land, begged him to desist from his opposition, offering to pay him the value of the land out of his own purse, though he was by no means in affluent circumstances. Upon Octavius rejecting the proposal, Tiberius by an edict forbade all the other magistrates to transact any public business until the people had voted upon his law; and he placed his private seals on the temple of Saturn, that the quæstors might not be able to take anything out of it or pay anything in, and he gave public notice that a penalty would be imposed on the prætors if they disobeyed; in consequence of which all the magistrates were afraid and ceased from discharging their several functions. Upon this the possessors changed their dress and went about the Forum in a piteous and humble guise, but in secret they plotted against Tiberius and endeavoured to procure assassins to take him off; in consequence of which Tiberius, as everybody knew,

wore under his dress a short sword, such as robbers use, which the Romans call *dolo*.

11. When the day came and Tiberius was calling the people to the vote, the voting-urns were seized by the rich and the proceedings were put into great confusion. However, as the partisans of Tiberius, who had the superiority in numbers, were collecting in order to make resistance, Manlius and Fulvius, both consular men, falling down at the knees of Tiberius, and clinging to his hands with tears, begged him to desist. Tiberius, seeing that matters were near coming to extremities, and from regard to the men also, asked them what they would have him do; to which they replied, that they were not competent to advise on so important a matter, and they urged him to refer it to the Senate, and at last he consented. The Senate met, but did nothing, owing to the opposition of the rich, who had great influence in the body; upon which Tiberius had recourse to the unconstitutional and violent measure of depriving Octavius of his office, finding it impossible to put his proposed law to the vote in any other way. In the first place, he publicly entreated Octavius, addressing him affectionately and clinging to his hands, to yield to and gratify the people, who asked for nothing but their rights, and would only get a small matter in return for great dangers and sufferings. Octavius rejected this proposition; upon which Tiberius reminded him that both of them were magistrates and were contending with equal power on a weighty matter, and that it was not possible for this struggle to continue without coming to open hostility; that he saw no remedy except for one of them to give up his office; and he bade Octavius put it to the people

to vote on his case first, and said that he would immediately descend to the station of a private man, if the citizens should desire it. As Octavius refused this proposal also, Tiberius said that he would put the question about Octavius retiring from the tribunate to the people, if Octavius did not change his resolution.

12. Thus ended the assembly of that day. On the following day Tiberius mounted the Rostra and again endeavoured to persuade Octavius; but as he would not yield, Tiberius proposed a law by which Octavius should be deprived of his tribunate, and he forthwith summoned the citizens to vote upon it. Now there were five and thirty tribes, and when seventeen of them had already given their vote, and the addition of one more tribe would reduce Octavius to a private condition, Tiberius stopped the voting, and again entreated Octavius, embracing him in the presence of the people and urgently praying him not to be careless about being deprived of his office, and not to bring on him the blame of so severe and odious a measure. It is said that Octavius was not entirely untouched or unmoved by these entreaties, and his eyes were filled with tears and he was silent for some time. But when he looked to the rich and the possessors, who were standing together in one body, through fear of losing their good opinion, as it seems, he boldly determined to run every risk, and he told Tiberius to do what he pleased. Accordingly the law was passed, and Tiberius ordered one of his freedmen to drag Octavius from the Rostra, for Tiberius employed his own freedmen as officers; a circumstance which made the spectacle of Octavius dragged from the Rostra with contumely still more

deplorable. At the same time the people made an assault on Octavius, and though the rich all ran to his assistance and disengaged him from their hands, it was not without difficulty that he was rescued and made his escape from the mob. But one of his faithful slaves, who had placed himself in front of his master to defend him, had his eyes torn out. This violence was quite contrary to the wishes of Tiberius, who, on seeing what was going on, speedily made his way to the disturbance.

13. The law about the land was now immediately carried, and Triumviri were appointed for ascertaining its bounds and distributing it; the Triumviri were Tiberius, and his father-in-law Claudius Appius, and Caius Gracchus, his brother, who however was not at Rome, but serving under Scipio against Numantia. All this Tiberius accomplished quietly without any opposition, and he also procured to be elected tribune in the room of Octavius, not a person of rank, but one Mucius, a client of his own. The nobles, who were vexed at all these measures and feared the growing power of Tiberius, treated him in the Senate with contumely; and upon his asking, according to custom, for a tent from the treasury for his use while he was distributing the land, they refused it to him, though others had often had one allowed them on less important occasions; and they only gave him for his expenses nine oboli a day, which was done on the motion of Publius Nasica, who entered violently into the opposition against Tiberius, for he was in possession of a very large amount of public land, and was greatly annoyed at being forcibly ejected from it. But the people now became still more violent. A friend of Tiberius happened to die suddenly, and

suspicious marks immediately showed themselves on the body. The people cried out that he was poisoned, and collecting in great numbers at the funeral, they carried the bier and stood by while the body was burnt. And the suspicion of poison appeared to have some reason, for the body burst on the pile and sent forth such a quantity of corrupt humours as to quench the flame; and though a light was again applied, the body would not burn till it was removed to another place, where after much trouble the fire at last laid hold of it. Upon this Tiberius, with the view of exciting the people still more, changed his dress, and showing his children to the people, begged that they would protect them and their mother, for he now despaired of his own safety.

14. On the death of Attalus Philometor, Eudemus of Pergamum brought his will to Rome, in which the Roman people were made the king's heir. In order to please the people, Tiberius promulgated a law to the effect that as soon as the king's treasures were received, they should be distributed among those who had assignments of land, in order to enable them to stock the farms and to assist them in their cultivation. With respect to the cities included within the kingdom of Attalus, he said that the Senate had no right to decide about them, but he would bring the subject before the popular assembly. This measure gave violent offence to the Senate, and Pompeius getting up said that he lived near Tiberius, and so knew that Eudemus of Pergamum had given a diadem out of the royal treasures and a purple robe to Tiberius, who designed to make himself king in Rome. Quintus Metellus reproached Tiberius by reminding

him, that whenever his father, during his censorship, was returning home from supper, the citizens used to put out the lights for fear it might be supposed that they were indulging too much in entertainments and drinking, but that the most insolent and needy of the citizens accompanied Tiberius with lights at night. Titus Annius, who was not a man of good repute or sober behaviour, but in any contest of words by way of question and answer was considered to be unequalled, challenged Tiberius to answer definitely whether he had or had not branded with infamy his brother tribune, though by the law he was sacred and inviolable. As the question was received with signs of approbation, Tiberius, hastily quitting the senate-house, convoked the people and ordered Annius to be brought before them, with the intention of accusing him. But Annius, who was much inferior to Tiberius both in eloquence and reputation, had recourse to his tricks, and called on Tiberius to answer a few questions before he began his speech. Tiberius assented, and as soon as there was silence, Annius said, "If you intend to deprive me of my rank and disgrace me, and I appeal to one of your brother tribunes, and he shall come to my aid, and you shall then fall into a passion, will you deprive him of his office?" On this question being put, it is said that Tiberius, though no man was readier in words or bolder in action, was so confused that he made no reply.

15. For the present Tiberius dissolved the assembly, seeing that his proceedings with respect to Octavius were not liked either by the nobles or the people, for they considered that the high and honourable dignity of the tribunate, which had

been kept unimpaired up to that time, had been destroyed and trampled upon. He made an harangue to the people, a few of the arguments of which it will not be out of place to mention, for the purpose of showing the persuasive eloquence and the subtlety of the man.—He said that a tribune was sacred and inviolate, only because he was dedicated to the people and was the guardian of the people. If then a tribune should deviate from his duty and wrong the people, abridge their power and deprive them of the opportunity of voting, he had by his own act deprived himself of his rank, by not fulfilling the conditions on which he received it. Now we must consider a tribune to be still a tribune, though he should dig down the Capitol and burn the naval arsenal. If he should commit such excesses as these, he is a bad tribune; but if he should attempt to deprive the people of their power, he is not a tribune at all. And is it not a monstrous thing if a tribune shall have power to order a consul to be put in prison, and the people shall not be able to deprive a tribune of his power when he is using it against the people? for both tribune and consul are equally chosen by the people. Now the kingly office, besides comprehending within it all civil power, is consecrated to the divinity by the discharge of the chief ceremonials of religion; and yet the state ejected Tarquinius for his wrong doing, and for the violence of one man the ancient power which established Rome was overthrown. And what is there at Rome so sacred, so venerated as the virgins who guard the ever-burning fire? but if any of them offends, she is buried alive; for when they sin against the gods, they no longer retain that inviolable sanctity which they have by being

devoted to the gods. In like manner, neither has a tribune, when he is wronging the people, any right to retain the inviolable character which he receives from the people, for he is destroying the very power which is the origin of his own power. And indeed, if he has legally received the tribunitian power by the votes of a majority of the tribes, how is it that he cannot even still more legally be deposed by the vote of all the tribes? Now nothing is so sacred and inviolable as things dedicated to the gods; but yet no one has ever hindered the people from using such things, moving them, and changing their places as they please. It is therefore legal for the people to transfer the tribunate, as a consecrated thing, from one man to another. And that the tribunate is not an inviolable thing, nor an office of which a man cannot be divested, is clear from this, that many magistrates have abdicated their office and prayed to be excused from it of their own free will.

16. Such were the heads of the justification of Tiberius. His friends, seeing the threats of his enemies and their combination, thought that he ought to be a candidate for the tribunate for the next year; and Tiberius attempted to strengthen his popularity by promising to carry new measures, such as a diminution of the period of military service, an appeal to the people from the judices, an intermixture of an equal number of the Equites with the Senators, from whom alone the judices were then taken; and in every way he attempted to abridge the power of the Senate, influenced rather by passion and ambition, than justice and the interests of the state. While the voting was going on, the friends of Tiberius seeing that their enemies



were gaining the advantage, for all the people were not present, at first attempted to prolong the time by abusing the other tribunes, and next they dissolved the meeting and appointed it for the following day. Tiberius, going down to the Forum, supplicated the citizens in humble manner and with tears in his eyes; he then said that he feared his enemies would break into his house by night and kill him, and thus he induced a great number of the citizens to take their station about his house and watch there all night.

17. At daybreak the man came to bring the birds which the Romans use in their auspices, and he threw them food. But the birds would not come out of the basket, with the exception of one, though the man shook it hard; and even this one would not touch the food, but after raising its left wing and stretching out a leg it ran back to the basket. This reminded Tiberius of another omen that had happened. He had a helmet which he wore in battle, elaborately worked, and splendid. Some snakes had got into the helmet unobserved, and laid their eggs and hatched them there. This made Tiberius still more uneasy about the signs from the fowls. Nevertheless he advanced up the city on hearing that the people was assembled about the Capitol; but before he got out of the house he stumbled over the threshold, and the blow was so violent that the nail of his great toe was broken, and the blood ran out through his shoe. He had not got far before some crows were seen fighting on the roof of a house on the left hand, and, though a great crowd was passing by, as was natural on such an occasion, a stone which was pushed off by one of the crows fell by the feet of Tiberius. This made

even the boldest of his adherents hesitate; but Blossius of Cumæ, who was present, said it would be a shame and a great disgrace if Tiberius, a son of Gracchus and a grandson of Scipio Africanus, and a defender of the Roman people, should not obey the summons of the people for fear of a crow; and that his enemies would not treat this cowardly act as a matter of ridicule, but would make it the ground of calumniating him to the people as playing the tyrant and treating them with contempt. At the same time many persons ran up to Tiberius with a message from his friends in the Capitol, to hasten there, as all was going on favourably. And indeed everything promised well at first, for as soon as he appeared he was greeted with friendly cheers, and as he ascended the Capitol he was joyfully received, and the people crowded about him to prevent any stranger from approaching.

18. Now Mucius began to summon the tribes again, but nothing could be conducted with the usual forms on account of the confusion that prevailed among those who were on the outskirts of the assembly, where they were struggling with their opponents, who were attempting to force their way in and mingle with the rest. At this juncture Flavius Flaccus, a senator, posted himself in a conspicuous place, and as it was not possible to make his voice heard so far, he made a signal with his hand that he wished to say something in private to Tiberius. Tiberius bade the crowd let Flaccus pass, who, with great difficulty making his way up to Tiberius, told him that the Senate was sitting, that as they could not prevail on the consul, the rich were resolving to kill Tiberius themselves,

and that they had armed many of their slaves and friends for this purpose.

Upon Tiberius reporting this to those who were standing about him, they forthwith tucked up their dress, and breaking the staves which the officers use to keep the crowd back, distributed the fragments among them and made ready to defend themselves against their assailants. While those at a distance were wondering at what was going on, and asking what it meant, Tiberius touched his head with his hand, since his voice could not be heard, intending thereby to signify to the people that his life was in danger. His enemies on seeing this ran to the Senate and told them that Tiberius was asking for a crown, and that his touching his head was a proof of it. On this the whole body was greatly disturbed; Nasica entreated the consul to protect the state and put down the tyrant. The consul however answered mildly, that he would not be the first to use violence, and that he would not take any citizen's life without a regular trial; if however, he said, the people should come to an illegal vote at the instigation of Tiberius, or from compulsion, he would not respect any such decision. Upon this Nasica springing up exclaimed, Well then, as the consul betrays the state, do you who wish to maintain the laws follow me. As he uttered these words he drew the skirt of his dress over his head, and hastened to the Capitol; and the senators who followed him wrapping their dress about them with one hand, pushed all they met out of the way, no one opposing them from respect to their rank, but taking to flight and trampling down one another. The followers of the

senators had clubs and sticks which they had brought from home ; but the senators seizing the fragments and legs of the benches which were broken by the people in their hurry to escape, made right to Tiberius, and struck all those who were in their road. The people were all put to flight or killed. As Tiberius was attempting to make his escape, some one laid hold of his dress, on which he dropped his toga and fled in his tunic ; but he stumbled over some persons who were lying on the ground, and was thrown down. While he was endeavouring to rise, he received the first blow, as it is universally admitted, from Publius Satyrius, one of his colleagues, who struck him on the head with the leg of a bench. Lucius Rufus claimed the credit of giving him the second blow, as if that were a thing to be proud of. Above three hundred persons lost their lives by sticks and stones, but none by the sword.

20. This is said to have been the first disturbance at Rome since the abolition of the kingly power, which ended in bloodshed and the death of citizens. All previous disputes, though they were neither trifling nor about trifling matters, were settled by mutual concession : the nobles yielded through fear of the people, and the people yielded from respect to the senate. Even on this occasion it is probable that Tiberius would have given way to persuasion without any difficulty, and still more readily if his assailants had not come to bloodshed and blows, for those about him were not above three thousand in number. But the combination against him seems to have proceeded rather from the passion and hatred of the rich citizens, than from the reasons which they alleged ; and the brutal and indecent

reatment of his dead body is a proof of this. For they would not listen to his brother's request to take up the body and bury it at night, but it was thrown into the Tiber with the other bodies. And this was not all; they banished some of his friends without trial, and others they seized and put to death, among whom was Diophanes the orator. One Caius Villius they shut up in a vessel with snakes and vipers, and thus he died. Blossius of Cumæ being brought before the consuls and questioned about what had passed, admitted that he had done everything at the bidding of Tiberius. On Nasica asking him, What, if Tiberius had told you to burn the Capitol? Blossius said, that Tiberius would never have given him any such order. The same question being often put to him, and by several persons, he said, If he had commanded me to burn the Capitol, it would have been a good deed for me to do; for Tiberius would not have given such an order unless it were for the interest of the people. Blossius however was set at liberty, and afterwards went to Aristonicus, in Asia, on the ruin of whose affairs he killed himself.

21. The Senate, under present circumstances, endeavoured to soothe the people; they made no opposition to the distribution of the public land, and they allowed the people to elect another commissioner in place of Tiberius. Having come to a vote, they elected Publius Crassus, a relation of Gracchus, for his daughter Licinia was the wife of Caius Gracchus. Cornelius Nepos indeed says that Caius did not marry the daughter of Crassus, but the daughter of Brutus who triumphed over the Lusitanians: however, the majority of writers state the matter as I have done. Now as the

people were sore about the death of Tiberius, and were manifestly waiting for an opportunity to be revenged, and Nasica was threatened with prosecutions, the Senate, fearing for his safety, made a decree for sending him to Asia, though they had nothing for him to do there. For when men met Nasica they did not conceal their hostility, but broke out into violence, and abused him wherever they fell in with him, calling him accursed, and tyrant, who had stained with the blood of an inviolable and sacred functionary the most sacred and revered of all the holy places in the city. Accordingly Nasica left Italy, though bound by the most sacred functions, for he was Pontifex Maximus; and rambling about despised from place to place, he died no long time after in the neighbourhood of Pergamum. It is no wonder if Nasica was so much hated by the people, when even Scipio Africanus, whom the Romans considered inferior to no man in integrity, and loved as well as any, narrowly escaped losing the popular favour, because, on receiving the news of the death of Tiberius, at Numantia, he exclaimed in the verse of Homer,

So perish all who do the like again.

Subsequently, when Caius and Fulvius asked him before an assembly of the people; what he thought of the death of Tiberius, he showed by his answer that he was not pleased with the measures of Tiberius. This made the people interrupt him with their shouts when he was speaking, as they had never done before; and Scipio was so far transported with passion as to break out into invectives against them. But of this I have spoken more particularly in the Life of Scipio.

## CAIUS GRACCHUS.

1. CAIUS GRACCHUS at first, either through fear of his enemies or with the view of making them odious, withdrew from the Forum and kept quiet at home, like a man humbled for the present, and intending for the future to keep aloof from public affairs; which gave occasion for some people to say that he disliked the measures of Tiberius, and had abandoned them. He was also still quite a youth, for he was nine years younger than his brother, and Tiberius was not thirty when he was killed. But in the course of time, as his character gradually displayed itself in his aversion to indolence, luxury, wine, and all matters of private profit, and it was clear, from his application to the study of eloquence, that he was preparing, as it were, his pinions for public life, and that he would not remain quiet; and further, when he showed by his defence of Vettius, one of his friends, who was under prosecution, the people all around him being wild and frantic with delight, that the rest of the orators were mere children, the nobles were again alarmed, and there was much talk among them that they would not allow Caius to obtain the tribunate. It happened without any set design that the lot fell on him to go as quæstor to Sardinia, under Orestes the consul, which pleased his enemies, and was not disagreeable to Caius. For he was fond of war, and equally disciplined for military service and speaking in the

courts of justice; but he still shrunk from public affairs and the Rostra, and as he could not resist the invitations of the people and his friends, he was well pleased with this opportunity of leaving Rome. It is true it is a common opinion that Caius was a pure demagogue, and much more greedy of popular favour than Tiberius. But it was not so in fact, and Caius seems to have been involved in public affairs rather through a kind of necessity than choice. Cicero the orator also says, that Caius declined all offices, and had determined to live in retirement, but that his brother appeared to him in a dream, and said, Caius, why do you linger? There is no escape: one life for both of us, and one death in defence of the people is our fate.

2. Now Caius during his stay in Sardinia exhibited his excellent qualities in every way; he far surpassed all the young men in military courage, in upright conduct to the subject people, in loyalty and respect to the commander; and in temperance, frugality, and attention to his duties he excelled even his elders. The winter having been severe and unhealthy in Sardinia, the general demanded clothing for his soldiers from the cities, upon which they sent to Rome to pray to be relieved from this imposition. The Senate granted their petition, and ordered the general to get supplies for the troops by other means; but as the general was unable to do this, and the soldiers were suffering, Caius went round to the cities and induced them voluntarily to send clothing and to assist the Romans. This, being reported to Rome, made the Senate uneasy, for they viewed it as a preliminary to popular agitation. Ambassadors also arrived at Rome from Libya, with a message from



King Micipsa, that the king had sent corn to the commander in Sardinia, out of respect for Caius Gracchus. The Senate, taking offence at the message, would not receive the ambassadors, and they passed a decree that fresh troops should be sent out to replace those in Sardinia, but that Orestes should stay; intending by this measure to keep Caius there also, in respect of his office. On this being done, Caius immediately set sail in a passion, and appearing at Rome contrary to all expectation, was not only blamed by his enemies, but even the people considered it a strange thing for the quæstor to leave his general behind. However, when the matter was brought before the Censors, he asked for permission to make his defence, and he produced such a change in the opinions of his audience, that he was acquitted, and considered to have been exceedingly ill used: he said that he had served in the army for twelve years, while others were only required to serve ten years, and that he had exercised the functions of quæstor to the commander for three years, though the law allowed him to return after one year's service; he added that he was the only soldier who took out a full purse with him and brought it back empty, while the rest took out with them only jars of wine, which they had emptied in Sardinia, and brought them back full of gold and silver.

3. After this, his enemies brought fresh charges against him, and harassed him with prosecutions on the ground of causing the defection of the allies and having participated in the conspiracy which had been detected at Fregellæ. But he cleared himself of all suspicion, and having established his innocence, immediately set about canvassing for the

tribunate. All the men of distinction, without exception, opposed him; and so great a multitude flocked to Rome from all parts of Italy, to the Comitia, that many of them could not find lodgings, and the Campus Martius being unable to contain the numbers, they shouted from the housetops and tilings. However, the nobility so far prevailed against the people as to disappoint the hopes of Caius, inasmuch as he was not returned first, as he expected, but only fourth. But upon entering on his office he soon made himself first, for he surpassed every Roman in eloquence, and his misfortunes gave him a licence for speaking freely when lamenting the fate of his brother. He took every opportunity of directing the thoughts of the people to this subject, reminding them of former times, and contrasting the conduct of their ancestors, who went to war with the Falisci on behalf of Genucius, a tribune, who had been insulted by them, and condemned Caius Veturius to death because he was the only man that did not make way for a tribune as he was passing through the Forum. "But before your eyes," he exclaimed, "these men beat Tiberius to death with staves, and his body was dragged through the midst of the city to be thrown into the Tiber; and all his friends who were caught were put to death without trial. And yet it is an old usage among us, if a man is accused of a capital charge and does not appear, for a trumpeter to come to the door of his house in the morning and summon him by the sound of the trumpet, and the judices cannot vote upon the charge till this has been done. So circumspect and careful were the Romans of old in the trials of persons accused."

4. Having first stirred up the people by such harangues as these (and he had a very loud voice, and was most vigorous in speech), he promulgated two laws: one, to the effect that if the people had deprived any magistrate of his office, he should be incapacitated from holding office a second time; and the other, which rendered a magistrate liable to a public prosecution if he had banished any citizen without trial. One of these rogations had the direct effect of branding with infamy Marcus Octavius, who had been deprived of the tribunate by Tiberius; and Popillius came within the penalties of the other, for during his prætorship he had banished the friends of Tiberius. Popillius did not stand his trial, and he fled from Italy; but the other law Caius himself withdrew, saying that he refrained from touching Octavius at the request of his mother Cornelia. The people admired his conduct on this occasion, and gave their consent, for they respected Cornelia no less for the sake of her sons than her father; and afterwards they set up a bronze statue of her, with the inscription—*Cornelia, Mother of the Gracchi*. There are recorded several things that Caius said in defence of his mother in a rhetorical and coarse way, in reply to one of his enemies. “What,” said he, “do you abuse Cornelia, the mother of Tiberius?” And as the man laboured under the imputation of being a dissolute fellow, he added, “How can you have the impudence to compare yourself with Cornelia? Have you been a mother, as she has?”—and more to the like effect, but still coarser. Such was the bitterness of his language, and many like things occur in his writings.

5. Of the laws which he promulgated with the

view of gaining the popular favour and weakening the Senate, one was for the establishment of colonies and the distribution of Public Land among the poor ; another provided for supplying the soldiers with clothing at the public expense, without any deduction on this account being made from their pay ; and exempted youths under seventeen years of age from being drafted for the army ; a third was in favour of the allies, and put the Italians on the same footing as the citizens with respect to the suffrage ; another related to grain, and had for its object the lowering of the price for the poor ; the last related to the judices, a measure which most of all encroached on the privileges of the Senate—for the Senate alone supplied judices for the trials, and this privilege rendered that body formidable both to the people and the Equites. The law of Gracchus added three hundred Equites to the Senate, who were also three hundred in number, and it made the judices eligible out of the whole six hundred. In his endeavours to carry this law he is said to have made every exertion ; and in particular it is recorded that all the popular leaders who preceded him turned their faces to the Senate and the Comitium while they were speaking, but he was the first who turned his face the other way to the Forum while haranguing the people, and he continued to do so ; and by a small deviation and alteration in attitude he stirred a great question, and in a manner transformed the government from an aristocratical to a democratical form, by this new attitude intimating that the orators should direct their speeches to the many and not to the Senate.

6. The people not only passed this law, but em-

powered Gracchus to select from the Equites those who were to act as Judges, which conferred on him a kind of monarchical authority, and even the Senate now assented to the measures which he proposed in their body. But all the measures which he proposed were honourable to the Senate; such, for instance, was the very equitable and just decree about the grain which Fabius the Proprætor sent from Iberia. Gracchus induced the Senate to sell the grain and to return the money which it produced to the Iberian cities, and further to censure Fabius for making the Roman dominion heavy and intolerable to the subject nations: this measure brought him great reputation and popularity in the provinces. He also introduced measures for sending out colonies, the construction of roads, and the building of public granaries; and he made himself director and superintendant for the carrying all these measures into effect. Though engaged in so many great undertakings, he was never wearied, but with wonderful activity and labour he effected every single object as if he had for the time no other occupation, so that even those who thoroughly hated and feared him were struck with amazement at the rapidity and perfect execution of all that he undertook. But the people looked with admiration on the man himself, seeing him attended by crowds of building-contractors, artificers, ambassadors, magistrates, soldiers, and learned men, to all of whom he was easy of access; and while he maintained his dignity, he was affable to all, and adapted his behaviour to the condition of every individual, and so proved the falsehood of those who called him tyrannical or arrogant or violent. He thus showed himself more skilful as a popular leader in his deal-

ings with men, and in his conduct, than in his harangues from the Rostra.

7. But Caius busied himself most about the construction of roads, having in view utility, convenience, and ornament. The roads were made in a straight line, right through the country, partly of quarried stone and partly with tight-rammed masses of earth. By filling up the depressions, and throwing bridges across those parts which were traversed by winter torrents or deep ravines, and raising the road on both sides to the same uniform height, the whole line was made level and presented an agreeable appearance. He also measured all the roads by miles (the Roman mile is not quite eight Greek stadia), and fixed stone blocks to mark the distances. He placed other stones at less distances from one another on each side of the road, that persons might thus easily mount their horses without assistance.

8. As the people extolled him for all these services, and were ready to show their good will towards him in any way, he said on one occasion when he was addressing them, that he would ask a favour, which he would value above everything if it was granted; but if it were refused, he should not complain. It was accordingly expected that he would ask for the consulship, and everybody supposed that he would be a candidate for the consulship and the tribunate at the same time. When the consular comitia were near, and all were at the highest point of expectation, Caius appeared conducting Caius Fannius into the Campus Martius, and canvassing with his friends for Fannius. This gave Fannius a great advantage. Fannius was elected consul, and Caius

tribune for the second time, though he was neither a candidate nor canvassed, but his election was entirely due to the zeal of the people. Perceiving, however, that the Senate was clearly opposed to him, and that the kind feeling of Fannius towards him cooled, he forthwith endeavoured to attach the people by other measures, by proposing to send colonies to Tarentum and Capua, and by inviting the Latins to a participation in the Roman franchise. The Senate, fearing that Gracchus would become irresistible, attempted a new and unusual method of diverting the people from him, by opposing popular measures to his, and by gratifying the people, contrary to sound policy. Livius Drusus was one of the colleagues of Caius, a man by birth and education inferior to none in Rome, and in character, eloquence, and wealth equal to any who enjoyed either honour or power by the aid of these advantages. To him accordingly the chief nobles applied, and they urged him to attack Caius, and to unite with them against him, not by adopting violent measures, nor coming into collision with the many, but by a course of administration adapted to please, and by making such concessions as it would have been honourable to refuse, even at the risk of unpopularity.

9. Livius, having agreed to employ his tribunitian authority on the side of the Senate, framed measures which had neither any honourable nor any useful object: he only had in view to outbid Caius in the popular favour, just as it is in a comedy, by making himself busy and vying with his rival. This showed most clearly that the Senate were not displeased with the measures of Caius, but only wished to destroy him or completely

humble him. When Caius proposed to send out ten colonies consisting of citizens of the best character, the Senate accused him of truckling to the people; but they co-operated with Livius, who proposed twelve colonies, each of which was to consist of three thousand needy citizens. They set themselves in opposition to Caius when he proposed to distribute land among the poor, subject to a yearly payment to the treasury from each, on the ground that he was trying to gain the popular favour; but they were satisfied when Livius proposed to relieve the colonists even from this payment. Further, Caius gave them offence by proposing to confer on the Latins the Roman suffrage; but when Livius brought forward a measure which forbade any Latin to be beaten with rods even while serving in the army, they supported it. And indeed Livius himself, in his harangues to the people, always said that he only proposed what was agreeable to the Senate, who had a regard for the many; which indeed was the only good that resulted from his measures. For the people became more pacifically disposed towards the Senate; and though the most distinguished of them were formerly suspected and hated by the people, Livius did away with and softened their recollection of past grievances and their ill feeling, by giving out that it was in accordance with the wish of the Senate that he had entered upon his popular career and framed measures to please the many.

10. But the best proof to the people of the good intentions and honesty of Livius was, that he proposed nothing for himself or in behalf of his own interests; for he appointed other persons to superintend the establishment of the colonies, and he did



not meddle with the administration of the money, while Caius had assigned to himself most of such functions, and the most important of them. It happened that Rubrius, one of the tribunes, had proposed a measure for the colonization of Carthage, which had been destroyed by Scipio; and as the lot fell on Caius, he set sail to Libya to found the colony. In his absence, Drusus, making still further advances, insinuated himself into the favour of the people, and gained them over mainly by calumniating Fulvius. This Fulvius was a friend of Caius and a joint commissioner for the distribution of lands; but he was a noisy fellow, and specially disliked by the Senate; he was also suspected by others of stirring up the allies, and secretly encouraging the Italians to revolt; and though this was said without proof or inquiry, Fulvius himself gave it credit by his unwise and revolutionary policy. This more than anything else destroyed the popularity of Caius, who came in for his share of the odium against Fulvius. And when Scipio Africanus died without any obvious cause, and certain signs of blows and violence were supposed to be visible on the body, as I have told in the Life of Scipio, the suspicion fell chiefly on Fulvius, who was his enemy, and on that day had abused Scipio from the Rostra. Suspicion attached to Caius also. So abominable a crime committed against the first and greatest of the Romans went unpunished, and there was not even an inquiry; for the many opposed it and stopped the investigation through fear for Caius, lest he should be discovered to be implicated in the murder. These events, indeed, belong to an earlier period.

11. In Libya, as to the foundation of Carthage, which Caius named Junonia, which is the same as Heraea, it is said there were many supernatural hindrances. For the first standard was seized and broken by a violent gust of wind, though the standard-bearer stuck to it vigorously; and the victims which were lying on the altars were dispersed by a tempest, and scattered beyond the stakes which marked the limits of the city, and the stakes were torn up by the wolves and carried a long way off. However Caius, after settling and arranging everything in seventy days, returned to Rome upon hearing that Fulvius was hard pressed by Drusus, and that affairs required his presence. Lucius Opimius, a man who belonged to the faction of the oligarchs, and had great influence in the Senate, failed on a former occasion when he was a candidate for the consulship, at the time when Caius brought forward Fannius and canvassed against Opimius; but now, being supported by a powerful party, it was expected that Opimius would be elected consul and would put down Caius, whose influence was already in some degree on the wane, and the people also were tired of such measures as his, for there were many who sought their favour, and the Senate easily gave way.

12. On his return from Libya, Caius removed from the Palatium to the neighbourhood of the Forum, as being a more popular place of residence, for it happened that most of the lowest classes and of the poor lived there; he next promulgated the rest of his measures, intending to take the vote of the people upon them. As crowds were collecting from all parts to support Caius, the Senate prevailed on the consul Fannius to drive out of the

## CIVIL WARS OF ROME.

city all who were not Romans. Accordingly a strange and unusual proclamation was made, to the effect that none of the allies or friends of the Roman state should appear in Rome during those days; on which Caius published a counter edict, in which he criminated the consul and promised his support to the allies if they remained in Rome. But he did not keep his promise; for though he saw one of them, who was his own friend and intimate, dragged off by the officers of Fannius, he passed by without helping him, whether it was that he feared to put to the test his power, which was now on the decline, or that he did not choose, as he said, to give his enemies the opportunity which they were seeking of coming to a collision and a struggle. It also chanced that he had incurred the ill-will of his fellow-colleagues, in the following manner:—The people were going to see an exhibition of gladiators in the Forum, and most of the magistrates had constructed seats round the place, with the intention of letting them for hire. But Caius urged them to remove the seats, that the poor might be able to see the show without paying. As no one took any notice of what he said, he waited till the night before the show, when he went with the workmen whom he had under him, and removed the seats, and at daybreak he pointed out to the people that the place was clear; for which the many considered him a man, but he offended his colleagues, who viewed him as an audacious and violent person. Owing to this circumstance, it is supposed, he lost his third tribunate, though he had most votes, for it is said that his colleagues acted illegally and fraudulently in the proclamation and return. This however was dis-

puted. Caius did not bear his failure well; and to his enemies, who were exulting over him, he is said to have observed, with more arrogance than was befitting, that their laugh was a sardonic laugh, for they knew not what a darkness his political measures had spread all around them.

13. After effecting the election of Opimius to the consulship, the enemies of Caius began to repeal many of his laws and to disturb the settlement of Carthage, for the purpose of irritating Caius, in order that he might give them some cause of quarrel, and so be got rid of. He endured this for some time, but his friends, and especially Fulvius, beginning to urge him on, he again attempted to combine his partisans against the consul. On this occasion it is said that his mother also helped him, by hiring men from remote parts and sending them to Rome in the disguise of reapers, for it is supposed that these matters are obscurely alluded to in her letters to her son. Others, on the contrary, say that this was done quite contrary to the wishes of Cornelia. On the day on which the party of Opimius intended to repeal the laws of Caius, the Capitol had been occupied by the opposite faction early in the morning. The consul had offered the sacrifices, and one of his officers, named Quintus Antyllius, was carrying the viscera to another part, when he said to the partisans of Fulvius, "Make way for honest men, you rascals." Some say that as he uttered these words he also held out his bare arm with insulting gestures. However this may be, Antyllius was killed on the spot, being pierced with large styles said to have been made expressly for the purpose. The people were greatly disturbed at the murder, but it produced exactly

opposite effects on the leaders of the two parties. Caius was deeply grieved at what had happened, and abused his party for having given a handle to their enemies, who had long been looking for it; but Opimius, as if he had got the opportunity which he wanted, was highly elated, and urged the people to avenge the murder.

14. A torrent of rain happened to fall just then, and the meeting was dissolved. Early on the following day Opimius summoned the Senate to transact business. In the mean time the naked body of Antyllius was placed on a bier, and, according to arrangement, carried through the Forum past the Senate-house with loud cries and lamentations. Opimius, though he knew what was going on, pretended to be surprised at the noise, and the Senators went out to see what was the matter. When the bier had been set down in the midst of the crowd, the Senators began to express their indignation at so horrible and monstrous a crime; but this only moved the people to hate and execrate the oligarchs, who, after murdering Tiberius Gracchus in the Capitol, a tribune, had treated his body with insult; while Antyllius, a mere servant, who perhaps had not deserved his fate, yet was mainly to blame for what happened, was laid out in the Forum, and surrounded by the Roman Senate lamenting and assisting at the funeral of a hireling; and all this merely to accomplish the ruin of the only remaining guardian of the people's liberties. On returning to the Senate-house, the Senators passed a decree by which<sup>u</sup> the consul Opimius was directed to save the state in such way as he could, and to put down the tyrants. Opimius gave notice to the Senators to arm, and each Eques was com-

manded to bring in the morning two armed slaves. On the other side, Fulvius also made preparation and got together a rabble; but Caius as he left the Forum stood opposite his father's statue, and looking at it for some time without speaking, at last burst into tears, and fetching a deep sigh, walked away. The sight of this moved many of the spectators to compassion, and blaming themselves for deserting the man and betraying him, they came to the house of Caius and passed the night at his door; but not in the same manner as those who watched about the house of Fulvius, for they spent the night in tumult and shouting, drinking, and bragging what they would do. Fulvius himself, who was the first to get drunk, spoke and acted in a way quite unseemly for a man of his age. The followers of Caius, viewing the state of affairs as a public calamity, kept quiet, thinking of the future, and they passed the night watching and sleeping in turns.

15. At daybreak Fulvius was with difficulty roused from his drunken sleep, and his partisans, arming themselves with the warlike spoils in his house, which he had taken in his victory over the Gauls during his consulship, with loud threats and shouts went to seize the Aventine Hill. Caius would not arm, but went out in his toga just as if he was proceeding to the Forum, with only a short dagger at his side. As he was going out at the door, his wife met him, and throwing one arm round him, while she held in the other their little child, said, "Caius, not as in time past do I take my leave of you going to the Rostra as tribune and as legislator, nor yet going to a glorious war, where, if you died in the service of your country, you

would still leave me an honoured grief; but you are going to expose yourself to the murderers of Tiberius: 'tis right indeed to go unarmed, and to suffer rather than do wrong, but you will perish without benefiting the state. The worse has now prevailed; force and the sword determine all controversies. If your brother had died at Numantia, his body would have been restored to us on the usual terms of war; but now perchance I too shall have to supplicate some river or the sea to render up to me your corpse from its keeping. What faith can we put in the laws or in the deities since the murder of Tiberius?" While Licinia was thus giving vent to sorrow, Gracchus gently freed himself from his wife's embrace, and went off in silence with his friends. Licinia, as she attempted to lay hold of his dress, fell down on the floor, and lay there some time speechless, until her slaves took her up fainting, and carried her to her brother Crassus.

16. When they were all assembled, Fulvius, at the request of Caius, sent his younger son with a caduceus to the Forum. He was a most beautiful youth, and with great decorum and modesty, and with tears in his eyes he addressed to the consul and the Senate the message of conciliation. The majority who were present were not disinclined to come to terms; but Opimius replied, that Fulvius and Gracchus must not attempt to bring the Senate to an accommodation through the medium of a messenger; they must consider themselves as citizens who had to account for their conduct, and come down and surrender, and then beg for mercy; he further told the youth that these were the terms on which he must come a second time, or not at all. Now Caius, it is said, wished to go and clear

himself before the Senate, but as no one else assented, Fulvius again sent his son to address the Senate on their behalf in the same terms as before. But Opimius, who was eager to come to blows, forthwith ordered the youth to be seized and put in prison, and advanced against the party of Fulvius with many legionary soldiers and Cretan bowmen, who mainly contributed to put them into confusion by discharging their arrows and wounding them. The partisans of Fulvius being put to flight, he made his escape into a bath that was not used, where he was soon discovered and put to death with his elder son. Caius was not observed to take any part in the contest, but greatly troubled at what was taking place, he retired to the temple of Diana, and he was going to kill himself there, but was prevented by his faithful friends Pomponius and Licinius, who took the sword away and induced him to fly. It is said that he went down on his knees in the temple, and stretching out his hands to the statue of the goddess, prayed that the Roman people, for their ingratitude and treachery to him, might always be slaves; for the greater part of them had openly gone over to the other side upon an amnesty being proclaimed.

17. In his flight Caius was followed by his enemies, who were near overtaking him at the wooden bridge, but his two friends, bidding him make his escape, opposed the pursuers and allowed no man to pass the head of the bridge till they were killed. Caius was accompanied by a single slave, named Philocrates, and though all the spectators urged him to fly, just as if they were shouting at a race, yet no one, though he prayed for it, would come to his aid or lend him a horse; for



the pursuers were close upon him. He just escaped into a sacred grove of the Furies, and there he fell by the hand of Philocrates, who killed himself on the body of his master. Some say both of them were taken alive by their enemies, and that the slave embraced his master so closely, that Caius could not be struck until the slave had been dispatched first, and with many blows. It is said that a man cut off the head of Caius and was carrying it away, but it was taken from him by a friend of Opimius named Septimuleius; for proclamation had been made at the beginning of the contest, that those who brought the heads of Caius and Fulvius should have their weight in gold. The head of Caius was brought to Opimius by Septimuleius stuck on a spear, and it weighed seventeen pounds and two-thirds in the scales. Septimuleius was a scoundrel and a knave here also, for he had taken out the brain and dropped melted lead in its place. Those who brought the head of Fulvius got nothing, for they belonged to the lower class. The bodies of Caius and Fulvius and their partisans were thrown into the river, the number of dead being three thousand: their property was sold and the produce paid into the treasury. They also forbade the women to lament for their relatives, and Licinia was deprived of her marriage portion. But their conduct was most cruel to the younger son of Fulvius, who had neither raised up his hand against them nor been among the combatants; for he was seized before the battle, when he came to treat of terms, and was put to death after the battle. But what most of all vexed the people was the circumstance of Opimius erecting a temple to Concord, which was viewed as an evidence of his

insolence and arrogance, and as a kind of triumph for the slaughter of so many citizens. Accordingly by night some person wrote under the inscription on the temple the following line:—

The work of Discord makes the temple of Concord.

18. This Opimius, the first man that ever exercised the dictatorial power in the office of consul, and who had condemned without trial three thousand citizens, and among them Caius Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus—Flaccus, a consular, who had enjoyed a triumph; Gracchus, the first man of his age in character and reputation—this Opimius did not keep himself free from corruption. Being sent as a commissioner to Jugurtha, the Numidian, he was bribed by him, and being convicted of most shameful corruption, he spent the last years of his life in infamy, hated and insulted by the people, who, though humbled and depressed for the time, soon showed how much they desired and regretted the Gracchi. For they had statues of the two brothers made and set up in public places, and the spots on which they fell were declared sacred ground, to which people brought all the first fruits of the seasons, and many persons daily offered sacrifices there and worshipped, just as at the temples of the gods.

19. Cornelia is said to have borne her misfortunes with a noble and elevated spirit, and to have said of the sacred ground on which her sons were murdered, that they had a tomb worthy of them. She resided in the neighbourhood of Misenum, without making any change in her usual mode of life. She had many friends, and her hospitable table was always crowded with guests; Greeks and

Learned men were constantly about her, and kings sent and received presents from her. To all her visitors and friends she was a most agreeable companion : she would tell them of the life and habits of her father Africanus, and, what is most surprising, would speak of her sons without showing sorrow or shedding a tear, relating their sufferings and their deeds to her inquiring friends as if she was speaking of the men of olden time. This made some think that her understanding had been impaired by old age or the greatness of her sorrows, and that she was dull to all sense of her misfortunes, while in fact such people themselves were too dull to see what a support it is against grief to have a noble nature, and to be of honourable lineage and honourably bred ; and that though fortune has often the advantage over virtue in its attempts to guard against evils, yet she cannot take away from virtue the power of enduring them with fortitude.

## CAIUS MARIUS.

1. I CANNOT mention any third name of Caius Marius, any more than of Quintus Sertorius, who held Spain, or of Lucius Mummius, who took Corinth; for the name Achaicus was given to Mummius in commemoration of this event, just as the name Africanus was given to Scipio, and Macedonicus to Metellus. This seems to Posidonius to be the strongest refutation of the opinion of those who suppose that the third name was the proper individual name among the Romans, such as Camillus, and Marcellus, and Cato; for he argues, if this were so, those who had only the two names would be really without a name. But Posidonius does not perceive that by this argument he on his side makes the women to be without names: for no woman ever has the first of the three names, which first, however, Posidonius supposes to be the name which marked individuals among the Romans; and of the other two names, he supposes the one to be common and to belong to all of one kin, such as the Pompeii and the Manlii and the Cornelii, just as the Greeks might speak of the Heraclidæ and the Pelopidæ; but the other name he supposes to be an appellation given as a distinctive name, either with reference to a man's disposition or his actions, or some character and peculiarity of his person, such as Macrinus and Torquatus and Sulla, which may be compared with the Greek Mnemon or

Grypus or Callinicus. However, in such matters as these the diversity in usage allows a variety of conjectures.

2. With respect to the personal appearance of Marius, I saw a stone statue of him at Ravenna in Gaul, which was perfectly in accordance with what is said of the roughness and harshness of his character. He was naturally of a courageous and warlike turn, and had more of the discipline of the camp than of the state, and accordingly his temper was ungovernable when he was in the possession of power. It is stated that he never studied Greek literature, and never availed himself of the Greek language for any serious purpose, for he said it was ridiculous to study a literature the teachers of which were the slaves of others; and after his second triumph, when he exhibited Greek plays on the occasion of the dedication of a certain temple, though he came to the theatre, he only sat down for a moment and then went away. Xenocrates the philosopher was considered to be rather of a morose temper, and Plato was in the habit of frequently saying to him, My good Xenocrates, sacrifice to the Graces: in like manner, if Marius could have been persuaded to sacrifice to the Grecian Muses and Graces, he would never have brought a most illustrious military and civil career to a most unseemly conclusion, through passion and unreasonable love of power and insatiable desire of self-aggrandizement driven to terminate his course in an old age of cruelty and ferocity. Let this, however, be judged of by the facts as they will presently appear.

3. Marius was the son of obscure parents, who gained their living by the labour of their hands,

and were poor. His father's name was Marius, his mother's name was Fulcinia. It was late before he saw Rome and became acquainted with the habits of the city, up to which time he lived at Cispheaton, a village in the territory of Arpinum, where his mode of life was rude, when contrasted with the polite and artificial fashions of a city, but temperate and in accordance with the old Roman discipline. He first served against the Celtiberians when Scipio Africanus was besieging Numantia, and he attracted the notice of the commander by his superiority in courage over all the other young soldiers, and by the readiness with which he adapted himself to the change in living which Scipio introduced among the troops, who had been corrupted by luxurious habits and extravagance. He is said also to have killed one of the enemy in single combat in the presence of the general. Accordingly Marius received from Scipio various honourable distinctions, and on one occasion, after supper, when the conversation was about generals, and one of the company, either because he really felt a difficulty or merely wished to flatter Scipio, asked him where the Roman people would find such another leader and protector when he was gone, Scipio with his hand gently touched the shoulder of Marius, who was reclining next to him, and said, Perhaps here. So full of promise was the youth of Marius, and so discerning was the judgment of Scipio.

4. Now it is said that Marius, mainly encouraged by these words, which he viewed as a divine intimation, entered on a political career, and obtained the tribuneship, in which he was assisted by C. Julius Metellus, of whose house the family of

Marius had long been an adherent. During his tribuneship Marius proposed a law on the mode of voting, which apparently tended to deprive the nobles of their power in the *Judicia*: the measure was opposed by Cotta, the consul, who persuaded the Senate to resist the proposed law, and to summon Marius to account for his conduct. The decree proposed by Cotta was drawn up and Marius appeared before the Senate; but so far from being disconcerted, as a young man might naturally be, who without any advantages had just stepped into public life, he already assumed the tone which his subsequent exploits authorized, and threatened to carry off Cotta to prison if he did not rescind the decree. Upon Cotta turning to Metellus and asking his opinion, Metellus arose and supported the consul; but Marius, sending for the officer who was outside of the house, ordered him to carry off Metellus himself to prison. Metellus appealed to the rest of the tribunes without effect, and the Senate yielded and abandoned the decree. Marius now triumphantly came before the popular assembly and got his law ratified, having proved himself to be a man unassailable by fear, not to be diverted from his purpose by any motive of personal respect, and a formidable opponent to the Senate by his measures which were adapted to win the public favour. But he soon gave people reason to change their opinion; for he most resolutely opposed a measure for the distribution of corn among the citizens, and succeeding in his opposition, he established himself in equal credit with both parties, as a man who would do nothing to please either, if it were contrary to the public interest.

5. After the tribuneship he was a candidate for

the greater ædileship. Now there are two classes of ædileships: one, which derives its name (curule) from the seats with curved feet on which the ædiles sit when they discharge their functions; the other, the inferior, is called the plebeian ædileship. When they have chosen the higher ædiles, they then take the vote again for the election of the others. Now as Marius was manifestly losing in the votes for the curule ædileship, he forthwith changed about and became a candidate for the other ædileship. But this was viewed as an audacious and arrogant attempt, and he failed in his election; but though he thus met with two repulses in one day, which never happened to any man before, he did not abate one tittle of his pretensions, for no long time after he was a candidate for a prætorship, in which he narrowly missed a failure, being the last of all who were declared to be elected, and he was prosecuted for bribery. What gave rise to most suspicion was the fact that a slave of Cassius Sabaco was seen within the septa mingled with the voters; for Sabaco was one of the most intimate friends of Marius. Accordingly Sabaco was cited before the judges; he explained the circumstance by saying that the heat had made him very thirsty, and he called for a cup of cold water, which his slave brought to him within the septa, and left it as soon as he had drunk the water. Sabaco was ejected from the Senate by the next censors, and people were of opinion that he deserved it, either because he had given false testimony or for his intemperance. Caius Herennius also was summoned as a witness against Marius, but he declared that it was contrary to established usage to give testimony against a client, and that



patrons (for this is the name that the Romans give to protectors), were legally excused from this duty, and that the parents of Marius, and Marius himself, originally were clients of his house. Though the judices accepted the excuse as valid, Marius himself contradicted Herennius, and maintained that from the moment when he was declared to be elected to a magistracy, he became divested of the relation of client; which was not exactly true, for it is not every magistracy which releases a man who has obtained it, and his family, from the necessity of having a patron, but only those magistracies to which the law assigns the curule seat. However, on the first days of the trial it went hard with Marius, and the judices were strongly against him; yet on the last day, contrary to all expectation, he was acquitted, the votes being equal.

6. During his prætorship Marius got only a moderate degree of credit. But on the expiration of his office he obtained by lot the further province of Iberia (Spain), and it is said that during his command he cleared all the robber establishments out of his government, which was still an uncivilized country in its habits and in a savage state, as the Iberians had not yet ceased to consider robbery as no dishonourable occupation. Though Marius had now embarked in a public career, he had neither wealth nor eloquence, by means of which those who then held the chief power were used to manage the people. But the resoluteness of his character, and his enduring perseverance in toil, and his plain manner of living, got him the popular favour, and he increased in estimation and influence, so as to form a matrimonial alliance with the illustrious house of the Cæsars,

with Julia, whose nephew Cæsar afterwards became the greatest of the Romans and in some degree imitated his relation Marius, as I have told in the Life of Cæsar. There is evidence both of the temperance of Marius and also of his endurance, which was proved by his behaviour about a surgical operation. Both his legs, it is said, had become varicose, and as he disliked this deformity, he resolved to put himself in the surgeon's hands. Accordingly he presented to the surgeon one of his legs without allowing himself to be bound; and without making a single movement or uttering a single groan, with steady countenance and in silence he endured excessive pain during the operation. But when the surgeon was going to take the other leg, Marius refused to present it, saying that he perceived the cure was not worth the pain.

7. When Cæcilius Metellus was appointed consul with the command of the war against Jugurtha, he took Marius with him to Libya in the capacity of legatus. Here Marius signalized himself by great exploits and brilliant success in battle, but he did not, like the rest, seek to increase the glory of Metellus and to direct all his efforts for the advantage of his general, but disdainingly to be called a legatus of Metellus, and considering that fortune had offered him a most favourable opportunity and a wide theatre for action, he displayed his courage on every occasion. Though the war was accompanied with many hardships, he shrunk not from danger however great, and he thought nothing too mean to be neglected, but in prudent measures and careful foresight he surpassed all the officers of his own rank, and he vied with the soldiers in hard living and endurance, and thus gained their affections.

For certainly there is nothing which reconciles a man so readily to toil as to see another voluntarily sharing it with him, for thus the compulsion seems to be taken away; and the most agreeable sight to a Roman soldier is to see his general in his presence eating common bread or sleeping on a coarse mat, or taking a hand in any trench-work and fortification. Soldiers do not so much admire a general who shares with them the honour and the spoil, as one who participates in their toils and dangers; and they love a general who will take a part in their labours more than one who indulges their licence. By such conduct as this, and by gaining the affection of the soldiers, Marius soon filled Libya and Rome with his fame and his glory, for the soldiers wrote to their friends at home and told them there would be no end to the war with the barbarian, no deliverance from it, if they did not elect Marius consul.

8. These proceedings evidently caused great annoyance to Metellus; but the affair of Turpillius vexed him most of all. The family of Turpillius for several generations had been connected with that of Metellus by friendly relations, and Turpillius was then serving in the army at the head of the body of engineers. It happened that he was commissioned to take charge of Vaga, which was a large city. Trusting for his security to the forbearance with which he treated the inhabitants, and his kind and friendly intercourse with them, he was thrown off his guard and fell into the hands of his enemies, who admitted Jugurtha into the city. Turpillius however was not injured, and the citizens obtained his release and sent him away. He was accordingly charged with treason, and Marius, who

was present at the trial as an assessor, was violent against him and excited most of the rest, so that Metellus was unwillingly compelled to pronounce sentence of death against the man. Shortly after it appeared that the charge was false, and every body except Marius sympathized with Metellus, who was grieved at what had taken place; but Marius exultingly claimed the merit of the condemnation, and was shameless enough to go about saying that he had fixed on Metellus a dæmon which would avenge the death of the man whom it was his duty to protect. This brought Metellus and Marius to open enmity; and it is reported that on one occasion when Marius was present, Metellus said in an insulting way, "You, forsooth, my good fellow, intend to leave us and make the voyage to Rome, to offer yourself for the consulship; and you won't be content to be the colleague of this son of mine." Now the son of Metellus was at that time a very young man. Marius however was still importunate to obtain leave of absence; and Metellus, after devising various pretexts for delay, at last allowed him to go, when there were only twelve days left before the consuls would be declared. Marius accomplished the long journey from the camp to Utica, on the coast, in two days and one night, and offered sacrifice before he set sail. It is said that the priest told him that the deity gave prognostications of success beyond all measure and all expectation, and accordingly Marius set sail with high hopes. In four days he crossed the sea with a favourable wind, and was most joyfully received by the people, and being introduced to the popular assembly by one of the tribunes, he began by violent abuse of

Metellus, and ended with asking for the consulship and promising that he would either kill Jugurtha or take him alive.

9. Being declared consul by a great majority, he immediately set about levying soldiers in a way contrary to law and usage, by enrolling a great number of the poorer sort and of slaves, though former generals had never admitted men of this kind into the army, but had given arms, as they would anything else that was a badge of honour, only to those who had the due qualification, inasmuch as every soldier was thus considered to pledge his property to the State. It was not this however which made Marius most odious, but his insolent and arrogant expressions, which gave offence to the nobles, for he publicly said that he considered his acquisition of the consulship a trophy gained over the effeminacy of the noble and the rich, and that what he could proudly show to the people was his own wounds, not the monuments of the dead or the likenesses of others. And he would often speak of the generals who had been defeated in Libya, mentioning by name Bestia and Albinus, men of illustrious descent indeed, but unskilled in military matters, and for want of experience unsuccessful; and he would ask his hearers whether they did not think that the ancestors of Bestia and Albinus would rather have left descendants like himself, for they also had gained an honourable fame, not by noble birth, but by their virtues and their illustrious deeds. This was not said as a mere empty boast, nor simply because he wished to make himself odious to the nobles; but the people, who were delighted to hear the Senate abused, and always measured the greatness of a man's designs

by the bigness of his words, encouraged him and urged him on not to spare the nobles if he wished to please the many.

10. When Marius had crossed over to Libya, Metellus, giving way to his jealousy, and vexed to see the crown and the triumph, when he had already completed the war and it only remained to seize the person of Jugurtha, taken from him by another, a man too who had raised himself to power by ingratitude to his benefactor, would not stay to meet Marius, but privately left the country, and Rutilius, one of his legati, gave up the army to the new consul. But at last retribution for his conduct overtook Marius; for he was deprived of the glory of his victories by Sulla, just in the same way as he had deprived Metellus of his credit: and how this happened I will state briefly, since the particular circumstances are told more at length in the Life of Sulla. Bocchus, who was king of the barbarians in the interior, and the father-in-law of Jugurtha, showed no great disposition to help him in his wars, because of the faithlessness of Jugurtha, and also because he feared the increase of his power. But when Jugurtha, who was now a fugitive from place to place, made Bocchus his last resource and took refuge with him, Bocchus received his son-in-law, more from a regard to decency, as he was a suppliant, than from any good will, and kept him in his hands; and while he openly interceded with Marius on behalf of Jugurtha, and wrote to say that he would not surrender him and assumed a high tone, he secretly entertained treacherous designs against Jugurtha, and sent for Lucius Sulla, who was the Quæstor of Marius, and had done some service to Bocchus during the campaign. Sulla

Greeks were first acquainted, were no large portion of the whole nation, but merely a tribe or faction that was driven out by the Scythians and passed into Asia from the Lake Mæotis, under the command of Lygdamis: they further say that the chief part of the Scythian nation and the most warlike part lived at the very verge of the continent, on the coast of the external sea, in a tract shaded, woody, and totally sunless, owing to the extent and closeness of the forests, which reach into the interior as far as the Hercynii; and with respect to the heavens, their position was in that region where the pole, having a great elevation owing to the inclination of the parallels, appears to be only a short distance from the spectator's zenith, and the days and nights are of equal length and share the year between them, which furnished Homer with the occasion for his story of Ulysses visiting the ghosts. From these parts then some supposed that these barbarians came against Italy, who were originally Cimmerii, but then not inappropriately called Cimbri. But all this is rather founded on conjecture than on sure historical evidence. As to the numbers of the invaders, they are stated by many authorities as above rather than below the amount that has been mentioned. But their courage and daring made them irresistible, and in battle they rushed forward with the rapidity and violence of fire, so that no nations could stand their attack, but all the people that came in their way became their prey and booty, and many powerful Roman armies with their commanders, which were stationed to protect Gaul north of the Alps, perished ingloriously; and indeed these armies by their unsuccessful resistance mainly

contributed to direct the course of the enemy against Rome. For when they had defeated those who opposed them and got abundance of booty, they determined not to settle themselves permanently anywhere till they had destroyed Rome and ravaged Italy.

12. Hearing this news from many quarters, the Romans called Marius to the command; and he was elected consul the second time, though it was contrary to a positive law for a man in his absence, and without a certain interval of time, to be elected again, but the people would not listen to those who made any opposition to the election. For they considered that this would not be the first time that the law had given way to convenience, and that the present was as good an occasion for such an irregularity as the election of Scipio as consul at a time when they were under no apprehension about the ruin of Rome, but merely wished to destroy Carthage. Accordingly these reasons prevailed, and Marius, after crossing the sea with his army to Rome, received the consulship, and celebrated his triumph on the calends of January, which with the Romans is the beginning of the year, and exhibited to them a sight they never expected to see, Jugurtha in chains; for no one had ever ventured to hope that the Romans could conquer their enemies while he was alive; so dexterous was Jugurtha in turning all events to the best advantage, and so much courage did he combine with great cunning. But it is said that being led in the triumph made him lose his senses. After the triumph he was thrown into prison, and while some were tearing his clothes from his body, others who were anxious to secure his golden ear-rings



pulled them off and the lobe of the ear with them ; in this plight being thrust down naked into a deep hole, in his phrenzy, with a grinning laugh, he cried out, O Hercules, how cold your bath is ! After struggling with famine for six days and to the last moment clinging to the wish to preserve his life, he paid the penalty due to his monstrous crimes. It is said that there were carried in the triumphal procession three thousand and seven pounds of gold, of silver uncoined five thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, and in coined money two hundred and eighty-seven thousand drachmæ. After the procession Marius assembled the Senate in the Capitol, and either through inadvertence or vulgar exultation at his good fortune he entered the place of meeting in his triumphal dress. But observing that the Senate took offence at this, he went out, and putting on the ordinary robe with the purple border, he returned to the assembly.

13. On his expedition to meet the Cimbri, Marius continually exercised his forces in various ways in running and in forced marches ; he also compelled every man to carry all his baggage and to prepare his own food, in consequence of which men who were fond of toil, and promptly and silently did what they were ordered, were called Marian mules. Some, however, think that this name had a different origin ; as follows :—When Scipio was blockading Numantia, he wished to inspect not only the arms and the horses, but also the mules and waggons, in order to see in what kind of order and condition the soldiers kept them. Marius accordingly produced his horse, which he had kept in excellent condition with his own hand and also a mule, which for good appearance, do-

cility, and strength far surpassed all the rest. The general was much pleased with the beasts of Marius and often spoke about them, which gave rise to the scoffing epithet of Marian mule, when the subject of commendation was a persevering, enduring, and labour-loving man.

14. Marius was favoured by a singular piece of good fortune; for there was a reflux in the course of the barbarians, and the torrent flowed towards Iberia before it turned to Italy, which gave Marius time to discipline the bodies of his men and to confirm their courage; and what was most of all, it gave the soldiers an opportunity of knowing what kind of a man their general was. For the first impression created by his sternness and by his inexorable severity in punishing; was changed into an opinion of the justice and utility of his discipline when they had been trained to avoid all cause of offence and all breach of order; and the violence of his temper, the harshness of his voice, and ferocious expression of his countenance, when the soldiers became familiarized with them, appeared no longer formidable to them, but only terrific to their enemies. But his strict justice in all matters that came before him for judgment pleased the soldiers most of all; and of this the following instance is mentioned. Caius Lusius, who was a nephew of Marius, and was an officer in the army, was in other respects a man of no bad character, but fond of beautiful youths. This Caius conceived a passion for one of the young men who served under him, by name Trebonius, and had often ineffectually attempted to seduce him. At last Caius one night sent a servant with orders to bring Trebonius; the young man came, for he

could not refuse to obey the summons, and was introduced into the tent; but when Caius attempted to use violence towards him, he drew his sword and killed him. Marius was not present when this happened, but on his arrival he brought Trebonius to trial. There were many to join in supporting the accusation, and not one to speak in his favour, but Trebonius boldly came forward and told the whole story; and he produced witnesses who proved that he had often resisted the importunities of Lusus, and that though great offers had been made, he had never prostituted himself; on which Marius, admiring his conduct, ordered a crown to be brought, such as was conferred for noble deeds according to an old Roman fashion, and he took it and put it on the head of Trebonius as a fit reward for so noble an act at a time when good examples were much needed. The news of this, reaching Rome, contributed in no small degree to the consulship being conferred on Marius for the third time; the barbarians also were expected about the spring of the year, and the Romans did not wish to try the issue of a battle with them under any other commander. However, the barbarians did not come so soon as they were expected, and the period of the consulship of Marius again expired. As the Comitia were at hand, and his colleague had died, Marius came to Rome, leaving Manius Aquilius in the command of the army. There were many candidates of great merit for the consulship, but Lucius Saturninus, one of the tribunes, who had most influence with the people, was gained over by Marius; and in his harangues he advised them to elect Marius consul. Marius indeed affected to decline the honour, and begged to be excused; he said he did

not wish for it ; on which Saturninus called him a traitor to his country for refusing the command at so critical a time. Now though it was apparent that Saturninus was playing a part at the bidding of Marius, and in such a way that nobody was deceived, still the many, seeing that the circumstances required a man of his energy and good fortune, voted for the fourth consulship of Marius, and gave him for colleague Catulus Lutatius, a man who was esteemed by the nobility and not disliked by the people.

15. Marius, hearing that the enemy was near, quickly crossed the Alps, and established a fortified camp near the river Rhodanus (Rhône), which he supplied with abundance of stores, that he might not be compelled against his judgment to fight a battle for want of provisions. The conveyance of the necessary stores for the army, which hitherto was tedious and expensive on the side of the sea, he rendered easy and expeditious. The mouths of the Rhodanus, owing to the action of the waves, received a great quantity of mud and sand, mixed with large masses of clay, which were formed into banks by the force of the water, and the entrance of the river was thus made difficult and laborious and shallow for the vessels that brought supplies. As the army had nothing to do, Marius brought the soldiers here and commenced a great cut, into which he diverted a large part of the river, and, by making the new channel terminate at a convenient point on the coast, he gave it a deep outlet which had water enough for large vessels, and was smooth and safe against wind and wave. This cut still bears the name of Marius. The barbarians had now divided themselves into two bodies, and it fell to the

lot of the Cimbri to march through the country of the Norici, over the high land against Catulus, and to force that passage: the Teutones and Ambrones were to march through the Ligurian country along the sea to meet Marius. Now on the part of the Cimbri there was some loss of time and delay; but the Teutones and Ambrones set out forthwith, and speedily traversing the space which separated them from the Romans, they made their appearance in numbers countless, hideous in aspect, and in language and the cries they uttered unlike any other people. They covered a large part of the plain, where they pitched their tents and challenged Marius to battle.

16. Marius cared not for all this, but he kept his soldiers within their entrenchments and severely rebuked those who made a display of their courage, calling such as through passion were eager to break out and fight, traitors to their country; he said it was not triumphs or trophies which should now be the object of their ambition, but how they should ward off so great a cloud and tempest of war, and secure the safety of Italy. This was the way in which he addressed the commanders in particular and the officers. The soldiers he used to station on the rampart in turns, and bid them look at the enemy, and thus he accustomed them to the aspect of the barbarians and their strange and savage shouts, and to make themselves acquainted with their armour and movements, so that in course of time what appeared formidable to their imagination would become familiar by being often seen. For it was the opinion of Marius that mere strangeness adds many imaginary dangers to real danger; but that through familiarity even real dangers lose their

terrors. Now the daily sight of the enemy not only took away somewhat of the first alarm, but the threats of the barbarians and their intolerable arrogance roused the courage of the Roman soldiers and inflamed their passions, for the enemy plundered and devastated all the country around, and often attacked the ramparts with much insolence and temerity, so that the words and indignant expressions of the soldiers were repeated to Marius. The soldiers asked, "If Marius had discovered any cowardice in them, that he kept them from battle, like women under lock and key? Why should we not, like free men, ask him whether he is waiting for others to fight for Italy, and intends to employ us always as labourers when there may be occasion to dig canals, to clear out mud, and to divert the course of rivers? It was for this, as it seems, that he disciplined us in so many toils; and these are the exploits of his consulship, which he will exhibit to the citizens when he returns to Rome. Does he fear the fate of Carbo and Cæpio, who were defeated by the enemy? But they were far inferior to Marius in reputation and merit, and they were at the head of much inferior armies. And it is better to do something, even if we perish like them, than to sit here and see the hands of our allies plundered."

17. Marius, who was pleased to hear such expressions as these, pacified the soldiers by saying that he did not distrust them, but was waiting for the time and the place of victory pursuant to certain oracles. And in fact he carried about with him in a litter, with great tokens of respect, a Syrian woman named Martha, who was said to possess the gift of divination, and he sacrificed pur-

suant to her directions. This woman had formerly applied to the Senate, and offered to foretell future events, but her proposal was rejected. Having got access to the women, she allowed them to make trial of her skill; and especially on one occasion, when she sat at the feet of the wife of Marius, she was successful in foretelling what gladiators would win, and this led to her being sent to Marius, who was much struck with her skill. She generally accompanied the army in a litter, and assisted at the sacrifices in a double purple robe fastened with a clasp, and carrying a spear wreathed with ribands and chaplets. This exhibition made many doubt whether Marius produced the woman in public, because he really believed in her, or whether he merely pretended to do so, and played a part in the matter. But the affair of the vultures, which Alexander of Myndus has related, is certainly wonderful. Two vultures were always seen hovering about the army before a victory, and accompanying it; they were known by brass rings round their necks, for the soldiers had caught the birds, and after putting on the rings had let them go. Ever after this time as the soldiers recognised the birds, they saluted them; and whenever the birds appeared on the occasion of the army moving, the soldiers rejoiced, as they were confident of success. Though there were many signs about this time, all of them were of an ordinary kind, except what was reported from Ameria and Tuder, two towns of Italy, where at night there was the appearance in the heavens of fiery spears and shields, which at first moved about in various directions, and then closed together, exhibiting the attitudes and movements of men in battle; at last part gave way, and

the rest pressed on in pursuit, and all moved away to the west. It happened that about the same time Bataces, the priest of the Great Mother, came from Pessinus, and reported that the goddess from her shrine had declared to him that victory and the advantage in war would be on the side of the Romans. The Senate accepted the announcement and voted a temple to be built to the goddess in commemoration of the anticipated victory; but when Bataces presented himself to the popular assembly with the intention of making the same report there, Aulus Pompeius, one of the tribunes, stopped him, calling him an impostor, and contumeliously driving him from the Rostra; which however contributed to gain most credit for the man's assertions. For on the separation of the assembly, Aulus had no sooner returned to his house than he was seized with so violent a fever that he died within seven days; and the matter was notorious all through Rome and the subject of much talk.

18. Now Marius keeping quiet, the Teutones attempted to storm his camp, but as many of them were struck by the missiles from the rampart and some lost their lives, they resolved to march forward with the expectation of safely crossing the Alps. Accordingly taking their baggage, they passed by the Roman camp. Then indeed some notion could be formed of their numbers by the length of their line and the time which they took to march by; for it is said that they continued to move past the encampment of Marius for six days without interruption. As they passed along, they asked the Romans with a laugh, if they had any message to send to their wives, for they should soon



be with them. When the barbarians had marched by and advanced some distance, Marius also broke up his camp and followed close after them, always halting near the enemy, but carefully fortifying his camp and making his position strong in front, so that he could pass the night in safety. Thus advancing, the two armies came to the *Aquæ Sextiæ*, from which a short march would bring them into the region of the Alps. Accordingly Marius prepared for battle here, and he selected a position which was strong enough, but ill-supplied with water, with a view, as it is said, of thereby exciting his soldiers to come to an engagement. However this may be, when some of them were complaining and saying they should suffer from thirst, he pointed to a stream which ran near the barbarian camp, and said they might get drink from there, but the price was blood. Why then, they replied, don't you forthwith lead us against the enemy, while our blood is still moist? Marius calmly replied, We must first secure our camp.

19. The soldiers obeyed unwillingly. In the mean time the camp servants, having no water for themselves or their beasts, went down in a body to the river, some with axes and hatchets, and others taking swords and spears, together with their pitchers, resolving to have water, even if they fought for it. At first a few only of the enemy engaged with them, for the main body of the army were eating after bathing, and some were still bathing. For a spring of warm water bursts from the ground here, and the Romans surprised some of the barbarians who were enjoying themselves and making merry in this pleasant place. The shouts brought more of the barbarians to the spot, and Marius had

great difficulty in checking his men any longer, as they were afraid they should lose their slaves, and the bravest part of the enemy, who had formerly defeated the Romans under Manlius and Cæpio (these were the Ambrones, who were above thirty thousand in number), had sprung up and were running to their arms. Though full of food and excited and inflamed with wine, they did not advance in disorderly or frantic haste, nor utter confused shouts, but striking their arms to a certain measure, and advancing all in regular line, they often called out their name Ambrones, either to encourage one another or to terrify the Romans by this announcement. The Ligurians, who were the first of the Italic people to go down to battle with them, hearing their shouts, and understanding what they said, responded by calling out their old national name, which was the same, for the Ligurians also call themselves Ambrones when they refer to their origin. Thus the shouts were continual on both sides before they came to close quarters, and as the respective commanders joined in the shouts, and at first vied with one another which should call out loudest, the cries stimulated and roused the courage of the men. Now the Ambrones were separated by the stream, for they could not all cross and get into order of battle before the Ligurians, who advanced at a run, fell on the first ranks and began the battle; and the Romans coming up to support the Ligurians, and rushing on the barbarians from higher ground, broke their ranks and put them to flight. Most of the Ambrones were cut down in the stream, where they were crowded upon one another, and the river was filled with blood and dead bodies; and those who made their way across, not

venturing to face about, were smitten by the Romans till they reached their camp and the waggons in their flight. There the women meeting them with swords and axes, with horrid furious yells, attempted to drive back both the fugitives and their pursuers, the fugitives as traitors and the pursuers as their enemies, mingling among the combatants, and with their bare hands tearing from the Romans their shields, laying hold of their swords, and enduring wounds and gashes till they fell, in spirit unvanquished. In this manner, it is said, that the battle on the river was brought about, rather from accident than any design on the part of the commander.

20. After destroying many of the Ambrones, the Romans retreated and night came on; yet this great success was not followed, as is usual on such occasions, by pæans of victory, and drinking in the tents, and merriment over supper, and what is sweetest of all to men who have won a victory, gentle sleep, but the Romans spent that night of all others in fear and alarm. For their camp had neither palisade nor rampart, and there were still left many thousands of the enemy, and all night long they heard the lamentation of the Ambrones who had escaped and joined the rest of the barbarians, and it was not like the weeping and groaning of men, but a howl resembling that of wild beasts; and a bellowing mingled with threats and cries of sorrow proceeding from such mighty numbers, re-echoed from the surrounding mountains and the banks of the river. A frightful noise filled the whole plain, and the Romans were alarmed, and even Marius himself was disturbed, expecting a disorderly and confused battle in the night. How-

ever, the enemy made no attack either on that night or the following day, but they were occupied in arranging their forces and making preparations. In the mean time, as the position of the enemy was backed by sloping hills and deep ravines shaded with trees, Marius sent there Claudius Marcellus, with three thousand heavy-armed soldiers, with instructions to lie concealed in ambush, and to appear on the rear of the barbarians when the battle was begun. The rest of the army, who supped in good time and got a night's rest, he drew up at daybreak in front of the camp, and ordered the cavalry to advance into the plain. The Teutones, observing this, would not wait for the Romans to come down and fight with them on fair ground, but with all speed and in passion they took to their arms and advanced up the hill. Marius sent his officers to every part of the army, with orders to the soldiers to stand firm in their ranks till the enemy came within the reach of their spears, which they were to discharge, and then to draw their swords, and drive against the barbarians with their shields; for as the ground was unfavourable to the enemy, their blows would have no force, and their line no strength, owing to the unevenness of the surface, which would render their footing unstable and wavering. The advice which he gave to his soldiers he showed that he was the first to put in practice; for in all martial training Marius was inferior to none, and in courage he left all far behind him.

21. The Romans accordingly awaiting the enemy's attack, and coming to close quarters with them, checked their advance up the hill, and the barbarians being hard pressed, gradually retreated to the plain, and while those in the van were rallying

on the level ground, there was a shout and confusion in the rear. For Marcellus had not let the critical moment pass by, but when the shouts rose above the hills, bidding his men spring from their ambush, at a rapid pace and with loud shouts he fell on the enemy's rear and began to cut them down. Those in the rear communicating the alarm to those in front of them, put the whole army into confusion, and after sustaining this double attack for no long time, they broke their ranks and fled. In the pursuit the Romans took prisoners and killed to the number of above one hundred thousand: they also took their tents, waggons, and property, all which, with the exception of what was pilfered, was given to Marius, by the unanimous voice of the soldiers. But though he received so magnificent a present, it was thought that he got nothing at all proportioned to his services, considering the magnitude of the danger. Some authorities do not agree with the statement as to the gift of the spoil, nor yet about the number of the slain. However, they say that the people of Massalia made fences round their vineyards with the bones, and that the soil, after the bodies had rotted and the winter rains had fallen, was so fertilized and saturated with the putrified matter which sank down into it, that it produced a most unusual crop in the next season, and so confirmed the opinion of Archilochus that the land is fattened by human bodies. They say that extraordinary rains generally follow great battles, whether it is that some divine power purifies the ground, and drenches it with waters from Heaven, or that the blood and putrefaction send up a moist and heavy vapour which condenses the atmosphere, which is lightly

moved and readily changed to the greatest degree from the smallest cause.

22. After the battle, Marius caused to be collected the arms and spoils of the barbarians which were conspicuous for ornament, and unbroken, and suited to make a show in his triumphal procession: all the rest he piled up in a great heap, for the celebration of a splendid religious festival. The soldiers were already standing by in their armour, with chaplets on their heads, and Marius having put on the robe with the purple border, and fastened it up about him in the Roman fashion, had taken a burning torch, and holding it up to heaven with both his hands, was going to set fire to the heap, when some friends were seen riding quickly towards him, which caused a deep silence and general expectation. When the horsemen were near, they leaped down and greeted Marius with the news that he was elected consul for the fifth time, and they delivered him letters to this effect. This cause of great rejoicing being added to the celebration of the victory, the army transported with delight sent forth one universal shout, accompanied with the noise and clatter of their arms, and the officers crowned Marius afresh with a wreath of bay, on which he set fire to the heap, and completed the ceremony.

23. But that power which permits no great good fortune to give a pleasure untempered and pure, and diversifies human life with a mixture of evil and of good—be it Fortune or Nemesis, or the necessary nature of things—in a few days brought to Marius intelligence about his companion in command, Catulus, involving Rome again in alarm and tempest, like a cloud which overcasts a clear and serene sky. For Catulus, whose commission

was to oppose the Cimbri, determined to give up the defence of the passes of the Alps, for fear that he might weaken his force if he were obliged to divide it too much. Accordingly he forthwith descended into the plains of Italy, and placing the river Atiso (Adige) in his front, he strongly fortified a position on each side of the river, to hinder the enemy from crossing it; and he also threw a bridge over the river, in order that he might be enabled to support those on the farther side, if the barbarians should make their way through the passes and attack the forts. The enemy had so much contempt for the Romans and such confidence, that, with the view rather of displaying their strength and courage than because it was necessary, they endured the snow-storms without any covering, and made their way through the snow and ice to the summits of the mountains, when, placing their broad shields under them, they slid down the slippery precipices over the huge rocks. When they had encamped near the river, and examined the ford, they began to dam up the stream, and tearing up the neighbouring hills, like the giants of old, they carried whole trees with their roots, fragments of rock, and mounds of earth into the river, and stopped its course; they also let heavy weights float down the stream, which drove against the piles that supported the bridge and shook it by the violence of the blows; all which so terrified the Romans, that most of them deserted the large encampment and took to flight. Then Catulus, like a good and perfect general, showed that he valued the reputation of his countrymen more than his own. Not being able to induce his soldiers to stand, and seeing that they were making

off in alarm, he ordered the eagle to be moved, and running to those who were first in the retreat, he put himself at their head, wishing the disgrace to fall on himself and not on his country, and that the army should not appear to be flying, but to be following their general in his retreat. The barbarians attacked and took the fort on the farther side of the Atiso, though the Roman soldiers defended it with the utmost bravery and in a manner worthy of their country. Admiring their courage, the barbarians let them go on conditions which were sworn to upon the brazen bull, which was taken after the battle, and, it is said, was conveyed to the house of Catulus as the first spoils of the victory. The country being now undefended, the barbarians scoured it in every direction and laid it waste.

24. After this Marius was called to Rome. On his arrival it was generally expected that he would celebrate his triumph, and the senate had without any hesitation voted him one; but he refused it, either because he did not wish to deprive his soldiers and his companions in arms of the honour that was due to them, or because he wished to give the people confidence in the present emergency by intrusting to the fortune of the State the glory of his first victory, with the confident hope that she would return it to him ennobled by a second. Having said what was suitable to the occasion, he set out to join Catulus, whom he encouraged, and at the same time he summoned his soldiers from Gaul. On the arrival of the troops, Marius crossed the Eridanus (Po), and endeavoured to keep the barbarians from that part of Italy which lay south of the river. The Cimbri declined a battle, because,



as they said, they were waiting for the Teutones, and wondered they were so long in coming; but it is doubtful whether they were still really ignorant of their destruction, or merely pretended not to believe it. However, they handled most cruelly those who brought the report of the defeat; and they sent to Marius to demand land for themselves and their brethren, and a sufficient number of cities for their abode. On Marius asking the ambassadors of the Cimbri whom they meant by their brethren, and being told they were the Teutones, all the Romans who were present burst out in a laugh, but Marius, with a sneer, replied, "Don't trouble yourself about your brethren: they have land, and they shall have it for ever, for we have given it to them." The ambassadors, who understood his irony, fell to abusing him, and threatened that the Cimbri would forthwith have their revenge, and the Teutones too, as soon as they should arrive. "They are here already," said Marius; "and it won't be right for you to go before you have embraced your brethren." Saying this he ordered the kings of the Teutones to be produced in their chains; for they were taken in the Alps in their flight by the Sequani.

25. On this being reported to the Cimbri, they forthwith advanced against Marius, who however kept quiet and remained in his camp. It is said that it was on the occasion of this engagement that Marius introduced the alteration in the spears. Before this time that part of the wooden shaft which was let into the iron was fastened with two iron nails; Marius kept one of the nails as it was, but he had the other taken out and a wooden peg, which would be easily broken, put in its place;

the design being that the spear when it had struck the enemy's shield should not remain straight, for when the wooden nail broke, the iron head would bend, and the spear, owing to the twist in the metal part, would still hold to the shield, and so drag along the ground. Now Bœcorix, the king of the Cimbri, with a very few men about him, riding up to the camp, challenged Marius to fix a day and place, and to come out and settle the claim to the country by a battle. Marius replied, that the Romans never took advice of their enemies as to fighting; however, he would gratify the Cimbri in this matter, and accordingly they agreed on the third day from the present, and the battle-field was to be the plain of Vercellæ, which was suited for the Roman cavalry, and would give the Cimbri full room for their numbers. When the appointed day came, the Romans prepared for battle with the enemy. Catulus had twenty-two thousand three hundred men, and Marius thirty-two thousand, which were distributed on each flank of Catulus, who occupied the centre, as Sulla has recorded, who was in the battle. Sulla also says, that Marius expected that the line would be engaged chiefly at the extremities and on the wings, and with the view of appropriating the victory to his own soldiers, and that Catulus might have no part in the contest, and not come to close quarters with the enemy, he took advantage of the hollow front of the centre, which usually results when the line is extended, and accordingly divided and placed his forces as already stated. Some writers say that Catulus himself also made a statement to the like effect, in his apology about the battle, and accused Marius of want of good faith to him. The

infantry of the Cimbri marched slowly from their fortified posts in a square, each side of which was thirty stadia: the cavalry, fifteen thousand in number, advanced in splendid style, wearing helmets which resembled in form the open mouths of frightful beasts and strange-shaped heads, surmounted by lofty crests of feathers, which made them appear taller; they had also breast-plates of iron and white glittering shields. Their practice was to discharge two darts, and then closing with the enemy, to use their large heavy swords.

26. On this occasion the enemy's cavalry did not advance straight against the Romans, but deviating to the right they attempted to draw the Romans little by little in that direction, with the view of attacking them when they had got them between themselves and their infantry, which was on the left. The Roman generals perceived the manœuvre, but they could not stop their soldiers, for there was a cry from some one that the enemy was flying, and immediately the whole army rushed to the pursuit. In the mean time the barbarian infantry advanced like a huge sea in motion. Then Marius, washing his hands and raising them to heaven, vowed a hecatomb to the gods; and Catulus also in like manner raising his hands, vowed to consecrate the fortune of that day. It is said that when Marius had sacrificed and had inspected the victims, he cried out with a loud voice, Mine is the Victory. When the attack had commenced, an incident happened to Marius which may be considered as a divine retribution, as Sulla says. An immense cloud of dust being raised, as was natural, and having covered the two armies, it happened that Marius, rushing to the pursuit with

his men after him, missed the enemy, and being carried beyond their line, was for some time in the plain without knowing where he was; but it happened that the barbarians closed with Catulus, and the struggle was with him and his soldiers chiefly, among whom Sulla says that he himself fought: he adds, that the heat aided the Romans, and the sun, which shone full in the face of the Cimbri. For the barbarians were well inured to cold, having been brought up in forests, as already observed, and a cool country, but they were unnerved with the heat, which made them sweat violently and breathe hard, and put their shields before their faces, for the battle took place after the summer solstice, and, according to the Roman reckoning, three days before the new moon of the month now called Augustus, but then Sextilis. The dust also which covered their enemies helped to encourage the Romans; for they did not see their numbers at a distance, but running forward they engaged severally man to man with the enemy, without having been alarmed by the sight of them. And so well were the bodies of the Romans inured to toil and exertion, that not one of them was seen to sweat or pant, though the heat was excessive and they came to the shock of battle running at full speed, as Catulus is said to have reported to the honour of his soldiers.

27. Now the greater part of the enemy and their best soldiers were cut to pieces in their ranks, for in order to prevent the line from being broken the soldiers of the first rank were fastened together by long chains which were passed through their belts. The fugitives were driven back to their encampments, when a most tragic scene was exhibited.

The women standing on the waggons clothed in black massacred the fugitives, some their husbands, and others their brothers and fathers, and then strangling their infants they threw them under the wheels and the feet of the beasts of burden, and killed themselves. It is said that one woman hung herself from the end of the pole of a waggon with her children fastened to her feet by cords, and that the men, not finding any trees near, tied themselves to the horns of the oxen and some to their feet, and then goading the animals to make them plunge about, were dragged and trampled till they died. But though so many perished in this manner, above sixty thousand were taken prisoners, and the number of those who fell was said to be twice as many. Now all the valuable property became the booty of the soldiers of Marius, but the military spoils and standards and trumpets, it is said, were carried to the tent of Catulus; and Catulus relied chiefly on this as a proof that the victory was gained by his men. A dispute having arisen among the soldiers, as might be expected, some ambassadors from Parma who were present were chosen to act as arbitrators, and the soldiers of Catulus leading them among the dead bodies of the enemy, pointed out that the barbarians were pierced by their spears, which were recognised by the marks on them, for Catulus had taken care to have his name cut on the shafts. Notwithstanding this, the whole credit was given to Marius, both on account of the previous victory and his superior rank. And what was most of all, the people gave him the title of the third founder of Rome, considering that the danger which he had averted was not less than that of the Gallic invasion, and in

their rejoicings with their wives and children, at home they coupled Marius with the gods in the religious ceremonies that preceded the banquet and in their libations, and they thought that he alone ought to celebrate both triumphs. Marius however did not triumph alone, but Catulus shared the honour, for Marius wished to show that he was not elated by his victories: there was another reason also; he was afraid of the soldiers, who were prepared not to let Marius triumph, if Catulus was deprived of the honour.

28. Though Marius was now discharging his fifth consulship, he was more anxious to obtain a sixth than others are about the first; and he endeavoured to gain favour by courting the people and giving way to the many in order to please them, wherein he went further than was consistent with the state and dignity of the office, and further than suited his own temper, for he wished to show himself very compliant and a man of the people, when in fact his character was altogether different. Now it is said that in all civil matters and amid the noise of the popular assemblies Marius was entirely devoid of courage, which arose from his excessive love of applause; and the undaunted spirit and firmness which he showed in battle failed him before the people, where he was disconcerted by the most ordinary expressions of praise or censure. However, the following story is told of him: Marius had presented with the citizenship a thousand of the people of Cainerinum, who had particularly distinguished themselves in the war; this was considered to be an illegal proceeding, and being charged with it by several persons in public, he replied that he could not hear the law for the

moned the Senators to the Rostra, and urged them to take the oath. When Marius came forward there was profound silence, and all eyes were turned upon him to see what he would do. Marius however forgetting all his bold expressions before the Senate, said his neck was not broad enough for him to be the first to give his opinion on so weighty a matter all at once, and that he would take the oath and obey the law, if it was a law; which condition he cunningly added as a cloak to his shame. The people, delighted at Marius taking the oath, clapped their hands and applauded, but the nobility were much dejected and hated Marius for his tergiversation. However, all the Senators took the oath in order, through fear of the people, till it came to the turn of Metellus, and though his friends urged and entreated him to take the oath and so to avoid the severe penalties which the law of Saturninus enacted against those who refused, he would not swerve from his purpose or take the oath, but adhering firmly to his principles and prepared to submit to any penalty rather than do a mean thing, he left the Forum, saying to those about him, that to do a wrong thing was mean, to act honourably when there was no danger was in any man's power, but that it was the characteristic of a good man to do what was right even when it was accompanied with risk. Upon this Saturninus put it to the vote that the consuls should proclaim Metellus to be excluded from fire, water, and house; and the most worthless part of the populace was ready to put him to death. Now all the men of honourable feeling, sympathizing with Metellus, crowded round him, but Metellus would not allow any commotion to be raised on his account, and he

quitted the city like a wise and prudent man, saying, Either matters will mend and the people will change their minds, when I shall be invited to return, or if things stay as they are, it is best to be out of the way. What testimonies of affection and respect Metellus received in his exile, and how he spent his time at Rhodes in philosophical studies, will be better told in his Life.

30. Now Marius did not perceive what incurable mischief he had done, for in return for the services of Saturninus he was obliged to wink at his audacious and violent measures, and to remain quiet while Saturninus was evidently aiming at the supreme power and the subversion of the constitution by force of arms and bloodshed. Between his fear of the disapprobation of the nobles and his wish to retain the favour of the people, Marius was reduced to an act of extreme meanness and duplicity. The first men in the State came to him by night and urged him to act against Saturninus, whom Marius however received by another door without their knowledge; and pretending to both parties that he was troubled with a looseness, he went backwards and forwards in the house between the nobles and Saturninus, running first to one and then to the other, and endeavouring to rouse and irritate them mutually. However, when the Senate and the Equites began to combine and express their indignation, he drew out the soldiers into the Forum, and driving the party of Saturninus to the Capitol, he compelled them to submit for fear of dying of thirst, by cutting off the pipes that supplied them with water. The partisans of Saturninus in despair called out to Marius and surrendered on the Public Faith, as the Romans term



it. Marius did all he could to save their lives, but without effect, for as soon as they came down to the Forum they were massacred. These events made him odious both to the nobles and the people, and when the time for electing censors came, contrary to all expectation he did not offer himself as a candidate, but allowed men of inferior rank to be elected, fearing he might be rejected. He however alleged as an excuse, though it was not true, that he did not wish to make himself many enemies by a rigid scrutiny into their lives and morals.

31. A measure being proposed for recalling Metellus from exile, Marius did all he could to stop it both by word and deed, but finding his opposition useless, he at last desisted. The people received the proposed measure well, and Marius, who could not endure to see the return of Metellus, set sail for Cappadocia and Galatia, pretending that he wished to make the sacrifices which he had vowed to the Great Mother, but in reality having quite a different object in view, which the people never suspected. Marius was naturally ill suited for times of peace and for taking a part in civil affairs, and he had attained his position merely by arms; and now thinking that he was gradually losing his influence and reputation by doing nothing and remaining quiet, he looked out for an opportunity of again being actively employed. He hoped to be able to stir up the kings of Asia and to rouse and stimulate Mithridates, who was supposed to be ready to go to war, in which case he expected to be appointed to take the command against him, and so to fill the city with new triumphs, and his house with Pontic spoils and the wealth of the king. Accordingly though Mithridates paid him

all attention and honour, Marius could not be bent from his purpose or induced to give way: his only answer was, "King, either try to conquer the Romans or obey their orders in silence;" an expression which startled the king, who had often heard the language of the Romans, but then for the first time heard their bold speech.

32. On his return to Rome he built a house near the Forum, either, as he gave out, because he did not wish those who paid their respects to him to have the trouble of coming a great distance, or because he thought the distance was the reason why a greater number of persons did not visit his door than that of other persons. The reason however was not this; but as Marius was inferior to others in affability of manners and political usefulness, he was neglected, just like an instrument of war in time of peace. As for others, he cared less for their superior popularity, but he was grievously annoyed at Sulla, who had risen to power through the dislike which the nobles bore to Marius, and who made his quarrels with Marius the foundation of his political conduct. But when Bocchus, the Numidian, on receiving the title of Ally of the Romans, erected in the Capitol Victories bearing trophies, and by the side of them placed gilded figures representing Jugurtha surrendered by him to Sulla, Marius was transported with passion and jealousy at Sulla thus appropriating to himself all the credit of this affair, and he was making ready forcibly to throw down the figures. Sulla prepared to oppose him, and a civil commotion was just on the point of breaking out, when it was stopped by the Social War, which suddenly burst upon the State. In this war the most warlike

and populous of the Italian nations combined against Rome, and came very near to overthrowing her supremacy, for they were not only well provided with munitions of war and hardy soldiers, but they had commanders who displayed admirable courage and skill, which made them a match for the Romans.

33. This war, which was diversified by many reverses and a great variety of fortune, took from Marius as much reputation and influence as it gave to Sulla. For Marius appeared slow in his plans, and on all occasions rather over cautious and tardy; whether it was that age had quenched his wonted vigour and fire, for he was now in his sixty-sixth year, or, as he alleged himself, his nerves were diseased and his body was incapable of supporting fatigue, and yet from a feeling of honour he endured the hardships of the campaign beyond his powers. Notwithstanding this he won a great battle, in which he slaughtered six thousand of the enemy, and he never allowed them the opportunity of getting any advantage, but when he was intrenched in his camp he submitted to be insulted by them and was never irritated by any challenge to give them battle. It is recorded that Publius Silo, who had the highest reputation and influence of any man on the side of the enemy, addressed him to this effect: "If you are a great general, Marius, come down and fight;" to which Marius replied, "Nay, do you, if you are a great general, compel me to fight against my will." And again, on another occasion when the enemy presented a favourable opportunity for attacking them, but the Romans lacked courage, and both sides retired, he summoned his soldiers together, and said, "I don't know whether

to call the enemy or you greater cowards; for they could not see your back, nor you their nape." At last, however, he gave up the command, on the ground that his weakness rendered him unable to endure the fatigue of the campaign.

34. The Italians had now given in, and many persons at Rome were intriguing for the command in the Mithridatic war with the assistance of the demagogues; but, contrary to all expectation, the tribune Sulpicius, a most audacious fellow, brought forward Marius and proposed him as proconsul with power to prosecute the war against Mithridates. The people indeed were divided, some being for Marius and others in favour of Sulla; and they bade Marius go to the warm baths of Baie and look after his health, inasmuch as he was worn out with old age and defluxions, as he admitted himself. Marius had in the neighbourhood of Misenum a sumptuous house, furnished with luxuries and accommodation too delicately for a man who had served in so many wars and campaigns. It is said that Cornelia bought this house for seventy-five thousand; and that no long time after it was purchased by Lucius Lucullus for two millions five hundred thousand; so quickly did extravagant expenditure spring up and so great was the increase of luxury. But Marius, moved thereto by boyish emulation, throwing off his old age and his infirmities went daily to the Campus Martius, where he took his exercises with the young men, and showed that he was still active in arms and sat firm in all the movements of horsemanship, though he was not of a compact form in his old age, but very fat and heavy. Some were pleased at his being thus occupied, and they came down to the

Campus to see and admire his emulation and his exercises; but the wiser part lamented to witness his greediness after gain and distinction, and they pitied a man who, having risen from poverty to enormous wealth, and to the highest station from a low degree, knew not when to put bounds to his good fortune, and was not satisfied with being an object of admiration and quietly enjoying what he had, but as if he was in want of everything, after his triumphs and his honours was setting out to Cappadocia and the Euxine to oppose himself in his old age to Archelaus and Neoptolemus, the satraps of Mithridates. The reasons which Marius alleged against all this in justification of himself appeared ridiculous; he said that he wished to serve in the campaign in order to teach his son military discipline.

35. The disease that had long been rankling in the State at last broke out, when Marius had found in the audacity of Sulpicius a most suitable instrument to effect the public ruin; for Sulpicius admired and emulated Saturninus in everything, except that he charged him with timidity and want of promptitude in his measures. But there was no lack of promptitude on the part of Sulpicius, who kept six hundred of the Equestrian class about him as a kind of body-guard and called them an Opposition Senate. He also attacked with a body of armed men the consuls while they were holding a public meeting; one of the consuls made his escape from the Forum, but Sulpicius seized his son and butchered him. Sulla, the other consul, being pursued, made his escape into the house of Marius, where nobody would have expected him to go, and thus avoided his pursuers who ran past; and it is

said that he was let out in safety by Marius by another door and so got to the camp. But Sulla in his Memoirs says that he did not fly for refuge to Marius, but, withdrew there to consult with him about the matters which Sulpicius was attempting to make him assent to against his will by surrounding him with bare swords and driving him on towards the house of Marius, and that finally he went from the house of Marius to the Rostra, and removed, as they required him to do, the Justitium. This being accomplished, Sulpicius, who had now gained a victory, got the command conferred on Marius by the votes of the assembly, and Marius, who was prepared to set out, sent two tribunes to receive the army of Sulla. But Sulla encouraging his soldiers, who were three or five thousand men well armed, led them to Rome. The soldiers fell on the tribunes whom Marius had sent, and murdered them. Marius also put to death many of the friends of Sulla in Rome, and proclaimed freedom to the slaves if they would join him; but it is said that only three slaves accepted the offer. He made but a feeble resistance to Sulla on his entering the city, and was soon compelled to fly. On quitting Rome he was separated from his partisans, owing to its being dark, and he fled to Solonium, one of his farms. He sent his son Marius to get provisions from the estates of his father-in-law Mucius, which were not far off, and himself went to Ostia, where Numerius, one of his friends, had provided a vessel for him, and without waiting for his son he set sail with his stepson Granius. The young man arrived at the estates of Mucius, but he was surprised by the approach of day while he was getting something together and packing it up, and thus did not altogether escape

the vigilance of his enemies, for some cavalry came to the spot, suspecting that Marius might be there. The overseer of the farm, seeing them approach, hid Marius in a waggon loaded with beans, and yoking the oxen to it, he met the horsemen on his road to the city with the waggon. Marius was thus conveyed to the house of his wife, where he got what he wanted, and by night made his way to the sea, and embarking in a vessel bound for Libya, arrived there in safety.

36. The elder Marius was carried along the coast of Italy by a favourable wind, but as he was afraid of one Geminus, a powerful man in Terracina, and an enemy of his, he ordered the sailors to keep clear of that place. The sailors were willing to do as he wished, but the wind veering round and blowing from the sea with a great swell, they were afraid that the vessel could not stand the beating of the waves, and as Marius also was much troubled with sickness, they made for land, and with great difficulty got to the coast near Circeii. As the storm increased and they wanted provisions, they landed from the vessel and wandered about without any definite object, but as happens in cases of great difficulty, seeking merely to escape from the present evil as worst of all, and putting their hopes on the chances of fortune; for the land was their enemy, and the sea also. and they feared to fall in with men, and feared also not to fall in with men, because they were in want of provisions. After some time they met with a few herdsmen, who had nothing to give them in their need, but they recognised Marius and advised him to get out of the way as quick as he could, for a number of horsemen had just been seen there riding about in quest of him.

Thus surrounded by every difficulty and his attendants fainting for want of food, he turned from the road, and plunging into a deep forest, passed the night in great suffering. The next day, compelled by hunger and wishing to make use of his remaining strength before he was completely exhausted, he went along the shore, encouraging his followers, and entreating them not to abandon the last hope, for which he reserved himself on the faith of an old prediction. For when he was quite a youth and living in the country, he caught in his garment an eagle's nest as it was falling down, with seven young ones in it; which his parents wondering at, consulted the soothsayers, who told them that their son would become the most illustrious of men, and that it was the will of fate that he should receive the supreme command and magistracy seven times. Some affirm that this really happened to Marius; but others say that those who were with Marius at this time and in the rest of his flight heard the story from him, and believing it, recorded an event which is altogether fabulous. For an eagle has not more than two young ones at a time, and they say that Musæus was mistaken when he wrote of the eagle thus:—

Lays three, two hatches, and one tends with care.

But that Marius frequently during his flight, and when he was in the extremest difficulties, said that he should survive to enjoy a seventh consulship, is universally admitted.

37. They were now about twenty stadia from Minturnæ, an Italian city, when they saw at a distance a troop of horse riding towards them, and as it chanced two merchant vessels sailing along the



coast. Running down to the sea as fast as they could and as their strength would allow, and throwing themselves into the water, they swam to the vessels. Granius having got into one of the vessels, passed over to the island of Ænaria, which is off that coast. But Marius, who was heavy and unwieldy, was with difficulty held above the water by two slaves and placed in the other vessel, the horsemen being now close to them and calling from the shore to the sailors either to bring the vessel to land or to throw Marius overboard, and so set sail wherever they pleased. But as Marius entreated them with tears in his eyes, those who had the command of the vessel, after changing their minds as to what they should do as often as was possible in so short a time, at last told the horsemen that they would not surrender Marius. The horsemen rode off in anger, and the sailors, again changing their minds, came to land, and casting anchor at the mouth of the Liris, which spreads out like a lake, they advised Marius to disembark and take some food on land, and to rest himself from his fatigues till a wind should rise: they added, that it was the usual time for the sea-breeze to decline, and for a fresh breeze to spring up from the marshes. Marius did as they advised, and the sailors carried him out of the vessel and laid him on the grass, little expecting what was to follow. The sailors immediately embarking again and raising the anchor, sailed off as fast as they could, not thinking it honourable to surrender Marius or safe to protect him. In this situation, deserted by everybody, he lay for some time silent on the shore, and at last recovering himself with difficulty, he walked on with much pain on account of there being no path.

After passing through deep swamps and ditches full of water and mud, he came to the hut of an old man who worked in the marshes, and falling down at his feet, he entreated him to save and help a man, who, if he escaped from the present dangers, would reward him beyond all his hopes. The man, who either knew Marius of old or saw something in the expression of his countenance which indicated superior rank, said that his hut was sufficient to shelter him if that was all he wanted, but if he was wandering about to avoid his enemies, he could conceal him in a place which was more retired. Upon Marius entreating him to do so, the old man took him to the marsh, and bidding him lie down in a hole near the river, he covered Marius with reeds and other light things of the kind, which were well adapted to hide him without pressing too heavily.

38. After a short time a sound and noise from the hut reached the ears of Marius. Geminius of Terracina had sent a number of men in pursuit of him, some of whom had chanced to come there, and were terrifying the old man and rating him for having harboured and concealed an enemy of the Romans. Marius, rising from his hiding-place and stripping off his clothes, threw himself into the thick and muddy water of the marsh: and this was the cause of his not escaping the search of his pursuers, who dragged him out covered with mud, and leading him naked to Minturnæ, gave him up to the magistrates. Now instructions had been already sent to every city, requiring the authorities to search for Marius, and to put him to death when he was taken. However, the magistrates thought it best to deliberate on the matter

first, and in the mean time they lodged Marius in the house of a woman named Fannia, who was supposed not to be kindly disposed towards him on account of an old grudge. Fannia had a husband whose name was Tinnius, and on separating from him she claimed her portion, which was considerable. The husband charged her with adultery, and Marius, who was then in his sixth consulship, presided as judge. But on the trial it appeared that Fannia had been a loose woman, and that her husband, though he knew it, took her to wife, and lived with her a long time; accordingly, Marius being disgusted with both of them, decreed that the man should return the woman's portion, but he imposed on the woman, as a mark of infamy, a penalty of four copper coins. Fannia however did not on this occasion exhibit the feeling of a woman who had been wronged, but when she saw Marius, far from showing any resentment for the past, she did all that she could for him under the circumstances, and encouraged him. Marius thanked her, and said that he had good hopes, for a favourable omen had occurred to him, which was something of this sort:—When they were leading him along, and he was near the house of Fannia, the doors being opened, an ass ran out to drink from a spring which was flowing hard by: the ass, looking at Marius in the face with a bold and cheerful air, at first stood opposite him, and then making a loud braying, sprung past him frisking with joy. From this, Marius drew a conclusion, as he said, that the deity indicated that his safety would come through the sea rather than through the land, for the ass did not betake himself to dry food, but turned from him to the water. Having said this to Fannia, he went to

rest alone, bidding her close the door of the apartment.

39. The magistrates and council of Minturnæ, after deliberating, resolved that there ought to be no delay, and that they should put Marius to death. As none of the citizens would undertake to do it, a Gallic or Cimbrian horse-soldier, for the story is told both ways, took a sword and entered the apartment. Now that part of the room in which Marius happened to be lying was not very well lighted, but was in shade, and it is said that the eyes of Marius appeared to the soldier to dart a strong flame, and a loud voice issued from the gloom—Man, do you dare to kill Caius Marius? The barbarian immediately took to flight, and throwing the sword down, rushed through the door, calling out, I cannot kill Caius Marius. This caused a general consternation, which was succeeded by compassion and change of opinion, and self-reproach for having come to so illegal and ungrateful a resolution concerning a man who had saved Italy, and whom it would be a disgrace not to assist. “Let him go then,” it was said, “where he pleases, as an exile, and suffer in some other place whatever fate has reserved for him. And let us pray that the gods visit us not with their anger for ejecting Marius from our city in poverty and rags.” Moved by such considerations, all in a body entered the room where Marius was, and getting round him, began to conduct him to the sea. Though every man was eager to furnish something or other, and all were busying themselves, there was a loss of time. The grove of Marica, as it is called, obstructed the passage to the sea, for it was an object of great veneration, and it was a strict rule to carry

nothing out of it that had ever been carried in ; and now, if they went all round it, there would of necessity be delay : but this difficulty was settled by one of the older men at last calling out, that no road was inaccessible or impassable by which Marius was saved ; and he was the first to take some of the things that they were conveying to the ship and to pass through the place.

40. Everything was soon got ready through these zealous exertions, and a ship was supplied for Marius by one Belæus, who afterwards caused a painting to be made representing these events, and dedicated it in the temple. Marius embarking, was carried along by the wind, and by chance was taken to the island Ænaria, where he found Granius and the rest of his friends, and set sail with them for Libya. As their water failed, they were compelled to touch at Erycina in Sicily. Now, a Roman quæstor, who happened to be about these parts on the look-out, was very near taking Marius when he landed ; and he killed about sixteen of the men who were sent to get water. Marius, hastily embarking and crossing the sea to the island of Meninx, there learnt for the first time that his son had escaped with Cethegus, and that they were going to Iampsas (Hiempsal), king of the Numidians, to ask aid of him. This news encouraged him a little, and he was emboldened to move from the island to the neighbourhood of Carthage. At this time the governor of Libya was Sextilius, a Roman, who had neither received injury nor favour from Marius, and it was expected that he would help him, at least, as far as feelings of compassion move a man. But no sooner had Marius landed with a few of his party, than an officer met him, and

standing right in front of him said, "The Governor Sextilius forbids you, Marius, to set foot on Libya, and he says that if you do, he will support the decree of the Senate by treating you as an enemy." On hearing this, grief and indignation deprived Marius of utterance, and he was a long time silent, looking fixedly at the officer: Upon the officer asking Marius what he had to say, what reply he had for the governor, he answered with a deep groan, Tell him you have seen Caius Marius a fugitive sitting on the ruins of Carthage: a reply in which he not unaptly compared the fate of that city and his own changed fortunes. In the mean time, Iampsas, the king of the Numidians, being unresolved which way to act, treated young Marius and his companions with respect, but still detained them on some new pretext whenever they wished to leave; and it was evident that he had no fair object in view in thus deferring their departure. However, an incident happened of no uncommon kind, which brought about their deliverance. The younger Marius was handsome, and one of the king's concubines was grieved to see him in a condition unbefitting his station; and this feeling of compassion was a beginning and motive towards love. At first, however, Marius rejected the woman's proposals, but seeing that there were no other means of escape, and that her conduct proceeded from more serious motives than mere passion, he accepted her proffered favours, and with her aid stole away with his friends and made his escape to his father. After embracing one another, they went along the shore, where they saw some scorpions fighting, which Marius considered to be a bad omen. Accordingly they forthwith embarked in a fish-

ing-board, and passed over to the island Cercina, which is no great distance from the mainland; and it happened that they had only just set sail, when some horsemen despatched by the king were seen riding to the spot where they embarked. Marius thus escaped a danger equal to any that ever threatened him.

41. News reached Rome that Sulla was encountering the generals of Mithridates in Bœotia, while the consuls were quarrelling and taking up arms. A battle was fought, in which Octavius got the victory and ejected Cinna, who was attempting to govern by violent means, and he put in Cinna's place as consul Cornelius Merula; but Cinna collected troops in Italy and made war against Octavius. On hearing this, Marius determined to set sail immediately, which he did with some Moorish cavalry that he took from Africa, and some few Italians who had fled there, but the number of both together did not exceed a thousand. Coming to shore at Telamo in Tyrrhenia, and landing there, Marius proclaimed freedom to the slaves; and as the freemen who were employed in agriculture there, and in pasturing cattle, flocked to the sea, attracted by his fame, Marius persuaded the most vigorous of them to join him, and in a few days he had collected a considerable force and manned forty ships. Knowing that Octavius was an honourable man and wished to direct the administration in the justest way, but that Cinna was disliked by Sulla and opposed to the existing constitution, he determined to join him with his force. Accordingly he sent to Cinna and proffered to obey him as consul in everything. Cinna accepted the proposal, and naming Marius proconsul, sent him fasces and the

other insignia of the office. Marius, however, observing that such things were not suited to his fortunes, clad in a mean dress, with his hair uncut from the day that he had been an exile, and now above seventy years of age, advanced with slow steps, wishing to make himself an object of compassion ; but there was mingled with his abject mien more than his usual terrific expression of countenance, and through his downcast looks he showed that his passion, so far from being humbled, was infuriated by his reverses of fortune.

42. As soon as he had embraced Cinna and greeted the soldiers, Marius commenced active operations and gave a great turn to affairs. First of all, by attacking the corn-vessels with his ships and plundering the merchants, he made himself master of the supplies. He next sailed to the maritime cities, which he took ; and, finally, Ostia being treacherously surrendered to him, he made plunder of the property that he found there and put to death many of the people, and by blocking up the river he completely cut off his enemies from all supplies by sea. He now moved on with his army towards Rome and occupied the Janiculus. Octavius damaged his own cause, not so much from want of skill as through his scrupulous observance of the law, to which he unwisely sacrificed the public interests ; for though many persons advised him to invite the slaves to join him by promising their freedom, he refused to make them members of the State from which he was endeavouring to exclude Marius in obedience to the law. On the arrival at Rome of Metellus, the son of Metellus who had commanded in Libya, and had been banished from the city through the intrigues of



Marius, the soldiers deserted Octavius and came to Metellus, entreating him to take the command and save the city; they said, if they had an experienced and active commander, they would fight well and get the victory. But Metellus expressed great dissatisfaction at their conduct and bade them go to the consul, upon which they passed over to the enemy. Metellus also in despair left the city. But Octavius was persuaded by Chaldæans and certain diviners and interpreters of the Sibylline books to stay in Rome by the assurance that all would turn out well. Octavius, who in all other matters had as solid a judgment as any Roman, and most carefully maintained the consular dignity free from all undue influence according to the usage of his country and the laws, as if they were unchangeable rules, nevertheless showed great weakness in keeping company with impostors and diviners, rather than with men versed in political and military matters. Now Octavius was dragged down from the Rostra before Marius entered the city, by some persons who were sent forward, and murdered; and it is said that a Chaldæan writing was found in his bosom after he was killed. It seemed to be a very inexplicable circumstance, that of two illustrious commanders, Marius owed his success to not disregarding divination, and Octavius thereby lost his life.

43. Matters being in this state, the Senate met and sent a deputation to Cinna and Marius to invite them into the city and to entreat them to spare the citizens. Cinna, as consul, sitting on his chair of office gave audience to the commissioners and returned a kind answer: Marius stood by the consul's chair without speaking a word, but indicating

by the unchanging heaviness of his brow and his gloomy look that he intended to fill Rome with slaughter. After the audience was over, they marched to the city. Cinna entered accompanied by his guards, but Marius halting at the gates angrily affected to have some scruples about entering: he said he was an exile and was excluded from his country by a law, and if anybody wanted to have him in the city, they must go to the vote again and undo the vote by which he was banished, just as if he were a man who respected the laws and were returning from exile to a free state. Accordingly he summoned the people to the Forum, but before three or four of the tribes had voted, throwing off the mask and setting aside all the talk about being legally recalled, he entered with some guards selected from the slaves who had flocked to him, and were called *Bardiæi*. These fellows killed many persons by his express orders and many on the mere signal of his nod; and at last meeting with *Ancharius*, a senator who had filled the office of prætor, they struck him down with their daggers in the presence of Marius, when they saw that Marius did not salute him. After this whenever he did not salute a man or return his salute, this was a signal for them to massacre him forthwith in the streets, in consequence of which even the friends of Marius were filled with consternation and horror when they approached him. The slaughter was now great, and Cinna's appetite was dulled and he was satisfied with blood; but Marius daily went on with his passion at the highest pitch and thirsting for vengeance, through the whole list of those whom he suspected in any degree. And every road and every city was filled with the pursuers, hunting

out those who attempted to escape and conceal themselves; and the ties of hospitality and friendship were proved to be no security in misfortune, for there were very few who did not betray those who sought refuge with them. This rendered the conduct of the slaves of Cornutus the more worthy of praise and admiration, for they concealed their master at home, and hanging up by the neck the dead body of some obscure person, and putting a gold ring on his finger, they showed him to the guards of Marius, and then wrapping up the body as if it were their master's, they interred it. The device went unsuspected, and Cornutus being thus secreted by his slaves, made his escape to Gaul.

44. The orator Marcus Antonius found a faithful friend, but still he did not escape. This man, though poor, and of the lower class, received in his house one of the most illustrious of the Romans, and wishing to entertain him as well as he could, he sent a slave to one of the neighbouring wine-shops to get some wine. As the slave was more curious than usual in tasting it, and told the man to give him some better wine, the merchant asked what could be the reason that he did not buy the new wine, as usual, and the ordinary wine, but wanted some of good quality and high price. The slave replied in his simplicity, as he was speaking to an old acquaintance, that his master was entertaining Marcus Antonius, who was concealed at his house. The wine-dealer, a faithless and unprincipled wretch, as soon as the slave left him, hurried off to Marius, who was at supper, and having gained admission, told him that he would betray Marcus Antonius to him. On hearing this, Marius is said

to have uttered a loud shout and to have clapped his hands with delight; and he was near getting up and going to the place himself, but his friends stopped him, and he despatched Annius with some soldiers, with orders to bring him the head of Antonius immediately. On reaching the house, Annius waited at the door, and the soldiers mounting the stairs entered the room, but on seeing Antonius, every man began to urge some of his companions and push him forward to do the deed instead of himself. And so powerful were the charm and persuasion of his eloquence, when Antonius began to speak and pray for his life, that not a man of them could venture to lay hands on him or look him in the face, but they all bent their heads down and shed tears. As this caused some delay, Annius went up stairs, where he saw Antonius speaking and the soldiers awed and completely softened by his eloquence; on which he abused them, and running up to Antonius, cut off his head with his own hand. The friends of Catulus Lutatius, who had been joint consul with Marius and with him had triumphed over the Cimbri, interceded for him with Marius, and begged for his life; but the only answer they got was, "He must die!" and accordingly Catulus shut himself up in a room, and lighting a quantity of charcoal, suffocated himself. Headless trunks thrown into the streets and trampled under foot excited no feeling of compassion, but only a universal shudder and alarm. But the people were most provoked by the licence of the *Bardæi*, who murdered fathers of families in their houses, defiled their children, and violated their wives; and they went on plundering and committing violence, till Cinna and Sertorius com-

bining, attacked them when they were asleep in the camp, and transfixed them with spears.

45. In the meantime, as if the wind was beginning to turn, reports reached Rome from all quarters that Sulla had finished the war with Mithridates, and recovered the provinces, and was sailing against the city with a large force. This intelligence caused a brief cessation and pause to unspeakable calamities, for Marius and his faction were in expectation of the immediate arrival of their enemies. Now being elected consul for the seventh time, on the very Calends of January, which is the beginning of the year, Marius caused one Sextus Lucinus to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock, which appeared to be a presage of the great misfortunes that were again to befall the partisans of Marius and the State. But Marius was now worn out with labour, and, as it were, drowned with cares, and cowed in his spirit; and the experience of past dangers and toil made him tremble at the thoughts of a new war, and fresh struggles and alarms, and he could not sustain himself when he reflected that now he would have to hazard a contest, not with Octavius or Merula at the head of a tumultuous crowd and seditious rabble, but that Sulla was advancing—Sulla, who had once driven him from Rome, and had now confined Mithridates within the limits of his kingdom of Pontus. With his mind crushed by such reflections, and placing before his eyes his long wanderings and escapes and dangers in his flight by sea and by land, he fell into a state of deep despair, and was troubled with nightly alarms and terrific dreams, in which he thought he heard a voice continually calling out

Dreadful is the lion's lair  
Though he is no longer there.

As he greatly dreaded wakeful nights, he gave himself up to drinking and intoxication at unseasonable hours and to a degree unsuited to his age, in order to procure sleep, as if he could, thus elude his cares. At last, when a man arrived with news from the sea, fresh terrors seized him, partly from fear of the future and partly from feeling the burden and the weariness of the present state of affairs; and while he was in this condition, a slight disturbance sufficed to bring on a kind of pleurisy, as the philosopher Posidonius relates, who also says that he had an interview and talked with him on the subject of his embassy, while Marius was sick. But one Caius Piso, an historian, says that Marius, while walking about with some friends after supper, fell to talking of the incidents of his life, beginning with his boyhood, and after enumerating his many vicissitudes of fortune, he said that no man of sense ought to trust fortune after such reverses; upon which he took leave of his friends, and keeping his bed for seven successive days, thus died. Some say that his ambitious character was most completely disclosed during his illness by his falling into the extravagant delusion that he was conducting the war against Mithridates, and he would then put his body into all kinds of attitudes and movements, as he used to do in battle, and accompany them with loud shouts and frequent cheers. So strong and unconquerable a desire to be engaged in that war had his ambitious and jealous character instilled into him; and therefore, though he had lived to be seventy years of age, and was the first Roman who had been seven times consul, and had

made himself a family, and wealth enough for several kings, he still bewailed his fortune, and complained of dying before he had attained the fulness and completion of his desires.

46. Now Plato, being at the point of death, felicitated himself on his dæmon and his fortune, first that he was born a human being, then that he was a Greek, and neither a barbarian nor an irrational animal; and besides all this, that his birth had fallen on the time when Socrates lived. And indeed it is said that Antipater of Tarsus in like manner, just before his death, when recapitulating the happiness that he had enjoyed, did not forget his prosperous voyage from home to Athens, inasmuch as he considered every gift of favourable fortune as a thing to be thankful for, and preserved it to the last in his memory, which is to man the best storehouse of good things. But those who have no memory and no sense, let the things that happen ooze away imperceptibly in the course of time; and consequently, as they hold nothing and keep nothing, being always empty of all goodness, but full of expectation, they look to the future and throw away the present. And yet fortune may hinder the future, but the present cannot be taken from a man; nevertheless, such men reject that which fortune now gives, as something foreign, and dream of that which is uncertain: and it is natural that they should; for before reason and education have enabled them to put a foundation and basement under external goods, they get and they heap them together, and are never able to fill the insatiate appetite of their soul. Now Marius died, having held for seventeen days his seventh consulship. And immediately there were great rejoicings

in Rome, and good hope that there was a release from a cruel tyranny ; but in a few days men found that they had exchanged an old master for a young one who was in the fulness of his vigour ; such cruelty and severity did the son of Marius exhibit in putting to death the noblest and best citizens. He gained the reputation of a man of courage, and one who loved danger in his wars against his enemies, and was named a son of Mars ; but his acts speedily showed his real character, and he received instead the name of a son of Venus. Finally, being shut up in Præneste by Sulla, and having in vain tried all ways of saving his life, he killed himself when he saw that the city was captured and all escape was hopeless.



## SULLA.

1. LUCIUS CORNELIUS SULLA, by birth, belonged to the Patricians, whom we may consider as corresponding to the Eupatridæ. Among his ancestors is enumerated Rufinus, who became consul; but is less noted for attaining this honour than for the infamy which befel him. He was detected in possessing above ten pounds weight of silver plate, which amount the law did not permit, and he was ejected from the Senate. His immediate descendants continued in a mean condition, and Sulla himself was brought up with no great paternal property. When he was a young man he lived in lodgings, for which he paid some moderate sum, which he was afterwards reproached with, when he was prospering beyond his deserts, as some thought. It was after the Libyan expedition, when he was assuming airs of importance and a haughty tone, that a man of high rank and character said to him, How can you be an honest man who are now so rich, and yet your father left you nothing? For though the Romans no longer remained true to their former integrity and purity of morals, but had declined from the old standard, and let in luxury and expense among them, they still considered it equally a matter of reproach for a man to have wasted the property that he once had, and not to remain as poor as his ancestors. Subsequently when Sulla was in the possession of power

and was putting many to death, a man of the class of Libertini, who was suspected of concealing a proscribed person, and for this offence was going to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock, reproached Sulla with the fact that they had lived together for some time in one house; that he had paid two thousand sestertii for his lodgings, which were in the upper part of the house, and Sulla three thousand for the lower rooms; and, consequently, that between their fortunes there was only the difference of a thousand sestertii, which is equivalent to two hundred and fifty Attic drachmæ. This is what is recorded of Sulla's early condition.

2. As for his person, we may judge of it by his statues, except his eyes and complexion. His eyes were an uncommonly pure and piercing blue, which the colour of his face rendered still more terrific, being spotted with rough red blotches, interspersed with the white; from which circumstance, it is said, he got his name Sulla, which had reference to his complexion; and one of the Athenian satirists in derision made the following verse in allusion to it:—

Sulla is a mulberry besprinkled with meal.

It is not out of place to avail ourselves of such traits of a man who is said to have had so strong a natural love of buffoonery, that when he was still young and of no repute, he spent his time and indulged himself among mini and jesters; and when he was at the head of the state, he daily got together from the scena and the theatre the lowdest persons, with whom he would drink and enter into a contest of coarse witticisms, in which he had no regard to his age, and, besides degrading the dig-

nity of his office, he neglected many matters that required attention. It was not Sulla's habit when he was at table to trouble himself about anything serious, but though he was energetic and rather morose at other times, he underwent a complete change as soon as he went into company and was seated at an entertainment, for he was then exceedingly complaisant to singers of mimi and dancers, and easy of access and affable. This habit of relaxation seems to have produced in him the vice of being exceedingly addicted to women and that passion for enjoyment which stuck to him to his old age. In his youth he was for a long time attached to one Metrobius, an actor. The following incident also happened to him:—He formed an attachment to a woman named Nicopolis, who was of mean condition, but rich, and from long familiarity and the favour which he found on account of his youth, he came to be considered as a lover, and when the woman died she left him her heir. He also succeeded to the inheritance of his step-mother, who loved him as her own son; and in this way he acquired a moderate fortune.

3. On being appointed Quæstor to Marius in his first consulship, he sailed with him to Libya, to prosecute the war against Jugurtha. In this campaign he showed himself a man of merit, and by availing himself of a favourable opportunity he made a friend of Bocchus, king of the Numidians. Some ambassadors of Bocchus who had escaped from Numidian robbers were hospitably received by Sulla, and sent back with presents and a safe conduct. Now Bocchus happened for some time to have disliked his son-in-law Jugurtha, whom he was also afraid

of; and as Jugurtha had been defeated by the Romans and had fled to Bocchus, he formed a design to make him his prisoner and deliver him to his enemies; but as he wished Sulla to be the agent rather than himself, he invited Sulla to come and see him. Sulla communicated the message to Marius, and, taking a few soldiers with him, ventured on the hazardous enterprise of putting himself in the hands of a barbarian who never kept his faith even with his friends, and this for the purpose of having another man betrayed to him. Bocchus, having got both of them in his power, was, under the necessity of being treacherous to one of them, and after great fluctuations in his resolution he finally carried into effect his original perfidious design, and surrendered Jugurtha to Sulla. Marius enjoyed the triumph for the capture of Jugurtha, but the honour of the success was given to Sulla through dislike of Marius, which caused Marius some uneasiness; for Sulla was naturally of an arrogant disposition, and as this was the first occasion on which he had been raised from a mean condition and obscurity to be of some note among his fellow-citizens, and had tasted the sweets of distinction, he carried his pride so far as to have a seal-ring cut, on which the occurrence was represented, and he wore it constantly. The subject represented was Bocchus surrendering and Sulla receiving the surrender of Jugurtha.

4. Though Marius was annoyed at this, yet as he still thought Sulla beneath his jealousy, he employed him in his campaigns—in his second consulship in the capacity of legate, and in his third consulship as tribune; and by his instrumentality Marius effected many important objects. In his

capacity of legate Sulla took Copillus, king of the Tectosages; and when he was a tribune he persuaded the powerful and populous nation of the Marsi to become friends and allies to Rome. But now perceiving that Marius was jealous of him, and was no longer willing to give him the opportunity of distinguishing himself, but opposed his further rise, Sulla attached himself to Catulus, the colleague of Marius, who was an honest man, but inactive as a soldier. Sulla being entrusted by Catulus with all matters of the greatest moment, thus attained both influence and reputation. In his military operations he reduced a large part of the Alpine barbarians; and on one occasion, when there was a scarcity of provisions in the camp, he undertook to supply the want, which he did so effectually that the soldiers of Catulus had not only abundance for themselves, but were enabled to relieve the army of Marius. This, as Sulla himself says, greatly annoyed Marius. Now this enmity, so slight and childish in its foundation and origin, was continued through civil war and the inveterate animosity of faction, till it resulted in the establishment of a tyranny and the complete overthrow of the constitution; which shows that Euripides was a wise man and well acquainted with the diseases incident to states, when he warned against ambition, as the most dangerous and the worst of dæmons to those who are governed by her.

5. Sulla now thought that his military reputation entitled him to aspire to a political career, and accordingly as soon as the campaign was ended he began to seek the favour of the people, and became a candidate for the prætorship; but he was disappointed in his expectations. He attributed his

failure to the populace, for he says that they knew he was a friend of Bocchus, and if he filled the office of *ædile* before that of *prætor*, they expected to have brilliant hunting exhibitions and fights of Libyan wild beasts, and that therefore they elected others to the *prætorship*, with the view of forcing him to serve as *ædile*. But that Sulla does not state the real cause of his failure appears evident from what followed. In the next year he obtained the *prætorship*, having gained the votes of the people, partly by solicitation and partly by bribery. It was in allusion to this, and during his *prætorship* when he was threatening Cæsar to use his own authority against him, that Cæsar replied with a laugh, You are right in considering your authority as your own, for you bought it. After the expiration of his *prætorship* he was sent to Cappadocia, for the purpose, as it was given out, of restoring Ariobarzanes to his power, but in reality to check Mithridates, who was very active and was acquiring new territory and dominion as extensive as what he already had. Sulla took with him no large force of his own, but meeting with zealous co-operation on the part of the allies, he slaughtered a great number of the Cappadocians, and on another occasion a still greater number of Armenians who had come to the relief of the Cappadocians, drove out Gordius, and declared Ariobarzanes king. While he was staying near the Euphrates, the Parthian general Orobazus, a commander of King Arsaces, had an interview with him, which was the first occasion on which the two nations met; and this also may be considered as one of the very fortunate events in Sulla's successful career, that he was the first Roman to whom the Parthians ad-

dressed themselves in their request for an alliance and friendship with Rome. Sulla is said to have had three chairs placed, one for Ariobarzanes, another for Orobazus, and a third for himself, on which he took his seat between the two, while the business was transacted. The king of the Parthians is said to have put Orobazus to death for submitting to this indignity; as to Sulla, some commended him for his haughty treatment of the barbarians, while others blamed him for his arrogance and ill-timed pride. It is said there was a man among the attendants of Orobazus, a Chaldean, who examined the countenance of Sulla and observed the movements of his mind and body, not as an idle spectator, but studying his character according to the principles of his art, and he declared that of necessity that man must become the first of men, and he wondered that he could endure not to be the first already. On his return to Rome Censorinus instituted proceedings against Sulla on the charge of having received large sums of money, contrary to express law, from a king who was a friend and ally of the Romans. Censorinus did not bring the matter to a trial, but gave up the prosecution.

6. His quarrel with Marius was kindled anew by fresh matter supplied by the ostentation of King Bocchus, who, with the view of flattering the Roman people and pleasing Sulla, dedicated in the Capitol some figures bearing trophies, and by the side of them placed a gilded figure of Jugurtha being surrendered by himself to Sulla. Marius was highly incensed and attempted to take the figures down, while others were ready to support Sulla, and the city was all but in a flame through the two factions, when the Social War which had

long smouldered burst forth in a blaze upon Rome and stopped the civil discord. In this most serious war, which was attended with many variations of fortune, and brought on the Romans the greatest misery and the most formidable dangers, Marius by his inability to accomplish anything of importance showed that military excellence requires bodily vigour and strength: but Sulla by his great exploits obtained among his own citizens the reputation of a great commander, among his friends the reputation of the very greatest, and among his enemies too the reputation of the most fortunate of generals. Sulla did not behave like Timotheus the son of Conon, whose success was attributed by his enemies to fortune, and they had paintings made in which he was represented asleep while Fortune was throwing a net over the cities, all which he took in a very boorish way, and got into a passion with his enemies, as if they were thus attempting to deprive him of the honour due to his exploits; and on one occasion, returning from a successful expedition, he said to the people, Well, fortune has had no share in this campaign, at least, Athenians. Now, as the story goes, fortune showed her spite to Timotheus in return for his arrogance, and he never did anything great afterwards, but failing in all his undertakings and becoming odious to the people, he was at last banished from the city. But Sulla by gladly accepting such felicitations on his prosperity and such admiration, and even contributing to strengthen these notions and to invest them with somewhat of a sacred character, made all his exploits depend on fortune; whether it was that he did this for the sake of display, or because he really had such opinions of the deity. Indeed he has



recorded in his memoirs, that the actions which he resolved upon without deliberation, and on the spur of the moment, turned out more successfully than those which appeared to have been best considered. And again, from the passage in which he says that he was made more for fortune than for war, he appears to attribute more to fortune than to his merit, and to consider himself completely as the creature of the dæmon; nay, he cites as a proof of good fortune due to the favour of the gods his harmony with Metellus, a man of the same rank with himself, and his father-in-law, for he expected that Metellus would cause him a good deal of trouble, whereas he was a most accommodating colleague. Further, in his memoirs which he dedicated to Lucullus, he advises him to think nothing so safe as what the dæmon enjoins during the night. When he was leaving the city with his troops for the Social War, as he tells us in his memoirs, a great chasm opened in the earth near Laverna, from which a quantity of fire burst forth, and a bright flame rose like a column to the skies. The diviners said that a brave man, of an appearance different from and superior to ordinary men, would obtain the command and relieve the city from its present troubles. Sulla says this man was himself, for the golden colour of his hair was a peculiarity in his personal appearance, and that he had no diffidence about bearing testimony to his own merits after so many illustrious exploits. So much as to his religious opinions. As to the other parts of his character, he was irregular and inconsistent: he would take away much, and give more; he would confer honours without any good reason, and do a grievous wrong with just as little reason; he

courted those whose assistance he wanted, and behaved with arrogance to those who wanted his aid; so that one could not tell whether he had naturally more haughtiness or subserviency. For as to his inconsistency in punishing, sometimes inflicting death for the slightest matters, and at others quietly bearing the greatest wrongs, his ready reconciliations with his deadly enemies, and his prosecution of slight and trifling offences with death and confiscation of property,—all this may be explained on the supposition that he was naturally of a violent and vindictive temper, but sometimes moderated his passion upon calculations of interest. During this Social War his soldiers killed with sticks and stones a man of Prætorian rank, who was his legatus, Albinus by name, an outrage which Sulla overlooked, and made no inquiry about: he went so far as to say, with apparent seriousness, that the soldiers would bestir themselves the more in the war and make amends for their fault by their courage. As to any blame that was imputed to him, he cared not for it; but having already formed the design of overthrowing the power of Marius and of getting himself appointed to the command against Mithridates, as the Social War was now considered at an end, he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with his army. On coming to Rome he was elected consul with Quintus Pompeius for his colleague, being now fifty years of age, and he formed a distinguished matrimonial alliance with Cæcilia, the daughter of Metellus, the chief Pontifex. This gave occasion to the populace to assail him with satirical songs; and many of the highest class were displeased at the marriage, as if they did not think him worthy of such a wife, whom they had judged

to be worthy of the consulship, as Titus Livius remarks. Cæcilia was not the only wife that Sulla had. When he was a very young man he married Ilia, who bore him a daughter; his second wife was Aelia; and his third wife was Cloelia, whom he divorced on the ground of barrenness, yet in a manner honourable to the lady, with an ample testimony to her virtues and with presents. But as he married Metella a few days after, it was believed that his alleged ground of divorce was merely a pretext. However, he always paid great respect to Metella, which induced the Romans, when they wished to recall from exile the partisans of Marius, and Sulla refused his assent, to apply to Metella to intercede for them. After the capture of Athens also, it was supposed that he treated the citizens with more severity, because they had cast aspersions upon Metella from their walls. But of this hereafter.

7. Sulla looked on the consulship as only a small matter compared with what he expected to attain: the great object of his desires was the command in the war against Mithridates. But he had a rival in Marius, who was moved by an insane love of distinction and by ambition, passions which never grow old in a man, for though he was now unwieldy and had done no service in the late campaigns by reason of his age, he still longed for the command in a distant war beyond the seas. While Sulla was with the army completing some matters that still remained to be finished, Marius kept at home and hatched that most pestilent faction which did more mischief to Rome than all her wars; and indeed the deity showed by signs what was coming. Fire spontaneously blazed from the wooden

shafts which supported the military standards, and was quenched with difficulty; and three crows brought their young into the public road, and after devouring them, carried the fragments back to their nest. The mice in a temple gnawed the gold which was kept there, and the keeper of the temple caught one of the mice, a female, in a trap, which produced in the trap five young ones, and devoured three of them. But what was chief of all, from a cloudless and clear sky there came the sound of a trumpet, so shrill and mournful, that by reason of the greatness thereof men were beside themselves and crouched for fear. The Tuscan seers interpreted this to portend the commencement of a new period, and a general change. They say that there are in all eight periods, which differ in mode of life and habits altogether from one another, and to each period is assigned by the deity a certain number of years determined by the revolution of a great year. When a period is completed, the commencement of another is indicated by some wondrous sign on the earth or from the heavens, so as to make it immediately evident to those who attend to such matters and have studied them, that men are now adopting other habits and modes of life, and are less or more an object of care to the gods than the men of former periods. They say, in the change from one period to another there are great alterations, and that the art of the seer at one time is held in high repute, and is successful in its predictions, when the deity gives clear and manifest signs, but that in the course of another period the art falls into a low condition, being for the most part conjectural, and attempting to know the future by equivocal and misty signs. Now

this is what the Tuscan wise men said, who are supposed to know more of such things than any body else. While the Senate was communicating on these omens with the seers, in the temple of Bellona, a sparrow flew in before the whole body with a grasshopper in his mouth, part of which he dropped, and the rest he carried off with him out of the place. From this the interpreters of omens apprehended faction and divisions between the landholders on the one side and the city folk and the merchant class on the other, for the latter were loud and noisy like a grasshopper, but the owners of land kept quiet on their estates.

8. Now Marius contrived to gain over the tribune Sulpicius, a man without rival in any kind of villainy, and so one need not inquire whom he surpassed in wickedness, but only wherein he surpassed himself. For in him were combined cruelty, audacity, and rapaciousness, without any consideration of shame or of any crime, inasmuch as he sold the Roman citizenship to libertini and resident aliens, and publicly received the money at a table in the Forum. He maintained three thousand men armed with daggers, and also a number of young men of the equestrian class always about him, and ready for anything, whom he called the Opposition Senate. He caused a law to be passed that no Senator should contract debt to the amount of more than two thousand drachmæ, and yet at his death he left behind him a debt of three millions. This man being let loose upon the people by Marius, and putting everything into a state of confusion by violence and force of arms, framed various pernicious laws, and among them that which gave to Marius the command in the Mithridatic war.

The consuls accordingly declared a cessation of all public business; but while they were holding a meeting of the people near the temple of Castor and Pollux; Sulpicius with his rabble attacked them, and among many others massacred the youthful son of Pompeius in the Forum; Pompeius only escaped by hiding himself. Sulla was pursued into the house of Marius, from which he was compelled to come out and repeal the edict for the cessation of public business; and it was for this reason that Sulpicius, though he deprived Pompeius of his office, did not take the consulship from Sulla, but merely transferred the command of the Mithridatic war to Marius, and sent some tribunes forthwith to Nola to take the army and lead it to Marius.

9. But Sulla made his escape to the camp before the tribunes arrived, and the soldiers hearing of what had passed, stormed them to death; upon which the partisans of Marius murdered the friends of Sulla who were in the city, and seized their property. This caused many persons to betake themselves to flight, some going to the city from the camp, and others from the camp to the city. The Senate was not its own master, but was compelled to obey the orders of Marius and Sulpicius; and on hearing that Sulla was marching upon Rome, they sent to him two of the prætors, Brutus and Servilius, to forbid him to advance any further. The prætors, who assumed a bold tone before Sulla, narrowly escaped being murdered; as it was, the soldiers broke their fasces, stripped them of their senatorial dress, and sent them back with every insult. It caused dejection in the city to see the prætors return without their insignia of office, and to hear them report that the commotion could not be checked, and was past all

remedy. Now the partisans of Marius were making their preparations, while Sulla with his colleague and six complete legions was moving from Nola; he saw that the army was ready to march right to the city, but he had some hesitation himself, and feared the risk. However upon Sulla making a sacrifice, the seer Postumius, after inspecting the signs, stretched out his hands to Sulla and urged him to put him in chains and keep him a prisoner till the battle took place, declaring that if everything did not speedily turn out well, he was ready to be put to death. It is said also that Sulla in his sleep had a vision of the goddess, whose worship the Romans had learned from the Cappadocians, whatever her name may be, Selene, Athena, or Enyo. Sulla dreamed that the goddess stood by him and put a thunderbolt into his hand, and as she named each of his enemies bade him dart the bolt at them, which he did, and his enemies were struck to the ground and destroyed. Being encouraged by the dream, which he communicated to his colleague, at daybreak Sulla led his forces against Rome. When he was near Picinæ he was met by a deputation which entreated him not to march forthwith against the city, for all justice would be done pursuant to a resolution of the Senate. Sulla consented to encamp there, and ordered the officers to measure out the ground for the encampment, according to the usual practice, and the deputation went away trusting to his promise. But as soon as they were gone, Sulla sent Lúcius Bacillus and Caius Mummius, who seized the gate and that part of the walls which surrounds the Esquiline hill, and Sulla set out to join them with all speed. Bacillus and his soldiers broke into the

city and attempted to gain possession of it, but the people in large numbers, being unarmed, mounted the house-tops, and by pelting the soldiers with tiles and stones stopped their further progress, and drove them back to the wall. In the mean time Sulla had come up, and seeing how matters stood, he called out that the houses must be fired, and, taking a flaming torch, he was the first to advance: he also ordered the bowmen to shoot firebrands, and to aim at the roofs; in which he acted without any rational consideration, giving way to passion; and surrendering the direction of his enterprise to revenge, for he saw before him only his enemies, and without thought or pity for his friends and kinsmen, would force his way into Rome with the help of flames, which know no distinction between the guilty and the innocent. While this was going on, Marius, who had been driven as far as the temple of Earth, invited the slaves to join him by offering them their freedom, but being overpowered by his enemies who pressed on him, he left the city.

10. Sulla assembled the Senate, who condemned to death Marius and a few others, among whom was the tribune Sulpicius. Sulpicius was put to death, being betrayed by a slave, to whom Sulla gave his freedom, and then ordered him to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock: he set a price on the head of Marius, which was neither a generous nor a politic measure, as Marius had shortly before let Sulla off safe when Sulla put himself into his power by going to the house of Marius. Now if Marius had not let Sulla go, but had given him up to Sulpicius to be put to death, he might have secured the supreme power; but he spared Sulla; and yet a few days after, when Sulla had the same oppor-



tunity, Marius did not obtain from him a like return. The conduct of Sulla offended the Senate, though they durst not show it; but the dislike of the people and their dissatisfaction were made apparent to him by their acts. They contemptuously rejected Nonius, the son of Sulla's sister, and Servius, who were candidates for offices, and elected those whose elevation they thought would be most disagreeable to Sulla. But Sulla pretended to be pleased at this, and to view it as a proof that the people, by doing what they liked, were really indebted to him for their liberty; and for the purpose of diminishing his general unpopularity he managed the election of Lucius Cinna, who was of the opposite faction, to the consulship, having first bound him by solemn imprecations and oaths to favour his measures. Cinna ascended the Capitol with a stone in his hand and took the oath; then pronouncing an imprecation on himself, that, if he did not keep faithful to Sulla, he might be cast out of the city as the stone from his hand, he hurled it to the ground in the presence of a large number of persons. But as soon as Cinna had received the consulship, he attempted to disturb the present settlement of affairs, and prepared to institute a process against Sulla, and induced Virginus, one of the tribunes, to be the accuser; but Sulla, without caring for him or the court, set out with his army against Mithridates.

11. It is said that about the time when Sulla was conducting his armament from Italy, many omens occurred to Mithridates, who was staying in Pergamum, and that a Victory, bearing a crown, which the people of Pergamum were letting down upon him by some machinery from above,

was broken in pieces just as it was touching his head, and the crown falling upon the theatre, came to the ground and was destroyed, which made the spectators shudder and greatly dispirited Mithridates, though his affairs were then going on favourably beyond all expectation. For he had taken Asia from the Romans, and Bithynia and Cappadocia from their kings, and had fixed himself at Pergamum, where he was distributing wealth and provinces and kingdoms among his friends; one of his sons also held without any opposition the ancient dominions in Pontus, and the Bosporus as far as the uninhabited regions beyond the Mæotis; Ariarathes occupied Thrace and Macedonia with a large army; and his generals with their forces were subduing other places. Archelaus, the greatest of his generals, was master of all the sea with his navy, and was subjugating the Cyclades and all the other islands east of Malea, and had already taken Eubœa, while with his army, advancing from Athens as his starting-point, he was gaining over all the nations of Greece as far north as Thessaly, and had only sustained a slight check near Chæroneia. For there he was met by Bruttius Sura, a legatus of Sentius, prætor of Macedonia, and a man of signal courage and prudence. Archelaus was sweeping through Bœotia like a torrent, when he was vigorously opposed by Sura, who, after fighting three battles near Chæroneia, repulsed him and drove him back to the coast. On receiving orders from Lucius Lucullus to make room for Sulla, who was coming, and to allow him to carry on the war, for which he had received his commission, Sura immediately left Bœotia and went back to Sentius, though he had succeeded beyond his expectations,

and Greece was well disposed to change sides on account of his great merit. However, these exploits of Brutius were very brilliant.

12. Now all the rest of the Grecian cities immediately sent deputations to Sulla and invited him to enter ; but against Athens, which was compelled by the tyrant Aristion to be on the king's side, he directed all his energies ; he also hemmed in and blockaded the Piræus, employing every variety of engine and every mode of attack. If he had waited a short time, he might have taken the Upper City without danger, for through want of provisions it was reduced by famine to extreme necessity ; but anxious to return to Rome, and fearing a new revolution there, at great risk fighting many battles and at great cost he urged on the war, wherein, besides the rest of the expenditure, the labour about the military engines required ten thousand pair of mules to be daily employed on this service. As wood began to fail, owing to many of the works being destroyed by their own weight, and burnt by the incessant fires thrown by the enemy, Sulla laid his hands on the several groves and levelled the trees in the Academia, which was the best wooded of the suburbs, and those in the Lycæum. And as he wanted money also for the war, he violated the sacred depositaries of Greece, sending for the finest and most costly of the offerings dedicated in Epidaurus and Olympia. He wrote also to the Amphictyons to Delphi, saying that it would be better for the treasures of the god to be brought to him, for he would either have them in safer keeping, or, if he used them, he would replace them ; and he sent one of his friends, Caphis, a Phocian, to receive all the things after they were first

weighed. Caphis went to Delphi, but he was afraid to touch the sacred things, and in the presence of the Amphictyons he deeply lamented the task that was imposed on him. Upon some of them saying that they heard the lute in the shrine send forth a sound, Caphis either believing what they said or wishing to inspire Sulla with some religious fear, sent him this information. But Sulla replied in a scoffing tone, he wondered Caphis did not understand that such music was a sign of pleasure and not of anger, and he bade him take courage and seize the property, as the deity was quite willing, and in fact offered it. Now all the things were secretly sent off unobserved by most of the Greeks; but the silver jar, one of the royal presents which still remained, could not be carried away by the beasts of burden owing to its weight and size, and the Amphictyons were accordingly obliged to cut it in pieces; and this led them to reflect that Titus Flamininus, and Manius Acilius, and also Æmilius Paulus—Acilius, who drove Antiochus out of Greece; and the two others, who totally defeated the kings of Macedonia—not only refrained from touching the Greek temples, but even gave them presents and showed them great honour and respect. These generals, however, were legally appointed to command troops consisting of well-disciplined soldiers, who had been taught to obey their leaders without a murmur: and the commanders themselves were men of kindly souls, and moderate in their living and satisfied with a small fixed expenditure, and they thought it baser to attempt to win the soldiers' favour than to fear their enemies. But the generals at this time, as they acquired their rank by violence and

not by merit, and had more occasion to employ arms against one another than against the enemies of Rome, were compelled to act the demagogue while they were in command; and by purchasing the services of the soldiers by the money which they expended to gratify them, they made the Roman state a thing for bargain and sale, and themselves the slaves of the vilest wretches in order that they might domineer over honest men. This is what drove Marius into exile, and then brought him back to oppose Sulla; this made Cinna the murderer of Octavius, and Fimbria the murderer of Flaccus. And Sulla mainly laid the foundation of all this by his profusion and expenditure upon his own soldiers, the object of which was to corrupt and gain over to his side the soldiers of other commanders; so that his attempts to seduce the troops of others and the extravagance by which his own soldiers were corrupted, made money always necessary to him; and most particularly during the siege of Athens.

13. Now Sulla was seized with a violent and irresistible desire to take Athens, whether it was that he was ambitious to contend against a city which retained only the shadow of its former glory, or that he was moved by passion to revenge the scoffs and jeers with which the tyrant Aristion irritated him and his wife Metella, by continually taunting them from the wall and insulting them. This Aristion was a compound of lewdness and cruelty, who combined in himself all the worst of the vices and passions of Mithridates, and now had brought as it were a mortal disease in its last extremities upon a city which had come safe out of so many wars and escaped from so many tyran-

nies and civil commotions. For now when a medimnus of wheat was selling for a thousand drachmæ in the Upper City, and men were obliged to eat the parthenium that grew about the Acropolis, and shoes and oil-flasks, he was drinking all day long and amusing himself with revels and pyrrhic dances, and making jokes at the enemy : he let the sacred light of the goddess go out for want of oil ; when the hierophant sent to ask for the twelfth part of a medimnus of wheat, he sent her as much pepper ; and when the members of the Senate and the priests intreated him to have pity on the city and come to terms with Sulla, he dispersed them by ordering the archers to fire on them. At last being persuaded with great difficulty, he sent two or three of his boon companions to treat of peace ; but instead of making any reasonable proposals, the men began to make a pompous harangue about Theseus and Eumolpus, and the Persian wars, on which Sulla said, " Be gone, my good fellows, with your fine talk. I was not sent to Athens by the Romans to learn a lesson, but to compel rebels to submit."

14. In the mean time, as the story goes, some soldiers in the Ceramicus overheard certain old men talking to one another, and abusing the tyrant for not guarding the approach to the wall about the Heptachalcum, which was the only part, they said, where it was practicable and easy for the enemy to get over ; and the soldiers reported to Sulla what they heard. Sulla did not neglect the intelligence, but he went to the spot by night, and seeing that it was practicable, he set about the thing forthwith. He says in his Memoirs that the first man who mounted the wall was Marcus Teius, who, finding a soldier in his way, struck him a

violent blow on the helmet, which broke his sword; still Marcus did not retreat, but kept his ground. The city then was taken from this quarter, as the old Athenians said it might be. Sulla having destroyed and levelled that part of the wall which lies between the Piræic and the Sacred Gate, about midnight entered the city, striking terror with the sound of trumpets and horns, and the shouts and cries of the soldiers, who had his full licence to plunder and kill, and made their way through the streets with naked swords. The slain were not counted, but the number is even now measured by the space over which the blood flowed. For besides those who were slaughtered in the other parts of the city, the blood of those who fell about the Agora covered all the Ceramicus within Dipylum; many say that it even flowed through the gates and deluged the suburbs. But though the number of those who perished by the sword was so great, as many killed themselves for sorrow and regret at the overthrow of their native city. For all the most honest citizens were driven to despair, expecting in Sulla neither humanity nor moderation. But, however, when Meidias and Calliphon, who were exiles, fell down at his knees with intreaties, and the Senators who were in his army urged him to save the city, being now sated with vengeance and passing some encomiums upon the ancient Athenians, he said he would pardon the many for the sake of the few, and the living for the sake of the dead. Sulla states in his Memoirs, that he took Athens on the Calends of March, which day nearly coincides with the new moon of Anthesterion, in which month it happens that the Athenians perform many ceremonies in

commemoration of the great damage and loss occasioned by the heavy rain, for they suppose that the deluge happened pretty nearly about that time. When the city was taken, the tyrant retreated to the Acropolis, where he was besieged by Curio, who was commissioned for this purpose: after he had held out for some time, Aristion was compelled to surrender for want of water; his surrender was immediately followed by a token from the deity, for on the very day and hour on which Curio took the tyrant from the Acropolis, the clouds gathered in the clear sky, and a violent shower descended which filled the Acropolis with water. Sulla soon took the Piræus also, and burnt the greater part of it, including the arsenal of Philo, which was a wonderful work.

15. In the mean time Taxiles, the general of Mithridates, coming down from Thrace and Macedonia with one hundred thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and ninety scythe-bearing four-horse chariots, summoned Archelaus, who was still lying with his ships near Munychia, and was neither inclined to give up the sea nor ready to engage with the Romans: his plan was to protract the war and to cut off the supplies of the enemy. But Sulla saw as quick as Archelaus, and moved into Bœotia from a niggardly region, which even in time of peace could not have maintained his troops. Most people thought that he had made a false calculation in leaving Attica, which is a rough country and ill adapted for the movements of cavalry, to throw himself into the champaign and open tracts of Bœotia, when he knew that the strength of the barbarians lay in their chariots and cavalry. But in his flight from famine and



scarcity, as I have already observed, he was compelled to seek the hazard of a battle. Besides, he was alarmed for Hortensius, a skilful general and a man ambitious of distinction, who was conducting a force from Thessaly to Sulla, and had to pass through the straits where the enemy was waiting for him. For all these reasons Sulla moved into Bœotia. But Caphis, who was from my town, evading the barbarians by taking a different route from what they expected, led Hortensius over Parnassus, close by Tithora, which was not at that time so large a city as it is now, but only a fort on a steep rock scarped all round, to which place in time of old the Phocians who fled from Xerxes, escaped with their property and were there in safety. Hortensius having encamped there during the day repelled the attacks of the enemy, and at night descending to Patronis, through a difficult path joined Sulla, who met him with his forces.

16. Having united their forces, Sulla and Hortensius occupied an elevation rising out of the midst of the plains of Elateia, which was fertile and extensive, and had water at its base: it is called Philobœotus, and its natural qualities and position are most highly commended by Sulla. When they were encamped, the weakness of the Roman force was apparent to the enemy: for the cavalry did not exceed fifteen hundred, and the infantry was below fifteen thousand. Accordingly the rest of the generals, against the wish of Archelaus, drew out their forces in order of battle, and filled the plain with horses, chariots, shields, and bucklers; and the heavens could not contain the shouts and cries of so many nations putting them-

selves in battle array. At the same time the pomp and costly splendour of the troops were not without effect nor their use in causing alarm; but the glittering of the arms, which were curiously ornamented with gold and silver, and the colour of the Median and Scythian dresses mingled with the brightness of the brass and steel, produced a fire-like and formidable appearance as the masses moved like waves and changed their places, so that the Romans hid themselves behind their ramparts, and Sulla, being unable by any words to remove their fear, and not choosing to urge men to a battle who were disposed to run away, kept quiet and had to endure the insulting boasts and ridicule of the barbarians. But this turned out most favourable to the Romans; for the enemy despising them, neglected to preserve discipline, and indeed, owing to the number of commanders, the army was not generally inclined to obey orders; a few kept to their post within their ramparts, but the greater part, tempted by the hope of booty and plunder, were dispersed many days' journey from the camp. It is said that they destroyed the city of Panopeus, and plundered Lebadeia, and robbed the oracular shrine without any order from a general. Sulla, who could not endure to see the cities destroyed before his eyes and was greatly irritated, no longer allowed his soldiers to be inactive, but leading them to the Cephisus, he compelled them to divert the stream from its course and to dig ditches, allowing no man any cessation and punishing most severely all who gave in, his object being to tire his soldiers with labour and to induce them to seek danger as a release from it. And it happened as he wished. For on the third day of

this labour, as Sulla was passing by, they intreated him with loud shouts to lead them against the enemy. He replied, that they said this not because they wished to fight, but because they disliked labour; but if they really were disposed to fight, he bade them move forthwith with their arms to yonder place, pointing out to them what was formerly the Acropolis of the Parapotamii, but the city was then destroyed and there remained only a rocky precipitous hill, separated from Mount Hedylium by the space occupied by the river Assus, which falling into the Cephisus at the base of the Hedylium and thus becoming a more rapid stream, makes the Acropolis a safe place for encampment. Sulla also wished to seize the height, as he saw the Chalcaspides of the enemy pressing on towards it, and as his soldiers exerted themselves vigorously, he succeeded in occupying the place. Archelaus, being repelled from this point, advanced towards Chæroneia, upon which the men of Chæroneia who were in Sulla's army entreating him not to let their city fall into the hands of the enemy, he sent Gabinus, a tribune, with one legion, and permitted the men of Chæroneia to go also, who, though they had the best intention, could not reach the place before Gabinus: so brave a man he was, and more active in bringing aid than even those who prayed for it. Juba says it was not Gabinus who was sent, but Ericius. However this may be, our city had a narrow escape.

17. From Lebadeia and the oracle of Trophonius favourable omens and predictions of victory were sent to the Romans, about which the people of the country have a good deal to say. But Sulla, in the tenth book of his Memoirs, writes, that Quintus

Titius, a man of some note among those who had mercantile affairs in Greece, came to him immediately after the victory in Chæroneia, to report that Trophonius foretold a second battle and victory there in a short time. After Titius, a soldier in his army, named Salvenius, brought an answer from the god, as to what would be the result of affairs in Italy. Both reported the same as to the vision of the god: they said, that in beauty and stature he was like the Olympian Jupiter. After crossing the Assus and advancing to the foot of Hedylium, Sulla encamped near Archelaus, who had thrown up a strong intrenchment between mounts Acontium and Hedylium, at a place called the Assia. The spot on which he encamped is called Archelaus from his name up to the present day. After the interval of one day Sulla left Murena with one legion and two cohorts, to annoy the enemy if he should attempt to form in order of battle; he himself sacrificed on the banks of the Cephisus, and the victims being favourable, he advanced towards Chæroncia with the object of again effecting a junction with the forces there, and examining the place called Thurium, which was occupied by the enemy. This is a rough summit and a conical-shaped hill, named Orthopagus; and under it is the stream of the Mōrius and a temple of the Thurian Apollo. The deity has this name from Thuro, the mother of Chæron, who is said to have been the founder of Chæroneia. Some say that the cow which was given by the Pythian Apollō as a guide to Cadmus, appeared there, and that the place was so called from her; for the Phœnicians call the cow Thor. As Sulla was approaching Chæroneia, the tribune who was sta-

tioned in the city led out the soldiers under arms, and met him with a chaplet of bay. No sooner had Sulla received the chaplet, and after saluting the soldiers, encouraged them to the approaching battle, than two Chæroneians (Homoloichus and Anaxidamos) presented themselves to him and undertook to drive the enemy from Thurium if he would give them a few soldiers. They said there was a path unknown to the barbarians, leading from the place called Petrachus by the Museum to the highest point of Thurium, and that by taking this direction they could, without difficulty, fall on the enemy and either roll stones down upon them from above or drive them into the plain. As Gabinius bore testimony to the courage and fidelity of the men, Sulla bade them make the attempt; and in the mean time he formed his line and distributed his cavalry on each flank, himself taking the right and giving Murena the command on the left. The legati Galba and Hortensius, with some reserved cohorts in the rear, occupied the neighbouring heights, to prevent the army from being attacked on the flank, for it was observed that the enemy were placing a strong body of cavalry and light infantry on their wings, with the view of adapting that part of their battle to ready and easy manœuvres, their désign being to extend their line and to surround the Romans.

18. In the mean time the Chæroneians, whom Sulla had placed under the command of Ericius, went round Thurium without being perceived, and all at once showed themselves to the enemy, who immediately falling into great confusion, took to flight and sustained considerable loss, but chiefly from themselves; for as they did not stand their

ground, but ran down the hill, they got entangled among their own spears and shoved one another down the rocks; while the Chæroneians pressing upon them from above, wounded them in the parts which were unprotected; and there fell of the enemy to the number of three thousand. Part of those who got safe to the foot of the hill, being met by Murena, whose troops were already in order of battle, had their retreat cut off and were destroyed: the rest forced their way to the army of Archelaus; and, falling upon the line in disorder, caused a general alarm and confusion, and some loss of time to the generals; and this did them no small harm, for Sulla promptly led his forces against the enemy while they were still in disorder, and by quickly traversing the interval between the two lines, deprived the scythe-bearing chariots of all opportunity of being effective. The efficacy of the chariots depends mainly on the space they traverse, by which they acquire velocity and momentum; but when the space is small their attack is ineffectual and feeble, just like missiles that have not been propelled with due force. Now this happened to the barbarians. The first chariots were driven on without any vigour, and came feebly against the ranks of the Romans, who easily pushed them aside, and, clapping their hands and laughing, called for more, as the people do in the horse-races of the Circus. Upon this the infantry joined battle; the barbarians pushed forward their long spears and endeavoured by locking their shields to maintain their ranks in line: the Romans hurled their javelins, and then drawing their swords, endeavoured to beat aside the spears, that they might forthwith close with the enemy; for they were irritated at

seeing drawn up in front of the enemy fifteen thousand slaves, whom the king's generals had invited from the cities by a proclamation of freedom, and enrolled among the *hoplitæ*. A Roman centurion is said to have remarked, that slaves had only freedom of speech at the Saturnalia, so far as he knew. Now, owing to the depletion of the ranks of these slaves and their close order, it was some time before they could be made to give way before the heavy-armed Roman soldiers, and they also fought with more courage than one expects from a slave; but the missiles from the slings and the light javelins which were showered upon them unsparingly by the Romans in the rear, at last made them turn and put them into complete confusion.

19. While Archelaus was extending his right wing, in order to surround the Romans, Hortensius made his cohorts advance at a run, with the intention of taking the enemy in the flank; but, as Archelaus suddenly wheeled round with his two thousand horsemen, Hortensius was overpowered by numbers and retreated towards the mountain region, being gradually separated from the main body of the army and in danger of being completely hemmed in by the barbarians. Sulla, who was on the right wing, which was not yet engaged in the action, hearing of the danger of Hortensius, hastened to relieve him. Archelaus conjecturing from the dust raised by Sulla's troops how the matter was, left Hortensius, and wheeling round moved towards the position which Sulla had quitted (the right), expecting to find the soldiers there without their general, and to defeat them. At the same time Taxiles led the Chalcaspides against Murena; and now the shouts being raised

from both armies and re-echoed by the mountains, Sulla halted and hesitated to which quarter he should move. Having determined to maintain his own original position, he sent Hortensius with four cohorts to support Murena, and ordering the fifth to follow him, he hurried to the right wing, which unaided was bravely resisting Archelaus; but as soon as Sulla appeared, the Romans completely broke the line of Archelaus, and pursued the barbarians in disorderly flight to the river and Mount Acontium. However Sulla did not leave Murena alone in his dangerous position, but hastened to help him. Seeing, however, that the Romans were victorious here also, he joined in the pursuit. Now many of the barbarians were cut down in the plain, but the greatest number were destroyed in the attempt to regain their entrenchments, and only ten thousand out of so large a host made their escape to Chalcis. Sulla says in his Memoirs, that he missed only fourteen of his own soldiers, and that ten of them showed themselves in the evening; in commemoration of which he inscribed on the trophies, Mars and Victory, and Venus, to signify that he had gained the victory no less through good fortune than skill and courage. One of these trophies, which commemorates the victory in the plain, stands where the soldiers of Archelaus first gave ground in the flight to the Molus: the other is placed on the summit of Thurium, to commemorate the surprise of the barbarians, with a Greek inscription in honour of the courage of Homoloichus and Anaxidamus. Sulla celebrated the festival for the victory in Thebes at the fountain of Œdipus, where he erected a stage. The judges were Greeks invited from the other cities of



Greece; for Sulla could not be reconciled to the Thebans; and he took from them half of their lands, which he dedicated to the Pythian Apollo and Olympian Jupiter; and from the revenue of these lands he ordered the sums of money which he had taken from them to be repaid to the deities.

20. After the battle Sulla received intelligence that Flaccus, who belonged to the opposite faction, was chosen consul, and was crossing the Ionian sea with a force which was said to be designed against Mithridates, but was in fact directed against himself; and accordingly he advanced towards Thessalia to meet Flaccus. He had advanced to the neighbourhood of Meliteia, when reports from all sides reached him that the country in his rear was ravaged by another army of Mithridates as numerous as that which he had dispersed. Dorylaus had landed at Chalcis with a large navy, on board of which he brought eighty thousand men of the best trained and disciplined troops of Mithridates, and he immediately advanced into Bœotia and occupied the country, being eager to draw Sulla to an engagement, and paying no regard to Archelaus, who dissuaded him from fighting: he even said publicly that so many thousands could never have been destroyed if there had not been treachery. However, Sulla, who quickly returned to Bœotia, showed Dorylaus that Archelaus was a prudent man and had formed a very just estimate of the courage of the Romans, for after a slight skirmish with Sulla near Tilphossium, Dorylaus was himself the first among those who were not for deciding the matter by a battle, but thought it best to prolong the war till the Romans should be exhausted by want of supplies. However, Archelaus

was somewhat encouraged by the position of their encampment near Orchomenus, which was very favourable for battle to an army which had the superiority in cavalry; for of all the plains in Bœotia noted for their beauty and extent, this, which commences at the city of Orchomenus, is the only one which spreads without interruption and without any trees, and it reaches to the marshes in which the river Melas is lost. The Melas rises close to Orchomenus, and is the only river of Greece that is a copious and navigable stream at its source; it also increases like the Nile about the summer solstice, and the same plants grow on its banks; but they produce no fruit and do not attain any large size. Its course however is short, for the larger part of the water is soon lost in obscure marshes overgrown with shrubs: a small part joins the Cephissus somewhere about the point where the lake is said to produce the reed that is adapted for making musical pipes.

21. The two armies being encamped near one another, Archelaus kept quiet, but Sulla began to dig trenches on both sides with the view, if possible, of cutting off the enemy from the hard ground and those parts which were favourable to cavalry and driving them into the marshes. However, the barbarians would not endure this, and as soon as their generals allowed them to attack the Romans, they rushed forward with so much vigour and force, that not only were the men dispersed who were working at the trenches, but the greater part of the Roman troops that were drawn up for their protection were involved in the flight. Upon this Sulla leapt down from his horse, and snatching up a standard, made his way through the fugitives

towards the enemy, crying out, "For my part, Romans, it is fit I should die here; as for you, when you are asked where you deserted your Emperor, remember to say it was in Orchomenus." These words made the soldiers rally, and two cohorts came to their support from the right wing, which Sulla led against the enemy and put them to flight. He then led his soldiers back a short distance, and after allowing them to take some food, he began again to work at the trenches which were designed to enclose the enemy's camp. The barbarians made another attack in better order than before; in which Diogenes, the son of the wife of Archelaus, fell fighting bravely on the right wing; and the bowmen being hard pressed by the Romans and having no means of retreat, took their arrows altogether in their hands, and using them like swords, struck at the Romans, but at last they were driven back to their camp, where they spent a wretched night owing to their wounds and great losses. As soon as day dawned Sulla again led his soldiers up to the enemy's encampment, and again commenced working at the ditches. The enemy came out in great force, but Sulla put them to flight, and as no one stood his ground after they were thrown into disorder, Sulla stormed the camp. The swamps and the lake were filled with the blood and bodies of those who fell, and even to the present day many barbarian bows, helmets, and pieces of iron cuirasses and swords are found buried in the marshes, though it is near two hundred years since the battle. Such, according to the historians, was the battle about Cleropeia and near Orchomenus.

22. Cinnus and Carbo were now conducting them-

selves towards the chief men at Rome in an illegal and violent manner, and many flying from their tyranny resorted to the camp of Sulla as a harbour of refuge, so that in a short time a kind of Senate was formed about him. Metella also, who had with difficulty escaped with her children, came and reported that his house and farms were burnt by his enemies; and she entreated him to go to the assistance of his friends at Rome. Sulla was perplexed what to do; he could not endure the thoughts of neglecting his country in her present oppressed condition, nor did he see how he could leave so great an undertaking as the Mithridatic war imperfect. In the mean time there came to him a merchant of Delos, named Archelaus, who secretly brought from Archelaus, the king's general, hopes of peace and certain proposals. Sulla was so well pleased that he was eager for an interview with Archelaus; and they met at Delium on the sea-coast, where the temple of Apollo is. Archelaus, who began the conference, urged Sulla to give up Asia and the Pontus, and to sail to Rome to prosecute the war against his enemies, and he offered him money, ships, and troops on behalf of the king. Sulla in reply advised Archelaus not to trouble himself any further about Mithridates, but to assume the kingly title himself and to become an ally of Rome, and to give up the ships of Mithridates. As Archelaus professed his detestation of such treachery, Sulla said, "You then, Archelaus, who are a Cappadocian, and the slave of a barbarian king, or, if you please, his friend—you refuse to do a base deed for so splendid a reward, and yet venture to talk about treachery to me who am a Roman general, and am Sulla, as if you were not that Archelaus who fled

from Chæroneia with a few men out of your one hundred and twenty thousand, and were hid for two days in the marshes of Orchomenus, and left Bœotia with all the roads made impassable by the heaps of dead?" Upon this Archelaus changed his tone, and humbling himself, entreated Sulla to give up the war and to come to terms with Mithridatès. Sulla accepted the proposal, and peace was made on the following terms:—Mithridates was to give up Asia and Paphlagonia, and to surrender Bithynia to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, to pay down to the Romans two thousand talents, and to give them seventy ships fitted with brass and completely equipped; Sulla was to confirm Mithridates in the rest of his possessions and to recognise him as an ally of the Romans.

23. These terms being settled, Sulla retraced his steps and marched through Thessaly and Macedonia to the Hellespont in company with Archelaus, whom he treated with great respect. Archelaus fell dangerously ill at Larissa, on which Sulla stopped his march and paid as much attention to him as if he had been one of his own officers and fellow-generals. This gave rise to some suspicion that the battle of Chæroneia was not fairly fought, which was strengthened by the fact that Sulla restored all the friends of Mithridates whom he had taken prisoners, except Aristion the tyrant, who was an enemy of Archelaus, and whom he caused to be poisoned: but the most convincing proof of all was Sulla's giving the Cappadocian ten thousand plethra of land in Eubœa, and the title of friend and ally of the Romans. However, Sulla makes his apology about these matters in his *Memoirs*. Ambassadors from Mithridates now ar-

rived, and were ready to accede to all the terms agreed on, except that the king would not consent to give up Paphlagonia, and as to the ships he dissented altogether; on which Sulla in a passion exclaimed, "What say ye? Mithridates claims to keep Paphlagonia, and refuses to abide by the agreement about the ships; I thought he would have been thankful if I left him his right hand, which has destroyed so many Romans. However, he will soon speak another language when I have crossed over to Asia. At present let him stay in Pergamum and there direct the conduct of a campaign which he has not seen." The ambassadors were so much alarmed that they said nothing, but Archelaus implored Sulla and tried to soften his anger, clinging to his hand, with tears in his eyes. At last he prevailed on Sulla to let him go to Mithridates, and he promised to effect a peace on Sulla's own terms, or to kill himself. Sulla accordingly sent Archelaus to Mithridates, and in the mean time he invaded Mædise, and having ravaged the greater part of it, returned to Macedonia, and found Archelaus at Philippi, who reported that all was favourable, but that Mithridates much wished to have an interview with him. Mithridates was mainly induced to this by the circumstance that Fimbria, after murdering the consul Flaccus, who belonged to the opposite faction, and defeating the generals of Mithridates, was advancing against the king himself. It was fear of Fimbria that made Mithridates more inclined to make a friend of Sulla.

24. Accordingly they met at Dardanus in the Troad: Mithridates had there two hundred rowing-ships, twenty thousand heavy-armed soldiers, six

thousand horsemen, and many of his scythe-bearing chariots: Sulla had four cohorts and two hundred horsemen. Mithridates advanced to meet Sulla and held out his hand, on which Sulla asked him if he would put an end to the war on the terms agreed to by Archelaus. As the king made no reply, Sulla said, "Well, those who sue must speak first; conquerors may remain silent." Mithridates began an apology, in which he partly imputed the origin of the war to the deities, and partly threw the blame on the Romans; but Sulla cut him short by saying, that he had long ago been told, and now he knew by his own experience, that Mithridates was a most skilful speaker, inasmuch as he had no difficulty in finding words to justify acts which were so base and so contrary to all right. Sulla went on to recapitulate all that Mithridates had done, reproaching him in bitter terms, and he then asked him again, if he would abide by the agreement of Archelaus. Mithridates said that he would; on which Sulla embraced him, threw his arms round him and kissed him; he then brought forward the kings Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes, and reconciled Mithridates to them. After surrendering to Sulla seventy ships and five hundred bowmen, Mithridates sailed off to the Pontus. Sulla perceived that his soldiers were dissatisfied at the settlement of the war: they thought it a shame that the greatest enemy of the Romans, who had contrived the massacre of one hundred and fifty thousand Romans in Asia in one day, should be seen sailing off with the wealth and the spoils of Asia, which he had been plundering and levying contributions on for four years; Sulla apologized to the soldiers by saying that he should not be able to oppose both Fim-

bria and Mithridates, if they were united against him.

25. From Dardanus Sulla marched against Fimbria, who was encamped near Thyateira, and halting there, began to throw up his intrenchments. Fimbria's men coming out of their camp in their jackets embraced the soldiers of Sulla, and began to assist them zealously in their works. Fimbria seeing that his soldiers had deserted him, and fearing Sulla's unforgiving temper, committed suicide in the camp. Sulla now levied a contribution on Asia to the amount of twenty thousand talents: and he reduced individuals to beggary by the violence and exactions which he permitted to the soldiers who were quartered in their houses. He issued an order that the master of a house should daily supply the soldier who was quartered on him with four tetradrachma, and with dinner for himself and as many of his friends as he chose to invite; a centurion was to receive fifty drachmæ daily, and to be supplied with two garments, one to wear in the house and the other when he went abroad.

26. Sulla set sail from Ephesus with all his ships, and on the third day anchored in the Piræus. After being initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, he appropriated to himself the library of Apellicon of Teos, which contained most of the writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus. The works of these two philosophers were not then well known to people in general. It is said that when the library was brought to Rome, Tyrannio the grammarian arranged most of the books, and that Andronicus of Rhodes having procured copies from Tyrannio, published them, and made the tables which are now in use. It appears that the older



Peripatetics were indeed well instructed men, and devoted to letters, but they did not possess many of the writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus, nor yet correct copies, owing to the circumstances that the books came into the hands of the heirs of Neleus of Scepsis, to whom Theophrastus bequeathed them, and that they were ignorant persons, who never troubled themselves about such matters. While Sulla was staying at Athens, he was seized with a numbness in his feet, accompanied with a feeling of heaviness, which Strabo calls "a stammering of gout." Accordingly he crossed the sea to Ædessus, where he used the warm springs, at the same time indulging in relaxation and spending all his time in the company of actors. As he was walking about on the sea-shore, some fishermen presented him with some very fine fish; Sulla was much pleased with the present, but on hearing that the men belonged to Halææ, he said, What, is there an Halæan still alive? For it happened, that while pursuing his enemies after the victory at Orchomenus, he destroyed at once three Boeotian cities, Anthedon, Larymna, and Halææ. The men were struck speechless with fear, but Sulla with a smile bade them go away in good heart, for the intentions they had brought were no mean ones, and not to be despised. Upon this the Halæans say they took courage and again occupied their city.

27. Sulla went through Thessaly and Macedonia to the sea-coast, where he made preparations to cross from Dyrrachium to Brundisium with twelve hundred ships. Near to Dyrrachium is Apollonia, and near to Apollonia is the Nymphæum, a sacred spot, where perpetual streams of fire rise in various places out of a green grassy valley. It is said that

a sleeping satyr was caught there, such a one as sculptors and painters represent, and was brought to Sulla and questioned by many interpreters as to who he was; but he spoke with difficulty, and what he did utter was unintelligible, and something like a compound of the neighing of a horse and the bleating of a goat; upon which Sulla, who was startled at the monster, ordered him to be removed. Sulla was now about to take his soldiers over the sea, but he feared that when they landed in Italy they would disperse to their several cities; however, the soldiers voluntarily took an oath to abide by him, and not to do any damage in Italy from set design; seeing also that he required much money, they all contributed something from what they had, each according to his means. However, Sulla would not receive the contribution, but after commending their zeal and encouraging them he proceeded to cross the sea, as he expresses it in his memoirs, to oppose fifteen hostile commanders at the head of four hundred and fifty cohorts. The deity gave him sure prognostics of success; for upon his sacrificing immediately on landing in Italy near Tarentum, the liver of the animal was found to have on it the figure of a crown of bay with two ribands attached to it.\* A short time also before he crossed the sea, two large he-goats were seen in Campania near Mount Hephæus, in the daytime, fighting, and in all respects acting like men engaged in a contest. But it was only a vision, and it gradually rose up from the ground and dispersed in the air in various directions like dark phantoms, and finally disappeared. No long time after, in this very spot, when the younger Marius

and the consul Norbanus came upon him at the head of a large force, Sulla, without having time to form his battle or to dispose his companies, but merely availing himself of the spirit that animated all his men, and their impetuous courage, put to flight his opponents, and shut Norbanus up in Capua with the loss of seven thousand of his soldiers. It was this success, as some say, which prevented his soldiers from dispersing to their several cities, and encouraged them to stay with Sulla and to despise their opponents, though many times more numerous than themselves. At Silvium, as Sulla says, a slave of one Pontius, moved by a divine impulse, met him and declared that he brought from Bellona assurance of superiority in war and victory, but that if he did not make haste the Capitol would be burnt; and this is said to have happened on the very day which the man foretold, being the day before the Nones of Quintilis, which we now call July. Further, Marcus Lucullus, one of Sulla's commanders, was opposed at Fidentia with sixteen cohorts to fifty of the enemy, and though he had confidence in the spirit of his men, he was discouraged because a greater part of them were unarmed. While he was considering and hesitating what to do, a gentle breeze blowing from the adjoining plain, which was covered with grass, carried many of the flowers to the army of Lucullus, and spontaneously strewed them about, so that they rested and fell on the men's shields and helmets, which seemed to their opponents to be crowned with chaplets. Thus encouraged, the soldiers of Lucullus engaged, and gained a victory, with the loss to the opposite party of eighteen thousand men

and their camp. This Lucullus was the brother of the Lucullus who afterwards defeated Mithridates and Tigranes.

28. Sulla, perceiving that he was still surrounded by many hostile camps and large forces, treacherously invited Scipio, one of the consuls, to come to terms. Scipio accepted the proposal, which was followed by many meetings and conferences, but Sulla continually threw impediments and pretexts in the way of a final agreement, and in the meantime he corrupted Scipio's soldiers by means of his own men, who were as practised in all kinds of deceit and fraud as their commander. Going within the intrenchments of Scipio and mingling with his soldiers, they gained over some by giving them money, others by promises, and the rest by flattery and persuasion. At last Sulla with twenty cohorts approached the camp of Scipio, and his soldiers saluted those of Scipio, who returned the salute and came over to them. Scipio, thus deserted, was taken prisoner in his tent, but set at liberty; and Sulla with the twenty cohorts, like so many tame birds, having entrapped forty of the enemy, led them all back to his camp. On this occasion, it is said, Carbo observed that he had to contend in Sulla both with a lion and a fox, but the fox gave him most trouble. After this, in the neighbourhood of Signia, Marius at the head of eighty-four cohorts challenged Sulla to battle; and Sulla was very ready for the contest on that day, for he happened to have had a vision in his sleep of this sort:—He dreamed that the elder Marius, who had long been dead, was advising his son to beware of the following day, as it would bring him heavy misfortune. This was the reason that Sulla was eager to fight, and he sent for Dola-

bella, who was encamped at some distance. But as the enemy occupied the roads and cut off the communications, the soldiers of Sulla were wearied with fighting and working at the roads at the same time; and it happened that much rain also fell, and added to the fatigue of their labour. Upon this, the centurions coming up to Sulla, begged him to defer the battle, and pointed out to him that the soldiers were exhausted by fatigue and were lying on the ground with their shields under them. Sulla consented unwillingly, and gave orders for the army to halt there; but while they were beginning to throw up their rampart and dig their trenches, Marius advanced against them confidently at the head of his troops, expecting to disperse them in their state of disorder and confusion. Now the daemon made good the words that Sulla heard in his dream; for his soldiers, transported with indignation and stopping their work, fixed their spears in the ground close to the trenches, and drawing their swords with a loud shout, were forthwith at close quarters with the enemy. The soldiers of Marius did not stand their ground long, and there was a great slaughter of them in their flight. Marius, who fled to Præneste, found the gates closed, but a rope being let down from the walls, he fastened himself to it, and was drawn up into the city. Some historians say, and Fenestella among them, that Marius saw nothing of the battle, but that being exhausted by want of sleep and fatigue he lay down on the ground in the shade, and as soon as the signal was given for battle, fell asleep, and that he was roused with difficulty when the flight began. Sulla says that he lost only twenty-three men in this battle, and that he

killed of the enemy twenty thousand, and took eight thousand alive. He was equally successful everywhere else through his generals Pompeius, Crassus, Metellus, Servilius; for without sustaining any but the most trifling loss, they destroyed the great armies of their opponents, and at last Carbo, who was the main support of the opposite party, stole away from his troops by night and sailed to Libya.

29. In the last struggle however, like a fresh combatant attacking an exhausted athlete, Telesinus the Samnite was very near tripping up Sulla and laying him prostrate at the gates of Rome. Telesinus was hastening with Lamponius the Lucanian and a strong force to Præneste, in order to rescue Marius, who was besieged; but finding that Sulla in his front and Pompeius in his rear were coming against him, and that he could neither advance nor retreat, like a brave and experienced man he broke up his encampment by night and marched with all his force against Rome. And indeed he was very near surprising the city, which was unguarded; however, halting about ten stadia from the Colline gate, he passed the night there, full of confidence and elated with hope, as he had got the advantage over so many great generals. At day-break the most distinguished young men came out on horseback to oppose him, but many of them fell, and among them Claudius Appius, a man of noble rank and good character. This naturally caused confusion in the city, and there were women shrieking and people hurrying in all directions, in expectation that the city was going to be stormed, when Balbus appeared first, coming at full speed from Sulla with seven hundred horsemen. Balbus just

halted long enough to allow his men to dry the sweat from their horses: then bridling them again, they advanced quickly and engaged with the enemy. In the mean time Sulla also appeared, and ordering the advanced ranks to take some refreshment, he began to put them in order of battle. Dolabella and Torquatus earnestly entreated him to pause, and not to put all to the hazard with his exhausted soldiers; they said, the contest was not with Carbo and Marius, but with Samnites and Lucanians, the most deadly and warlike enemies of Rome: but Sulla, without paying any regard to them, ordered the trumpets to sound the charge, though it was now about the tenth hour. The battle began, and was fiercer than any that was fought in this campaign. The right wing, where Crassus commanded, was completely successful; but the left was hard pressed, and in a dangerous plight, when Sulla came to its support mounted on a very spirited and fleet white horse, by which he was easily distinguished from the rest, and two of the enemy's soldiers, fixing their javelins, prepared to aim at him. Sulla did not see them, but his groom whipped the horse, which just carried his rider so far out of the reach of the spears that they passed close to the horse's tail, and stuck in the ground. It is said that Sulla always carried about with him in his bosom, in battle, a small golden figure of Apollo, which he got from Delphi, and that he then kissed it, and said, "O Pythian Apollo, after raising the fortunate Sulla Cornelius in so many contests to glory and renown, wilt thou throw him prostrate here, at the gates of his native city, and so bring him to perish most ignobly with his fellow-citizens?" After this address to the

god it is said that Sulla entreated some, and threatened and laid hold of others; but at last, the left wing being completely broken, he was mingled with the fugitives and made his escape to the camp with the loss of many of his friends and men of note. Not a few of the citizens also, who had come to see the fight, were killed and trampled down, so that it was thought all was over with the city, and the blockade of Marius was all but raised, for many of the fugitives made their way to Præneste, and urged Ofella Lucretius, who had been appointed to conduct the siege, to break up his quarters with speed, as Sulla was killed, and Rome in the possession of the enemy.

30. It was now far on in the night when men came to Sulla's camp from Crassus to get something to eat for him and his soldiers, for after putting the enemy to flight they had pursued them to Antemnæ, and there encamped. Upon this intelligence, and that most of the enemy were killed, Sulla came to Antemnæ at daybreak. Here three thousand soldiers sent to him to propose to surrender, and Sulla promised them their lives if they would punish the rest of his enemies before they joined him. Trusting to his promise, these men attacked their comrades, and a great number on both sides were cut to pieces. However, Sulla got together the soldiers who had offered to surrender and those who had survived the massacre, to the number of six thousand, in the Circus, and at the same time he summoned the Senate to the temple of Bellona. As soon as he began to speak, the men who were appointed to do the work began to cut down the six thousand men. A cry naturally arose from so many men being butchered in a narrow



space, and the Senators were startled; but Sulla preserving the same unmoved expression of countenance, bade them attend to what he was saying, and not trouble themselves about what was going on outside; it was only some villains who were being punished by his orders. This made even the dullest Roman see that there was merely an exchange of tyrants, not a total change. Now Marius was always cruel, and he grew more so, and the possession of power did not change his disposition. But Sulla at first used his fortune with moderation: and like a citizen of a free state, and he got the reputation of being a leader who, though attached to the aristocratical party, still regarded the interests of the people; besides this, he was from his youth fond of mirth, and so soft to pity as to be easily moved to tears. It was not without reason then, that his subsequent conduct fixed on the possession of great power the imputation that it does not let men's tempers abide by their original habits, but makes them violent, vain, and inhuman. Now whether fortune really produces an alteration and change in a man's natural disposition, or whether, when he gets to power, his bad qualities hitherto concealed are merely unveiled, is a matter that belongs to another subject than the present.

31. Sulla now began to make blood flow, and he filled the city with deaths without number or limit; many persons were murdered on grounds of private enmity, who had never had anything to do with Sulla, but he consented to their death to please his adherents. At last a young man, Caius Metellus, had the boldness to ask Sulla in the Senate-house, when there would be an end to these miseries, and how far he would proceed before they could hope

to see them stop. "We are not deprecating," he said, "your vengeance against those whom you have determined to put out of the way, but we entreat you to relieve from uncertainty those whom you have determined to spare." Sulla replied, that he had not yet determined whom he would spare. "Tell us then," said Metellus, "whom you intend to punish." Sulla said that he would. Some say that it was not Metellus, but Afidius, one of Sulla's flatterers, who made use of the last expression. Sulla immediately proscribed eighty persons without communicating with any magistrate. As this caused a general murmur, he let one day pass, and then proscribed two hundred and twenty more, and again on the third day as many. In an harangue to the people, he said, with reference to these measures, that he had proscribed all he could think of, and as to those who now escaped his memory, he would proscribe them at some future time. It was part of the proscription that every man who received and protected a proscribed person should be put to death for his humanity; and there was no exception for brothers, children, or parents. The reward for killing a proscribed person was two talents, whether it was a slave who killed his master or a son who killed his father. But what was considered most unjust of all, he affixed infamy on the sons and grandsons of the proscribed and confiscated their property. The proscriptions were not confined to Rome; they extended to every city of Italy: neither temple nor hospitable hearth nor father's house was free from murder, but husbands were butchered in the arms of their wives, and children in the embrace of their mothers. The number of those who were massacred through

revenge and hatred was nothing compared with those who were murdered for their property. It occurred even to the assassins to observe that the ruin of such a one was due to his large house, another man owed his death to his orchard, and another again to his warm baths. Quintus Aurelius, a man who never meddled with public affairs, and thought he was no further concerned about all these calamities except so far as he sympathized with the sufferings of others, happened to come to the Forum and there he read the names of the proscribed. Finding his own name among them, he exclaimed, Alas! wretch that I am; 'tis my farm at Alba that is my persecutor. He had not gone far before he was murdered by some one who was in search of him.

32. In the mean time Marius killed himself to avoid being taken. Sulla now went to Præneste, and he began by examining the case of each individual before he punished him; but having no time for this inquiry, he had all the people brought to one spot, to the number of twelve thousand, and ordered them to be massacred, with the exception of one man, an old friend of his, whom he offered to pardon. But the man nobly declared he would never owe his safety to the destroyer of his country, and mingling with the rest of the citizens he was cut down together with them. The affair of Lucius Catilina was perhaps the most monstrous of all. Lucius had murdered his brother before the termination of the war, and he asked Sulla to proscribe him among the rest as if he were still alive; which was done. To show his gratitude, Catilina killed one Marcus Marius, who belonged to the opposite faction, and after bringing his head to Sulla, who was

then sitting in the Forum, he went to the temple of Apollo, which was close by, and washed his hands in the sacred font.

33. Besides the massacres, there were other things to cause dissatisfaction. Sulla had himself proclaimed Dictator, and thus revived this office after an interval of one hundred and twenty years. An act of indemnity was also passed for all that he had done; for the future it was enacted that he should have power of life and death, and should confiscate property, distribute lands, found colonies, destroy them, take away kingdoms and give them to whom he pleased. The sales of confiscated property were conducted by him from his tribunal in such an arrogant and tyrannical manner, that his mode of dealing with the produce of the sales was more intolerable than the seizure of the property: he gave away to handsome women, players on the lyre, mimi and worthless libertini, the lands of whole nations and the revenues of cities; to some men he gave wives, who were compelled to marry against their will. Wishing to form an alliance with Pompeius Magnus, he made him put away his wife; and he took Æmilia, who was the daughter of Scæurus and of his own wife Metella, from her husband Manius Glabrio, though she was then with child, and married her to Pompeius. Æmilia died in the house of Pompeius in childbirth. Lucretius Ofella, who had taken Præneste, became a candidate for the consulship, and canvassed for it. Sulla at first attempted to stop him; but on Lucretius entering the Forum supported by a large party, Sulla sent one of his centurions to kill Lucretius, himself the while sitting on his tribunal in the temple of Castor and Pollux, and looking down upon the

murder. The bystanders seized the centurion and brought him before the tribunal; but Sulla bidding them stop their noise, declared that he had ordered the centurion to kill Lucretius, and they must let him go.

34. The triumph of Sulla was magnificent for the splendour and rarity of the regal spoils; but the exiles formed a greater ornament to it and a noble spectacle. The most illustrious and wealthy of the citizens followed in the procession with chaplets on their heads, calling Sulla their saviour and father, inasmuch as through him they were restored to their country, their children, and their wives. When the triumph was over, Sulla before the assembled people gave an account of all the events of his life, mentioning with equal particularity his good fortune and his great deeds, and in conclusion he bade them salute him by the name of Eutyches, for this is the nearest word to express the Latin Felix: and when he wrote to Greeks or had any business to transact with them, he called himself Epaphroditus. In our country also, on the trophies of Sulla, there is the inscription: Lucius Cornelius Sulla Epaphroditus. As Metella bore him twins, Sulla named the male Faustus, and the female Fausta: for the Romans apply the name Faustus to what is fortunate and gladsome. Sulla indeed trusted so far to his good fortune rather than to his acts, that, though he had put many persons to death, and had made so many innovations and changes in the State, he laid down the Dictatorship, and allowed the people to have the full control of the consular elections, without going near them, and all the while walking about in the Forum, and exposing himself to any one who

might choose to call him to account, just like a private person. Contrary to Sulla's wish, a bold man, and an enemy of his, was likely to be elected consul, Marcus Lepidus, not for his own merits, but because the people wished to please Pompeius, who was earnest in his support and canvassed for him. Sulla seeing Pompeius going home well pleased with his victory, called him to him and said: What a fine piece of policy is this of yours, young man, for Lepidus to be proclaimed consul before Catulus, the most violent in preference to the most honourable of men! It is, however, time for you not to be asleep, as you have strengthened your rival against yourself. Sulla said this in a kind of prophetic tone, for Lepidus soon broke out in great excesses, and was at war with Pompeius.

35. Sulla made an offering of the tenth part of his substance to Hercules, and feasted the people magnificently: so much greater indeed was the preparation than what was required, that a great quantity of provisions was daily thrown into the river, and wine was drunk forty years old, and even older. In the midst of the entertainment, which lasted several days, Metella died. As the priests would not allow Sulla to go to her, or his house to be polluted by a dead body, Sulla sent Metella a writing of divorce, and ordered her, while still alive, to be removed from his house to another! So far he observed the custom strictly through superstition; but the law which limited the cost of funerals, though he had proposed it himself, he violated by sparing no expense. He also violated his own laws for diminishing the cost of entertainments, endeavouring to forget his grief in extravagant drinking and feasting, and in the company of buffoons. A few

months after his wife's death there was a show of gladiators. As there was yet no distinction of places, but men and women sat promiscuously in the theatre, it chanced that a woman seated herself near Sulla who was very handsome and of good family; she was a daughter of Messala, and sister of the orator Hortensius; her name was Valeria, and she had lately separated from her husband. This woman, going behind Sulla, placed her hand upon him, and pulling a thread out of his dress, returned to her place. As Sulla looked on her with some surprise, she said, No mischief, Emperor; I also wish to have a bit of your good fortune. Sulla was not displeas'd at her words, and it was soon plain that he had conceived a passion for the woman; for he privately sent to ask her name, and made himself acquaintance with her family and her mode of life. After this there were interchanges of glances, and frequent side-looks, and giving and returning of smiles, and, finally, treaties and arrangements about marriage, all which on her part perhaps deserved no censure; but as to Sulla, however chaste and reputable the woman might be that he married, it was no reputable or decent matter that induced him to it, for he was caught like a young man by mere looks and wanton airs, the nature of which is to excite the most depraved and impure feelings.

36. Though Sulla married Valeria he still associated with actresses and female lute-players and dancers, spending his time with them on beds, and drinking from an early hour of the day. These were the names of the persons who at this time enjoyed most of his favour:—Roscius the comædian, Sorex the chief mimus, and Metrobius who played

women's parts in men's dress, and to whom, though Metrobius was now growing old, Sulla all along continued strongly attached, and never attempted to conceal it. By this mode of life he aggravated his disease, which was slight in its origin, and for some time he was not aware that all his viscera were full of diseased matter. The flesh, being corrupted by the disease, was changed into vermin, and though many persons were engaged day and night in taking the vermin away, what was got rid of was nothing compared with what came, for all his clothes, and the bath and the water, and his food, were filled with the matter that flowed from him, and with the vermin; such was the violence of the disorder. Though he went into the water several times a day and drenched his body and cleansed it from filth, it was of no avail, for the disease went on too quickly, and the quantity of vermin defied all attempts to clear it away. Among those in very remote times who are said to have died of the lousy disease was Acastus the son of Pelias; and in more recent times, Alcman the lyric poet, Pherecydes the theologian, Callisthenes of Olynthus, while he was in prison, and Mucius the lawyer. And if one may mention those who have got a name, not for any good that they did, but in other ways, Eunus the run-away slave, who began the Servile war in Sicily, is said to have died of this disease, after he was captured and carried to Rome.

37. Sulla foresaw his end, and even in a manner wrote about it, for he finished the twenty-second book of his Memoirs only two days before his death. He there says, that the Chaldæans foretold him that it was his fate to die, after a happy life,



at the very height of his prosperity; he says also that his son, who had died a short time before Metella, appeared to him in a dream, in a mean dress, and standing by him, entreated his father to rest from his troubles and to go with him to join his mother Metella, and live with her in ease and quiet. Yet he did not give up attending to public matters. Ten days before his death he restored tranquillity among the people of Dicæarchia, who were in a state of civil commotion, and he drew up for them a constitution; and only one day before his death, hearing that the chief magistrate Granius was a public defaulter and refused to pay the debt, waiting for Sulla's death, Sulla sent for the man to his chamber, and surrounding him with his slaves ordered him to be strangled; but with his shouting and efforts he burst an imposthume and vomited a quantity of blood. Upon this his strength failed him and he got through the night with difficulty. He left two infant children by Metella; Valeria, after his death, brought forth a daughter, whom they called Postuma, for this is the name that the Romans give to children who are born after their father's death.

38. Now many flocked to Lepidus and combined with him to prevent the body of Sulla from receiving the usual interment. But Pompeius, though he had ground of complaint against Sulla, for he was the only friend whom Sulla had passed over in his will, turning some from their purpose by his influence and entreaties, and others by threats, had the body conveyed to Rome, and secured it a safe and honourable interment. It is said that the women contributed so great a quantity of aromatics for Sulla's funeral, that without including what was

conveyed in two hundred and ten litters, there was enough to make a large figure of Sulla, and also to make a lictor out of costly frankincense and cinnamon. The day was cloudy in the morning, and as rain was expected they did not bring the body out till the ninth hour. However a strong wind came down on the funeral pile and raised a great flame, and they had just time to collect the ashes as the pile was sinking and the fire going out, when a heavy rain poured down and lasted till night; so Sulla's good fortune seemed to follow him to his funeral, and to stay with him to the last. His monument is in the Campus Martius. The inscription, which they say he wrote and left behind him, says in substance, that none of his friends ever did him a kindness, and none of his enemies ever did him a wrong, without being fully repaid.



## NOTES.

[The text of Plutarch is divided into chapters. The figures in the Notes refer to the chapters; and the words in Italics placed thus, Chapter 1. *History*]; *Agis and Cleomenes*]; and so on, refer to certain words in the text of the several chapters.]

### TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.

Chapter 1. *History*.] Plutarch calls the Lives of Agis and Cleomenes a History, though he says in his Life of Alexander (c. 1), that his object is not to write Histories (*ιστοριαι*), but Lives (*βιοι*). But the Lives of the two Spartan reforming kings may consistently enough be called a History, when contrasted with the Lives of the two Roman reforming tribunes. Plutarch's notion of History as contrasted with Biography appears pretty plainly from the first chapter of his Life of Alexander. A complete view of the events in the Lives of Alexander and Caius Julius Cæsar would have formed, according to his notion, a History; but he does not aim at this completeness: he selects out of the events of their lives such as best show the character of the men, whether the events be of great political importance or of none at all, and this method of treating the subject he calls a Life. I believe the word Biography is a modern invention. The distinction between History and Annals, though the words have sometimes been used indiscriminately (c. 3, notes), is clearly expressed by the Roman historian Sempronius Asellio, as quoted by Aulus Gellius (v. 18).

*Agis and Cleomenes*.] Most of Plutarch's extant Lives run in parallels, whence they are entitled Parallel Lives.

He compares a Greek with a Roman: thus he compares Alexander with Caius Julius Cæsar, and Demosthenes with Cicero. The beginning of the *Life of Tiberius Gracchus* is somewhat abrupt after Plutarch's fashion. He had no regular plan for beginning and ending his stories, and thus he avoids the sameness which is so wearisome in a *Dictionary of Biography*. The career of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus was the same, and accordingly Plutarch considers their lives as one; and he has found a parallel to them in two Spartan kings, who were also reformers, Agis IV. and Cleomenes III.

Agis became king of Sparta B.C. 244, and reigned only four years: his colleague in the first part of his reign was Leonidas II., and afterwards Cleombrotus. Agis attempted to restore the old institutions of Lycurgus which had fallen into disuse. Wealth had become accumulated in a few hands. He proposed to adjust the disputes between debtor and creditor by the short method of abolishing debts; and he proposed to restore the spirit of the old institutions by dividing all the lands in equal lots among the Spartan citizens, the chief class in the State; and by assigning lots also to the Perioeci, who were in the relation of subjects. He carried the project for the abolition of debts, but before he could accomplish the rest of his reforms he was thrown into prison and strangled there. His grandmother and mother, both of whom had favoured his schemes of reform, were strangled at the same time. He was about twenty-four years of age when he died. His reform was not a revolution, but an attempt to restore the old constitution.

Cleomenes III. King of Sparta, reigned from B.C. 236 to B.C. 220. In the first part of his reign the infant son of Agis IV., and afterwards, Archidamus V. the brother of Agis IV., were his colleagues. Leonidas II., who had been deposed by Agis, had returned to Sparta during the absence of Agis on a military expedition, and he was most active in bringing about the death of Agis. Leonidas compelled the widow of Agis to marry his son Cleomenes, who was instructed by his wife in the views and designs of Agis. Thus Cleomenes also became a refor-

mer and attempted to restore the institutions of Lycurgus. But his measures were violent. He is charged with poisoning his infant colleague, the son of the widow whom he married, and with other wrongful acts. He was defeated at the head of the Spartan army by Antigonus in the great battle of Sellasia B.C. 222, and fled to Egypt, where he was kindly received by Ptolemæus III. Euergetes, the king. Ptolemæus IV. Philopator, the successor of Euergetes, put Cleomenes in prison, but he contrived to get out and attempted to make a revolution in Alexandria. Failing in the attempt Cleomenes killed himself. "In this manner," says Polybius, "fell Cleomenes; a prince whose manners were dexterous and insinuating, as his capacity in the administration of affairs was great: and who to express his character in a word was most admirably formed by nature both for a general and a king" (Polybius, v. c. 39; Hampton's Translation, v. chap. 4). Plutarch in his comparison of Agis and Cleomenes with Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, concludes that "Tiberius in virtue surpassed the rest, that the youth Agis was guilty of the fewest faults, and that in doing and daring Caius was much inferior to Cleomenes;" which appears to be a correct judgment.

[*Tiberius Gracchus.*] His complete name was Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. The Sempronia Gens contained the families of the Atratini, Gracchi, and Pitiones. The Gracchi were Plebeians, and the Atratini Patricians: the order of the Pitiones is uncertain. The name of the Gracchi is best known from the political career of the two brothers, whose measures were the immediate cause of the civil disturbances which ended in the establishment of the Imperial power. Tiberius Gracchus, the father, was tribune of the plebs B.C. 187, consul B.C. 177 and a second time in B.C. 163: he was Censor B.C. 169. Tiberius Gracchus had his first triumph in B.C. 178 for his victories over the Celtiberians in Spain while he was proprætor of Hispania Citerior, or that division of the Peninsula which was nearer to the Pyrenees (Livius, 41, c. 11). In his first consulship Gracchus had Sardinia assigned for his province, and he defeated the Sardinians

in a great battle. He was continued in his province as proconsul, and he completely subdued the island (Liv. 41, c. 21), for which he had a triumph which appears to be commemorated by an extant medal (Rasche, *Lexic. Rei Nummarie*). Cicero numbers Tiberius among the Roman orators (*Brutus*, c. 20).

*Scipio.*] Publius Cornelius Scipio defeated Hannibal at the battle of Zama in the territory of Carthage B.C. 202. He died B.C. 183 in his retirement at Liternum in Campania. Though Tiberius Gracchus, the father, was not on friendly terms with Scipio, yet during his tribunate B.C. 187 he prevented Scipio from being tried on certain frivolous charges brought against him by the Tribunes, and owing to this interference of Gracchus, the greatest commander that Rome had yet seen was allowed to spend the remainder of his days in quiet privacy. (Livy, 38, c. 50, &c.; Cicero, *De Provinciis Consularibus*, c. 8.)

*Snakes.*] This story of the snakes is told by Cicero in his treatise on Divination (i. 18, ii. 29). He says that Tiberius died a few days after he had let the female snake go, and he refers as his authority to a letter of Caius Gracchus to M. Pomponius:—"I wonder," says Cicero, "if the letting loose the female was to cause the death of Tiberius, and letting loose the male was to cause the death of Cornelia, that he let either of them go. For Caius does not say that the haruspices said any thing of what would happen if neither snake was let go." To the objection, that the death of Gracchus did follow the letting loose of the female snake, Cicero replies that he supposes he must have died of some sudden attack, and he adds that the haruspices are not so unlucky but that their predictions sometimes happen to come true.

*Ptolemæus.*] I do not know if this offer of King Ptolemæus is noticed by any other writer. It is not certain whether it was Ptolemæus VI. Philometor or his younger brother Ptolemæus VII. Euergetes II. Their two reigns lasted 64 years from B.C. 181 to B.C. 117. Philometor died B.C. 146 and was succeeded by Euergetes who died B.C. 117. The death of Tiberius Gracchus the father is not

ascertained. He married his wife Cornelia after **B.C.** 183 and he was consul **B.C.** 163. His son Tiberius, who was killed **B.C.** 133, was not thirty years old at the time, and therefore was born about **B.C.** 163. Caius, who was nine years younger, was born about **B.C.** 154. It is not known whether Caius was the youngest child of Cornelia. Ptolemæus Philometor went to Rome **B.C.** 163, being driven out of his kingdom by his younger brother Euergetes, and he was well received by the senate. His brother also made a journey to Rome in the following year, **B.C.** 162. In **B.C.** 154 Ptolemæus Euergetes was at Rome for the second time, and he obtained the aid of the senate against his brother. Both the brothers may have seen Cornelia at Rome, but probably during the lifetime of her husband. Scipio Africanus, the son-in-law of Cornelia, was sent on an embassy to Alexandria to Euergetes **B.C.** 143. An Egyptian king might wish to strengthen himself at Rome by an alliance with the illustrious families of the Gracchi and the Scipios; but it is impossible to determine which of these two kings was the suitor. Philometor is spoken of as a mild and generous prince: Euergetes, who was also called Physcon, or Big-belly, was a cruel sensualist. The daughter of Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal, might well decline a marriage with him, and any Egyptian alliance would have been viewed as a degradation to a noble Roman matron. The portrait of Physcon is given in Rosellini's work on Egypt, from the ancient monuments, and he is very far from looking like a winning suitor. Kaltwasser assumes that it was Ptolemæus Philometor who made the offer to Cornelia; and he adds that he was also called Lathyrus; but this is a mistake; Lathyrus was the surname of Ptolemæus VIII. Soter II., the son of Physcon. He has not examined the chronology of these two kings.

*Younger Scipio.*] This was Publius Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus Africanus Minor. He was the son of L. Æmilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia, and he was the adopted son of P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of the conqueror of Hannibal. According to the Roman usage in case of adoption, the son of Æmilius Paulus



took the name of his adoptive father, P. Cornelius Scipio, to which was added, according to the same usage, the name of Æmilianus, which marked the Gens to which he belonged by birth. It was after the destruction of Carthage that he acquired the additional name or title of Africanus, like his adoptive grandfather, from whom he is usually distinguished by the addition of the name Minor or younger. The daughter of Cornelia, whom he married, was named Sempronia. She was ugly and bore her husband no children, and they did not live harmoniously together. (Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 20.) As to the Roman names see the note on Marius, c. 1.

2. *Dioscuri*.] The Greek name for Castor and Pollux, who were the sons of Jupiter and Leda. Pollux was a boxer, and Castor distinguished for his management of horses and as a runner. Their statues were generally placed side by side with their appropriate characters, to which Plutarch alludes.

*Rostra*.] Plutarch uses the Greek word Bema (βῆμα), which is the name for the elevated stone station in the Pnyx from which the Athenian orators addressed the public assemblies. The place from which the Roman orators addressed the public assemblies was called the *Rostra*, or the beaks, because it was ornamented with the beaks of the ships which the Romans took from the people of Antium. (Liv. 8, c. 14.) The *Rostra* were in the Forum, and in a position between the Comitium and that part of the Forum which was appropriated to the meeting of the Roman tribes. (See Caius Gracchus, c. 5.)

*Cleon*.] The history of this Athenian demagogue is in Thucydides, ii. &c. The play of Aristophanes called 'The Knights' (Ἰππῆς) is directed against him. By his turbulent oratory he acquired some distinction at Athens during the Peloponnesian war, after the death of Pericles. (See Plutarch, *Nicias*, c. 2, 3.)

*Dolphins*.] The MSS. have δελφίνας, dolphins, which some critics would change to δελφικὰς, tables made at Delphi or in Delphic fashion. Plinius (*Nat. Hist.* 33, c. 11) speaks of these dolphins, though he does not say what they were. The alteration in the text is

quite unnecessary. The dolphins were probably ornaments attached to some piece of furniture. Plutarch gives the value in drachmæ, the usual Greek silver coin, and the money of reckoning: the usual Roman money of reckoning was the Sestertius. Plinius mentions the value of these dolphins at 5000 sestertii a pound, which would make 4 sestertii equivalent to a drachma. The drachma is reckoned at about  $9\frac{1}{2}d.$  and the sestertius at  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$  under the Republic.

*Musical Instrument.*] The original is literally "an instrument for practising the voice by which they raise ? sounds." Perhaps a musician may be able to interpret the passage, without explaining the instrument to be a pitch-pipe as some have done. Cicero (*De Oratore*, iii. 60) tells the same story somewhat differently. He says that this Licinius was a lettered man (*litteratus homo*), and that he used to stand behind Caius Gracchus, yet so as to be concealed, with an ivory pipe (*fistula*), when Gracchus was addressing the public assemblies; his duty was to produce a suitable note either for the purpose of rousing his master when his tone was too low or lowering his tone when it was too vehement. (See also *Dion, Fragmenta*, p. 39, ed. Reimarus.)

4. *Augurs.*] An Augur was one who ascertained the will of the gods by certain signs, but more particularly the flights of birds. The institution of Augurs was coeval with the Roman State, and as the Augural ceremonial was essential to the validity of all elections, the body of Augurs possessed great political influence. The college of Augurs at this time consisted of nine members, who filled up the vacancies that occurred in their body. A member of the college held his office for life, and the places were objects of ambition to all the great personages in the state. They were not appropriated to a class of priests: they were held by persons who had no other priestly character. Cicero for instance was an Augur. The Roman system of placing the highest religious offices not in the hands of a priestly class, but in the hands of persons who had held and might still hold civil offices, perhaps possessed some advantages. There are many

valuable remarks on the Roman *Auguria* and *Auspicia* in Rubino, *Untersuchungen über Römische Verfassung*.

*Appius Claudius.*] Appius Claudius Pulcher was a member of the Claudia Gens, and belonged to an old Patrician family, which had long been opposed to all the pretensions of the Plebeian order. He was consul B.C. 143. He did not long survive his son-in-law. Cicero (*Brutus*, 28) enumerates him among the orators of Rome; he observes that he spoke fluently, but with rather too much heat.

*Princeps Senatus.*] The rank of *Princeps Senatus* was given at one time by the censors to the oldest of those who had filled the office of censor (Liv. 27, c. 11); but after the election of Q. Fabius Maximus mentioned in the passage of Livius, it was given to any person whom the censors thought most fit; and it was usual for the same person to be re-appointed at each successive *Lustrum*, that is, every five years. It was now merely an honorary distinction, though it had once been a substantive office. The title was retained under the Empire by the Emperors; and *Princeps* is the title by which Tacitus designates Augustus and his successor Tiberius. The title has come down to us through the French language in the form of Prince.

Plutarch sometimes gives the Roman words in a Greek form, but he more usually translates them, as well as he can, which he has done in this instance. The titles consular, censorian, prætorian, were the Roman names for designating a man who had been consul, censor, or prætor.

*Polybius.*] Livius (38, c. 57) is one of those who tell the story of Scipio Africanus the elder giving his daughter Cornelia to Tiberius Gracchus, the father. Plutarch has done best in following Polybius, who was intimate with the younger Africanus and had the best means of knowing the facts.

*Libya.*] I have retained this name for Africa as it is in Plutarch. The Greek name for the continent of Africa was *Libya* (Λιβύη), which the Romans also used. In the Roman writers Africa properly denotes the Roman

province of Africa, which comprehended Carthage and a considerable territory; but it was common enough for the Romans to designate the whole continent by the name of Africa.

*Second Scipio.*] Plutarch is here alluding to the campaign of Scipio in which he destroyed Carthage B.C. 146, whence he got the name of Africanus. It was usual for the Roman commanders to have with them a number of youths of good family who went to learn the art of war, and were trained under the eye of the general, to whose table and intimacy they were admitted according to their deserts. Thus Agricola during his early service in Britain was attached to the staff of Suetonius Paullinus. (Tacitus, *Agricola*, c. 5.) Those who were admitted to the intimacy and tent of the commander, were sometimes called *Contubernales*.

*Fannius*] Caius Fannius Strabo was quæstor in the consulship of Cn. Calpurnius Piso and M. Popilius Lænas B.C. 139, and two years after he was prætor. He served in Africa under the younger Scipio Africanus and in Spain under Fabius Maximus Servilianus. He was the son-in-law of Lælius, surnamed Sapiens, or the Prudent. He wrote an historical work which Cicero sometimes calls a History (*Brutus*, c. 26), and sometimes *Annals* (*Brutus*, c. 21; *De Oratore*, ii. 67). It is unknown what period his work comprised, except that it contained the history of the Gracchi. Cicero does not speak highly of his style, but Sallustius seems to commend his veracity (*Lib. 1. Historiarum*).

Tiberius would be entitled to a mural crown (*muralis corona*), which was the reward of the soldier who first ascended the enemy's wall. Plutarch appears to mean that Fannius also received one. Livius (26, c. 48) mentions an instance of two mural crowns being given by Scipio (afterwards Africanus) at the capture of Nova Carthago (*Carthagena*) in Spain.

5. *Quæstor.*] It appears that at this time the quæstors had their provinces assigned by lot, and this was the case under the Empire. (Tacitus, *Agricola*, c. 6.) The functions of a quæstor were of a civil kind, and related, in

the provinces, to the administration of the public money. He was a check on the governor under whom he served, when he was an honest man: sometimes the quaestor and governor agreed to wink at the peculations of each other.

*Mancinus.*] Caius Hostilius Mancinus was consul with Marcus Æmilius Lepidus B.C. 137. Numantia, which gave the Romans so much trouble, was situated in Old Castile on the Douro, but it is not certain what modern site corresponds to it.

7. *Samnites.*] The allusion is to a memorable event in the Samnite war. The consuls Spurius Postumius Albinus and Titus Veturius Calvinus B.C. 321, with their army, were caught by the Samnites in the pass called Furculæ Caudinæ, and they were compelled, in order to save themselves, to submit to the ignominy of passing under the yoke. The Roman Senate rejected the terms which had been agreed on between the consuls and the officers of the army on the one side, and the Samnites on the other. It was not a treaty (*fœdus*) as Livius shows, for such a treaty could not be made without the consent of the *Populus* nor without the proper religious ceremonies. (Liv. 9, c. 5.) The Senate, upon the proposition of Postumius himself, sent to the Samnites all the persons who were parties to the agreement and offered to surrender them, but the Samnites would not receive them and they upbraided the Romans for the want of good faith.

Mancinus also supported the proposition for his own surrender to the Numantines, and he was offered to them in due form by the officer called the *Pater Patratus*, but the Numantines declined accepting him. (Cicero, *De Officiis*, iii. 30.) The principle that a general could not formally make a treaty, and that all treaties required the sanction of the Senate or in earlier times perhaps of the Patrician body in their assembly, appears to be well established. Those who made the treaty with a Roman general might not know this constitutional rule, but the principle on which the Romans acted in such cases was sound, and the censure that has been directed against

them as to their conduct in such transactions, proceeds from ignorance of the Roman constitution and of the nature of the power which a sovereign state delegates to its ministers. Delegated power or authority never authorizes the persons to whom it is delegated to do an act which is inconsistent with the constitution or fundamental principles on which the sovereign power is based.

Mancinus returned to Rome and ventured to appear in the Senate, but a question was raised as to his right to be there, for it was argued that a man who had been so surrendered, ceased to be a citizen and could not recover his civic rights by the fiction of postliminium, as a man who had escaped from the enemy could. (Cicero, *De Oratore*, i. 40.) But the subtlety of the Romans found a solution of the difficulty in the case of Mancinus: there can be no surrender, if there is nobody to receive the surrender; therefore Mancinus was not surrendered; therefore he was capable of recovering his civil rights. (Cicero, *Topica* 8.)

*Numantia.*] The war of Numantia was prolonged to their disgrace as the Romans considered it, and they at last elected Scipio consul B.C. 134, and sent him to Spain. He took Numantia after a siege of fifteen months and totally destroyed it, B. C. 133, the same year in which his brother-in-law Tiberius Gracchus lost his life. (Velleius Paterc. ii. 4.) Caius Gracchus, the brother of Tiberius, served under Scipio at Numantia, and also Jurgurtha, afterwards king of the Numidians, and Caius Marius, the conqueror of Jugurtha.

*Iberia.*] The Romans used the words Iberia and Hispania indifferently to denote the Spanish Peninsula. From the word Hispania the Spaniards have formed the name España, the French Espagne, and the English Spain. The river Ebro, which the Romans called Iberus, is a remnant of this old name. The Iberi originally occupied a part of Southern Gaul (the modern France) as far east as the Rhone, where they bordered upon the Ligurians. They were a different people from the Celts, who in the time of C. Julius Cæsar occupied one of the three great divisions of Gaul. (*Gallic War*, i. 1.)

The Celtæ at some unknown time crossed the Pyrenees and mingling with the Iberi, formed the Celtiberi, a warlike race with whom the Romans had many wars, and over whom Tiberius, the father of Tiberius Gracchus, gained a victory. (Note, c. 1.) It is maintained by William Humboldt in his work on the original inhabitants of Spain (*Priifung der Untersuchungen über die Urbewohner Hispaniens*) that the present Basque is a remnant of the Iberian language, which he supposes not to have been confined to Spain, but to have spread over part of Italy, the south of France, and the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. Thucydides (vi. 2.) says that the Sicani, or old inhabitants of Sicily, were Iberi who were driven from the river Sicanus in Iberia by the Ligurians.

The name Iberia was also given by the Greeks and Romans to a part of that mountainous region, commonly called the Caucasus, which lies between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. The Albani and the Iberi were the two chief nations that occupied this tract; the Albani were between the Caspian Sea and the Iberi, who were their neighbours on the west. The great river Cyrus (Kur) flowed through Albania into the Caspian. Iberia was partly surrounded by the mountains of the Caucasus and it bordered on Armenia and Colchis: the river Cyrus was the chief river (Strabo, 499, ed. Casaub.). There is no evidence that these Iberi of the Caucasus were related to the western Iberi. The country was invaded by the Romans under L. Lucullus and Pompeius Magnus.

8. Plutarch's account of the Roman Public Land is brief and not satisfactory. A clearer statement, which differs from Plutarch's in some respects, is given by Appian. (*Civil Wars*, i. 7, &c.) The Roman territory (Romanus Ager) was originally confined to a small circuit, as we see from the history of the early wars of Rome. Even Aricia (La Riccia) about fifteen miles south-east of Rome, was a city of the Latin confederation in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus. (Liv. 1, c. 50.) The Romans extended their territory by conquest, and they thus acquired large tracts of land in Italy, which were

made the property of the State under the name of *Ager Publicus*. This Public Land was enjoyed originally by the Patricians, and perhaps by them only, on payment of a certain rent to the treasury (*Ærarium*). The rents of the Public Land were a large part of the Public Income, and intended to defray a portion of the Public expenditure. The Plebs soon began to lay claim to a share in these lands, and a division of some tracts was made among the Plebeians in the reign of Servius Tullius. The lands divided among the Plebeians were given to them in ownership. The tracts of Public Land which were enjoyed by the Patricians on the terms above mentioned, were considered, as they in fact were, Public property; and the interest of the Patricians in such lands was called a Possession (*Possessio*). Those who enjoyed the public Land as a Possession were said to Possess it (*possidere*), and they were called Possessores, a term which often occurs in the first Six books of Livius, and which Plutarch has attempted to translate by a Greek word (*κτηματικοί*). It is likely enough that the Patricians abused their right to the use of the land by not always paying the rent; as we may collect from the passages in Dionysius (*Antiq. Rom.* viii. 70, 73, ix. 51, x. 36). Their enjoyment of extensive tracts also prevented the Public Land from being distributed among the Plebeians to the extent that they wished. The disputes between the two orders in the State, the Aristocracy or Nobles and the Plebeians, or as Livius generally calls them the Patres and the Plebs (the Padri and the Plebe of Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, &c.), about the Public Land, commenced with the agitation of Spurius Cassius, B.C. 486, the history of which is given by Livius in his Second Book (c. 41). The contest was continued at intervals to B.C. 366, when a Law was passed which is commonly called one of the Licinian Rogations, which forbade any man to have a Possession in the Public Lands to the amount of more than 500 Jugera. This is the Law to which Plutarch alludes.

The extent and difficulty of the subject of the Public Land makes it impossible to examine it fully in a Note.



I propose to treat of it at length in an Appendix in a future volume.

*Ergastula.*] The words in Plutarch literally signify "barbarian prisons," but I have used the word *Ergastula*, which was the Roman name, though it is a word of Greek origin, and signifies "working-places." The *Ergastula* were places generally under ground and lighted from above: they were used both as places to work in and as lodging-places for slaves who cultivated the fields in chains. (Plinius, *N. II.* 18, c. 3; Florus, iii. 19.) They were also places of punishment for refractory slaves. The object of these places of confinement was also to prevent slaves from running away, and rising in insurrection. The slaves were placed at night in separate cells to prevent all communication between them. When the slaves broke out in rebellion in Sicily under Eunus, who is mentioned by Plutarch (*Sulla*, c. 36), the *ergastula* were broken open, and a servile army of above sixty thousand men was raised. The Roman master had full power over his slave, who was merely viewed as an animal; and these *ergastula* being in the country and out of sight would give a cruel master full opportunity of exercising his tyranny. They were abolished by the Emperor Hadrian (Spartianus, *Hadrianus*, 18).

*Caius Lælius.*] C. Lælius, the father, was an intimate friend of Scipio Africanus the Elder. C. Lælius, the son, the Wise or the Prudent, was also an intimate friend of the younger Africanus. Cicero's treatise on Friendship is entitled *Lælius* in honour of Lælius the Prudent.

*Tribune.*] Tiberius Gracchus was elected Tribune b.c. 133, and he lost his life the same year.

*Diophanes.*] Cicero (*Brutus*, c. 27) calls the Greek Diophanes a teacher of Tiberius Gracchus. Blossius is mentioned by Cicero (*Lælius*, c. 11) as one of those who urged Tiberius to his measures of reform; Antiochus of Tarsus was a Stoic. The two sons of Cornelia had a learned education and were acquainted with the language and philosophy of the Greeks, and it is probable that the moral and political speculations with which they thus became familiar and their associating with Greeks

had considerable influence on their political opinions. Tiberius Gracchus the father was also well enough acquainted with Greek to speak the language. His oration to the Rhodians was spoken in Greek.

*Spurius Postumius.*] It does not seem certain what Postumius is intended. Sp. Postumius Albinus Magnus was Consul B.C. 148, and is supposed by Meyer (*Orat. Rom. Fragmenta*, 197) to be the orator alluded to by Cicero (*Brutus*, 25). But this Postumius was too old to be a rival of Gracchus. Another of the same name was consul B.C. 110, and conducted the war against Jugurtha unsuccessfully; but he was perhaps too young to be a rival of Gracchus. (Cicero, *Brutus*, 34.)

9. *Crassus.*] This was P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus Dives, the son of P. Mucius Scævola, and the adopted son of P. Licinius Crassus Dives, as appears from Cicero (*Academ.* 2, c. 5), who mentions him with his brother P. Scævola as one of the advisers of Tiberius Gracchus in his legislation. Crassus was Consul with L. Valerius Flaccus B.C. 131. He was a soldier, a lawyer, and an orator. He lost his life in the war against Aristonicus in the Roman province of Asia B.C. 131. It is remarked that he was the first Pontifex Maximus who went beyond the limits of Italy, for he was consul and Pontifex Maximus when he went to carry on the war against Aristonicus. (Livius, *Epitome*, 59.) The Pontifex Maximus, as the head of Religion, had important duties which required his presence at Rome.

*Scævola.*] The illustrious family of the Scævolæ produced many orators and jurists. This Scævola was P. Mucius Scævola, the brother of P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus. He was consul B.C. 133, the year in which Tiberius Gracchus attempted his reform. He attained the dignity of Pontifex Maximus in B.C. 131 on his brother's death. Scævola was probably a timid man. Cicero states that his brother openly favoured the measures of Tiberius; and Scævola was suspected of doing so. After the death of Tiberius he approved of the conduct of Scipio Nasica, who was the active mover in this affair, and assisted in drawing up several decrees of the Senate

in justification of the measure and even in commendation of it. (Cicero, *Pro Doma*, c. 34; *Pro Plancio*, 36.) He was a great orator, but his chief merit was as a jurist. He was the father of a son still more distinguished as a jurist, Quintus Mucius Scævola, who also became Pontifex Maximus, and was one of the teachers of Cicero. He is considered to be one of those who laid the foundations of Roman law and formed it into a science (*Dig.* 1, tit. 2, s. 2). Quintus Mucius Scævola, commonly called the Augur, also a distinguished jurist, was a cousin of P. Mucius Scævola, the Pontifex, and a teacher of Cicero before Cicero became a hearer of the Pontifex.

*Eloquence.*] The eloquence of Tiberius Gracchus is commemorated by Cicero (*Brutus*, c. 27), who had read his orations. He describes them as not sufficiently ornate in expression, but as acute and full of judgment. The specimens of the orations of Tiberius (c. 9. 15) and those in Appian (*Civil Wars*, 9. 15) fully bear out the opinion of Cicero as to his acuteness. Some German writers assert that these speeches in Plutarch are either fabricated by him or taken from other writers, but assertions like these which are not founded on evidence, are good for nothing. Plutarch gives the speeches as genuine: at least he believes them to be so, and therefore he did not fabricate them. And it is not likely that any body else did. These two fragments (c. 9. 15) bear no resemblance to the style of most writers who have fabricated speeches. They are in a genuine Roman style. If any man could fabricate them, it was Livius, and Plutarch may have taken them from him.

*Lords of the Earth.*] The same expression occurs in Horace (1 *Carm.* 1), which there also applies to the Romans, and not to the Gods, as some suppose.

\* 10. *Marcus Octavius.*] Marcus Octavius who was one of the Tribuni Plebis B.C. 133 was a descendant of Cneius Octavius, Quæstor B.C. 230. Caius Octavius, better known as Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus and as the Emperor Augustus, was a descendant of Caius the second son of Cneius. Cicero whose opinion about the Gracchi changed with the changed circumstances of his

own life, commends the opposition of Marcus Octavius to the measures of Gracchus. (*Brutus*, c. 25.) He also says that Octavius was a good speaker.

The institution of the Tribuni Plebis is one of the most important events in the history of Rome, and the struggle between the plebeians headed by their tribunes and the nobility, is the development of the constitutional history of Rome. Though there were Tribunes in the kingly period, the establishment of the Tribuni Plebis as the guardians of the Plebs is properly referred to the year B.C. 494, when the Plebs seceded to the Mons Sacer or the Sacred Mount. On this occasion the Patricians consented to the election of two tribunes from the Plebs. (Liv. 2, c. 33 : compare Livius, 2, 56. 58.) The number was afterwards increased to ten, and this number continued unaltered. Only a plebeian could be elected tribune. The persons of the tribunes were declared to be sacred (*sacrosancti*). Their powers were originally limited, as above stated, to the protection of the rights of the Plebs and of the individuals of the Plebeian body against the oppression of the Patrician Magistrates. It is not possible within the compass of a note to trace the history of the gradual increase of the Tribunitian power (*tribunitia potestas*): such a subject is a large chapter in the history of Rome. Incidental notices often appear in Plutarch's Lives, which will help a reader to form a general notion of the nature of the magistracy, and the effect which it had on the development of the Roman Constitution. The article Tribuni in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities gives an outline of the functions of the Tribuni Plebis.

Very soon after the institution of the Tribunate, the nobles learned the art of destroying the power of the college of Tribunes by gaining over one or more of the members; for, as Plutarch states, the opposition (*intercessio*) of a single Tribune rendered the rest of his colleagues powerless.

*Nobles.*] As this is the first time that I have used this word, it requires explanation. The origin of the Roman state is a matter involved in great obscurity; but

its history after the expulsion of the kings B.C. 509 is the history of a struggle between a class of nobles, an aristocracy, and the people. The old nobility of Rome were the Patricians, whom Livius calls indifferently Patres (Fathers) and Patricii. In his early History Patres and Plebs are opposed to one another, as we should now oppose the terms Nobles or Aristocracy, and Commonalty or People; not that Nobles and Aristocracy are among us exactly equivalent, but in the history of Rome there is no distinction between them. Livius frequently uses the term Patres and Plebs as comprehending all the Roman citizens (ii. 33). The word Populus was originally and properly not the People in our sense: it signified the superior and privileged class and was equivalent to Patricians. The Plebs were originally not a part of the Populus. In later times the word Populus was often used loosely to express generally the Roman People, and the style and title of the Roman state was Senatus Populusque Romanus—The Senate and the Roman Populus, which term Populus in the later Republic certainly included the Plebs, though the Plebs is still spoken of as a class. As the Plebeians gradually obtained access to the higher honours of the State and to the consulship by a law of Licinius Stolo B.C. 366, a new class of nobles was formed out of those persons who had enjoyed those honours and out of their descendants. This class was called Nobiles by the Romans; the word Nobilitas denoted the rank or title of the class, but it was also used like our word Nobility to express the body of Nobiles. Livius uses this term even in the earlier books of his History, but perhaps not with strict correctness, for in some cases at least he makes the term Nobility equivalent to the Patricians. He wrote in the reign of Augustus, and he has not always applied his terms in the earlier periods with perfect accuracy. Still we may trace the meaning of political terms in the Roman writers with great clearness, for no nation ever stuck more closely to old forms and expressions, and there is a wonderful precision in the use of political terms by Roman writers of all ages and of all classes. The name Patricians still

existed after the term *Nobilis* was introduced: a Noble might be either a Patrician or a Plebeian, but the distinction was well understood between an old Patrician family and a Plebeian family however distinguished the plebeian family might become. Under the Emperors it was not uncommon for them to promote a man to the rank of Patrician for eminent services, which under the Monarchy was equivalent to the conferring of a title of dignity in modern times, and nothing more. (Tacit. *Ann.* xi. 25.)

In Cicero we find the aristocratical order often spoken of as the *Optimates* (the class of the best), a term which corresponds to the Greek *Aristi* (ἀριστοι), whence we have the word *Aristocracy*, which however the early Greek writers at least only used to express a form of government and not a class of persons. Cicero on one occasion (*Pro P. Sestio*, c. 45) attempts to give to the word *Optimates* a much wider signification; to make it comprehend all good and honest people: but this is a mere piece of rhetoric. When a poor plebeian heard the *Optimates* spoken of, he never imagined that it was intended to place him among them, were he as honest as the best man among the *Optimates*. Cicero also says: the *Populares* were those who merely spoke and acted to please the multitude; which shows that *Populus* must now have changed its meaning: the *Optimates* were those who wished to act so as to get the approbation of all honest men.

Plutarch's perception of the early periods of Roman History was perhaps not strictly exact; but he comprehended very clearly the state of the parties in the age of the *Gracchi*. On the one side were the nobles and the rich, some of whom were noble and some were not; on the other side were the people, the mass, the poor. The struggle was now between rich and poor, and the rich often became the leaders of the poor for the purpose of political distinction and influence, and hence the name *Populares*. Probably few states have ever presented the spectacle of the striking contrast between wealth and poverty which the Roman State exhibited from the time of the *Gracchi*: a class of rich, rich by hereditary wealth

and by all the modes of acquiring wealth which the possession of office and the farming of the public revenues offered to them; a class of poor who were born poor, who had little industry and few means of exercising it. To this we must add that though there were many cultivators in the country who might enjoy a moderate subsistence from their small estates, there was a city crowded with poor who had votes, and by their union and numbers mainly determined the elections and the acceptance or rejection of legislative measures. Rome in fact was the centre of all political agitation and the result of a revolution in the City generally determined the dispute between two rival factions. We have still to take into the account a very numerous class of slaves. It is probable that in the earlier periods of Roman History the slaves were comparatively few; in the later Republic they became very numerous. They formed a large part of the wealth of the rich, and they were always a dangerous body to the state. The effect of employing slaves generally in agriculture and other occupations was, as it always must be, unfavourable to industry among free men. Slaves also were often manumitted, and though the son of a manumitted slave was in all respects on the same footing as a complete Roman citizen, if his father was made such by the act of manumission, yet persons of this condition, and especially those who had been liberated from slavery, were looked upon as a somewhat inferior class. Their connection with the powerful families to which they had belonged, also gave such families great influence in all elections; and as we see in various instances, the class of libertini, manumitted slaves, was viewed as a dangerous body in the state. The Equites at Rome can scarcely be called a middle class: they were generally rich and the farmers of the revenues, under the name of Publicani. They were often opposed to the Senate, but it was an opposition of pure interest, and their wealth made them rather the partisans of the Aristocratical than of the Popular body. Such were the political elements with which Tiberius Gracchus had to deal, when he attempted a reform which perhaps the times did not render prac-

ticable, and for which he certainly did not possess the courage or the judgment or the inflexible resolution which were necessary to secure success. The word in Plutarch which I have here translated Nobles is *δυνατοί*, the powerful. In other places he calls them the rich (*πλούσιοι*), the Possessors [of Public Land] (*κτηματικοί*), the aristocratical body (*ἀριστοκρατικοί*); and perhaps other terms. He calls the Plebs, or people as opposed to this class, by various names, of which *δῆμος* is the most common: he also calls them the Multitude (*πλήθος*), the Many (*οἱ πολλοί*), and other like names.

It is impossible to attain perfect precision in the use of political terms in a translation of Plutarch; and in order to be critically exact, it would be necessary to load these notes continually with remarks. But this critical exactness is not required here: the opposition of the two orders in the State is intelligible to everybody. The contests in Rome from the time of the Gracchi to the establishment of the Monarchy under Augustus, were contests in which the rich and the powerful were constantly struggling among themselves for political supremacy; there was an acknowledged Aristocratical and an acknowledged Popular party. But the leaders of both parties, with perhaps some few exceptions, were mainly bent on personal aggrandizement. The Aristocratical class had a clearer object than the leaders of the popular party: they wished to maintain the power of their order and that of the Senate which was the administering body. The leaders of the popular party could have no clear object in view except the destruction of the power of the Senate: the notion of giving the people more power than they possessed would have been an absurdity. Accordingly the depression of the Aristocratical body had for a necessary consequence the elevation of an individual to power, as in the case of Caesar the Dictator. Sulla, it is true, was an aristocrat, and he destroyed so far as he could the popular party; but he made himself Dictator, and to the last day of his life he ruled all parties with a rod of iron.

The existence of a numerous and needy class who



participated in political power without having any property which should be a guarantee for their honest use of it, was the stuff out of which grew the revolutions of Rome. There was a crowded city population, clamorous for cheap bread, for grants of lands, for public shows and amusements, averse to labour, constantly called into political activity by the annual elections, always ready to sell their votes to the best bidders; and a class always ready to use this rabble as a tool for their political and personal aggrandizement. Machiavelli observes (*Istor. Fiorent.* iii.) that the natural enmity which exists between the men of the popular party and the nobles (gli uomini Popolari e i Nobili), proceeds from the wish of the nobles to command and of the others not to obey, and that these are the causes of all the evils that appear in States. He adds (iv.) that States and especially those which are not well constituted, which are administered under the name of Republics, often change their government and condition, but the fluctuation is not between liberty and servitude, as many suppose, but between servitude and licence. It is only the name of liberty which is in the mouths of the ministers of licence who are the popular leaders, and the ministers of servitude who are the nobles; both of them wish to be subject neither to the laws nor to men. These remarks, which are peculiarly applicable to Florence and the so-called Republics of Italy of that time, apply equally to the Roman State. There are governments however to which the name Republic can be properly applied, and that of Great Britain is one, which owing to the possession of certain elements have a more stable character. Still the general character of a Popular and of an Aristocratical party is correctly sketched by Machiavelli.

[*Bacchanalian revelries.*] Plutarch, who is fond of allusions to the Greek poets, here alludes to a passage in the *Bacchæ* of Euripides, l. 387 :

“for e’en in Bacchus’ orgies

She who is chaste will never be corrupted.”

See *Bacchæ*, ed. Elmsley, l. 317. 834, and the notes.

*Saturn.*] The temple of Saturn was now used among other purposes as the treasury of the State, the *Ærarium*.

*Dolo.*] A dolo is described by Hesychius, v. *Δόλωνες*, in one sense, as a dagger contained in a wooden case, a kind of sword-stick. (See Facciolati, *Lexicon*.) Kaltwasser describes it as a walking-stick containing a dagger, and translates the passage, "he provided himself with a robbers' dagger, without making any secret of it." I think that he wore it concealed, but made no secret of it, which agrees better with the whole context; and Amyot has translated it so.

11. *Voting-Urns.*] The word in Plutarch is water-jars, *hydriai* (*ὕδριαι*), the Roman *Sitellæ*, *Urnæ* or *Ornæ*. The *sitellæ* were a kind of jar with a narrow neck: they were filled with water so that the wooden lots (*sortes*) would float at the top, and only one could be there at a time. These lots were used for the purpose of determining in what order the tribes or centuries should vote, for the names of the several tribes or centuries were on the several lots. The vessel into which the voters put their votes (*tabellæ*), when the order of voting had been fixed for the tribes or centuries, was called *Cista*; and it was a basket of wicker-work or something of the kind, of a cylindrical shape. If Plutarch has used the proper word here, the preliminary proceedings were disturbed by the rich seizing or throwing down the vessels, out of which were to be drawn the lots for determining in what order the tribes should vote. The business had not yet got so far as the voting, which consisted in the voters depositing in a *Cista* one of the tablets (*tabellæ*), which were distributed among them for this purpose, and which were marked with an appropriate letter to express acceptance of a measure or rejection of it. There is a Roman denarius which represents a man going to put a *tabella* into a *cista*: the *tabella* is marked A, which means *Absolvo*, I acquit. The letter C. (*Condemno*, I condemn) was marked on the *tabella* of *Condemnation*. (Eckhel, *Doctr. Num. Vet.* V. 166.) The coin was struck to commemorate the carrying of a law by L. Cassius

Longinus B.C. 137, by which the voting in criminal trials (judicia populi) except for perduellio (treason) should be by ballot and not as before by word of mouth. This is the form of the cista :



From another coin the form of the Hydria or Urna is ascertained, which is this :



These remarks are taken from an essay by Wunder (*Variae Lectiones s.c. ex Codice Erfurtensi*), in which he has established the meaning of Sitella and Cista respectively to be that which Manutius long ago maintained. He observes that in the Roman Comitia one Sitella would be sufficient, as it was only used for receiving the names of the Tribes or Centuries, which were put in for the purpose of determining by drawing them out, in what order the Tribes or Centuries should vote. And accordingly he says that when Comitia are spoken of, we never find urns or sitellæ spoken of in the plural number. But he has not mentioned the passage of Plutarch. It may be difficult to determine if Plutarch considered that the preliminary lot-drawing had been gone through, and the people were voting. If he considered the voting to be going on, he has used the wrong word. With this explanation, I leave the word "voting-urns" in the text, which is not the correct Roman word, but it may be what Plutarch meant. It seems as if he thought that the voting had commenced.

*Manlius.*] Plutarch writes it Mallias, for the Greeks never place *n* before *l*.

12. *Tribes.*] From this it appears that the vote of each Tribe counted as one, and the vote of the Tribe was

determined by the majority of voters in each tribe. It seems to follow that each tribe had a Cista to receive its votes. It is said, the practice was to count the votes when all was over; but they must have been counted as each tribe voted, according to this story. The narrative of Appian is the same (*Civil Wars*, i. 12).

*Triumviri.*] The names of various Roman officers and functionaries were derived from their number, as Duumviri (two men), Triumviri (three men), Decemviri and so on. Some description was added to the name to denote their functions. There were Triumviri Agro Dando or Dividendo, Triumviri for the division of Public Land; Duumviri Juri Dicundo, for administering justice, and so forth.

*Mucius.*] Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 13) calls him Quintus Mummus.

*Client.*] Plutarch and other Greek writers translate the Roman word, Client, by Pélates (πελάτης). (See Marius, c. 5, notes.)

*Nine Oboli.*] Plutarch generally uses Attic coins. Nine oboli were a drachma and a half or about six sestertii. (See c. 2, note.)

*Publius Nasica.*] See c. 21.

14. *Attalus.*] This Attalus III. the last king of Pergamum, left his kingdom to the Romans on his death B.C. 133, the year of the tribunate of Gracchus. His kingdom comprised the best part of that tract out of which the Romans formed the Province of Asia. Pergamum was the name of the capital. This rich bequest was disputed by Aristonicus. (See c. 20.)

*Pompeius.*] Perhaps Q. Pompeius Rufus who was consul B.C. 141, and disgraced himself by a treaty with the Numantines and his subsequent behaviour about it. (Cicero, *De Officiis*, iii. 30; *De Finibus*, ii. 17; Appian, *Iberica*, c. 79.)

*Quintus Metellus.*] Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus, who was consul B.C. 143. Kaltwasser says, that Plutarch without doubt means Balearicus, the son of Metellus Macedonicus, which son was consul B.C. 123. Without doubt he means the father who is mentioned by

\* Cicero as an opponent of Tiberius Gracchus, and he states that an oration of his against Gracchus was preserved in the Annals of Fannius. (*Brutus*, 21.)

*Titus Anniius.*] Titus Anniius Luscus was consul with Q. Fulvius Nobilior B.C. 153. (Cicero, *Brutus*, c. 20; Livius, *Epitome*, 58.)

15. It is clear that Plutarch believed this to be a genuine speech of Tiberius. It is not an argument that he could have made, nor is it likely that it is a fabrication of any professed speech-writer. It is true that there were many speeches extant among the Romans, which though mere rhetorical essays, were attributed to persons of note and passed off as genuine speeches. But this is either not one of them, or it has been managed with consummate art. The defence of Tiberius is a blot on his character. He could not avoid knowing that his arguments were unsound. To abdicate, which means to resign a Roman magistracy, was a different thing from being deprived of it. The Tribunes were elected at the Comitia Tributa, but they derived their powers by uninterrupted succession from the consecrated act (*Lex Sacrata*) done on the Holy Mount and confirmed after the overthrow of the Decemviral power. (Livius, 2, c. 33; 3, c. 55.) On this subject, see Rubino, *Untersuchungen über Röm. Verfassung*, p. 32.

16. *New Measures.*] See Caius Gracchus, c. 5.

Appian does not mention these measures of Tiberius.

*Not present.*] The elections of Tribunes in the time of Cicero were on the 17th of July (*Ad Attic.* i. 1). According to Dionysius the first tribunes entered on their office on the 10th of December. Kaltwasser suggests that as it was now the summer season, the country people were busy in their fields and could not come to the election, which thus would be in the hands of the townspeople. If Tiberius was killed in July and entered on his office in the previous December, this will agree with what Cicero says of him, "he reigned a few months." (*Lælius*, c. 12.)

17. *Basket.*] A cage, the Roman *cavea*. This was one of the modes of ascertaining the will of the Gods. It

was a firm belief among the nations of antiquity that the Gods did by certain signs and tokens give men the opportunity of knowing their will. The determination of these signs was reduced to a system, which it was the duty of certain persons, augurs and others, to learn and to transmit. The careful reader will find many other notices of this matter in Plutarch and some in these notes. (See Sulla, c. 6, notes.)

P. Claudius Pulcher, who was consul B.C. 249 and in the command of the Roman fleet off Sicily, despised the omens. The fowls would not eat, which portended that his projected attack on the Carthaginians would be unfavourable; but Claudius said that if they would not eat, they should drink, and he pitched the sacred fowls into the sea. He lost most of his ships in the engagement that followed. (Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 3.) The "birds" of Plutarch are "fowls," "pulli."

18. *Flavius Flaccus.*] His name was Fulvius Flaccus; the name of Flaccus belongs to the Fulvii. As he was a friend of Tiberius, it is probable that Marcus Fulvius Flaccus is meant, who is mentioned in the Life of Caius.

19. *The Consul.*] This was P. Mucius Scævola. His colleague L. Calpurnius Piso was conducting the war in Sicily against the slaves who had risen. The Senate, according to Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 16), was assembled in the Temple of Fides on the Capitol. The circumstances of the death of Tiberius are told by Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 15. 16), who states that there was a fight between the partisans of Tiberius and the other party, before the Senate met.

20. *Brother's request.*] To make Plutarch consistent, we must suppose that Caius had returned to Rome. (See c. 13.)

*Caius Villius.*] I can find nothing more about him. This strange punishment was the punishment for parricide.

*Nasica asking.*] Cicero (*Lælius*, c. 11) and Valerius Maximus (4, c. 7) make Lælius ask these questions.

*Aristonicus*] was an illegitimate son of Eumenes II. King of Pergamum. He disputed the will of Attalus III.

and seized the kingdom. Publius Licinius Crassus Mucianus Dives who was sent against him B.C. 131 was unsuccessful, and lost his life; but Aristonicus was defeated by the consul M. Perperna B.C. 130 and taken to Rome, where he was strangled in prison.

21. *Publius Crassus.*] This is P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus Dives. c. 9. 20.

*Cornelius Nepos.*] This does not appear in the extant Lives which bear the name of Nepos; but what we have under his name is a spurious work of little value except the Life of Atticus.

*Brutus.*] D. Junius Brutus Gallæus was consul with P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio B.C. 138. He completely subdued the Gallæci (people of Galicia) and the Lusitani who occupied a part of modern Portugal, and carried the Roman arms to the western extremity of the Spanish peninsula.

*Nasica.*] He was the colleague of Brutus B.C. 138, as just stated, and Pontifex Maximus in the year of the death of Tiberius. He must have died soon after going to Asia; for Publius Licinius Crassus Mucianus Dives was Pontifex Maximus B.C. 131 (c. 9); but the remark in the Epitome of Livius (lib. 59) that he was the first Pontifex Maximus who went beyond the limits of Italy, is not true. The Pontifex Maximus, who was the chief of the college of Pontifices, was chosen for life. He could not be deprived of his office, nor, it seems, could he give it up. Augustus allowed his old rival Lepidus to keep his dignity of Pontifex Maximus till his death. (Dion Cassius, 49, c. 15.)

*So perish.*] The line is from Homer's *Odyssey*, i. 47.

*Life of Scipio.*] This is lost, and also Plutarch's *Life of Scipio Africanus Major*.

## CAIUS GRACCHUS.

Chapter 1. *Forum.*] The word by which Plutarch has translated Forum is *Ágora* (*ἀγορά*). A Forum was an open place or area, and is often generally used for Public Place, such as almost every town has. *The Forum* at Rome was the Forum Romanum, which was situated between the Palatine and Capitoline Hills; it was surrounded by buildings and was the chief place for the administration of justice and for the public assemblies. To keep away from the Forum here means to take no share in Public affairs. Sometimes, Forensic (*forensis*), a term comprehending all that relates to public business and the proceedings in the courts, is opposed to Domestic (*domesticus*), private, as we see in Cicero (*Ad Attic.* i. 5, &c.).

*Thirty.*] As thirty-one was the age at which according to a law (*Lex Annalis Villia*) a man could become Quæstor, Tiberius, who was Quæstor before he was tribune, must have been older than Plutarch says that he was; unless he was elected Quæstor before the legal age.

*Sardinia.*] The island of Sardinia was made a Roman province B.C. 235.

*Orestes.*] Lucius Aurelius Orestes and M. Æmilius Lepidus were consuls B.C. 126.

*Dream.*] This dream is mentioned by Cicero, *De Divinatione*, i. 26. C. Gracchus told his dream to many persons, before he was elected tribune. It happened while he was a candidate for the quæstorship.

2. *Micipsa.*] Micipsa, King of Numidia, was the son of Massinissa, who was the firm ally of the Romans in their contest with the Carthaginians in the Second Punic War. At the close of this war, his territory was greatly enlarged by the addition of the dominions of Syphax and a large part of the Carthaginian territory. He was succeeded by Micipsa, who died B.C. 118. The Carthaginian territory which subsequently formed a large part of the



Roman province of Africa was a rich corn country, and one of the granaries of Rome under the later Republic and the Empire.

*Censors.*] Gracchus made his defence before the Censors Cn. Servilius Cæpio and L. Cassius Longinus B.C. 124. Gracchus belonged to the class of Equites, and as such he had a Public horse. The censors summoned him to account for leaving his province, and, if he was not able to justify himself, he would be deprived of his horse and marked with the *Nota Censoria*, in the lists of the Censors, the consequence of which was what the Romans called *Ignominia*, or temporary civil incapacity.

If Caius was born B.C. 154 and had now (B.C. 124) served twelve years, he entered the army B.C. 136, when he was eighteen. It is true, as he here says, that he was only required to serve ten years. This fragment of his speech is preserved by Aulus Gellius (xv. 12), and it is expressed with all the vigour of the best Roman style. A comparison of this fragment with the passages from the speeches of Tiberius Gracchus, which are given by Plutarch, is sufficient to show that Plutarch's extracts are genuine. There appears to be an error in Plutarch as to the "three years." Gellius makes Caius say: "*Biennium fui in Provincia;*" "I was two years in the province:" and one MS. is said to have "two years" (*διετία*), which Coraes has adopted in his edition of Plutarch.

3. *Fregellæ.*] *Fregellæ* was a subject city in the territory of the Volsci. The people wished to have the Roman citizenship, and as it was refused, they rebelled. *Fregellæ* was destroyed by L. Opimius the Prætor B.C. 125. Caius Gracchus was tried B.C. 124 before the Prætor Opimius on the charge of conspiring with the people of *Fregellæ*. (*Velleius*, 2, c. 6.)

*Campus Martius.*] Plutarch simply says the Plain (*τὸ πῆδιον*): but he means the *Campus Martius*, or Field of Mars. Compare *Marius*, c. 34. The Roman writers often call the *Campus Martius*, simply *Campus*.

The people did not mount on the house tops to vote, as Amyot and Kaltwasser say, if I understand them right. Crowds came to Rome, who had no votes; they came

to see and to affect the elections if they could. Caius was elected tribune B.C. 123, just ten years after his brother's tribunate. The consuls were Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Balearicus, a son of Metellus Macedonicus, an opponent of Tiberius Gracchus, and Titus Quinctius Flaminius. (See Tiberius Gracchus, c. 14, notes.)

*Roman in eloquence.*] Cicero, in *Brutus*, c. 33, and in other passages, bears testimony to the powerful eloquence of Caius Gracchus. Up to the time of Cicero, the orations of Gracchus were the models of oratory which all Romans studied. Cicero says that his speeches did not receive the finishing touch; he left behind him many things which were well begun, but not perfected. The practice of revising speeches for the purpose of publication was common among the Athenian and Roman orators. In manly and vigorous oratory we may doubt if Caius Gracchus ever had his equal among the Romans; and if not among the Romans, where shall we look for his equal?

4. *Rogations.*] I have here allowed a word to stand by something of an oversight, to which however there is no objection. Plutarch uses the word "law;" but the Roman word is "Rogatio," which means a Bill, a proposed Law, so called because the form of passing a law was to ask (rogare) the assembly if they would have it. The form of voting was to reject (antiquare) by the formula A., or to confirm (jubere) by the formula U. R. (Uti Rogas), "as you propose," which were marked on the tabellæ or voting-tablets. (Cicero, *Ad Attic.* i. 14.)

To Promulgate a law or more properly a Rogation, signified among the Romans, to make public (for promulgare is only another form of Pro vulgare) a proposed law; to give notice of a proposed measure and its contents. To promulgate a law in modern times means to make known a law which is already a law; but the expression is not much used.

*Popilius.*] P. Popilius Lænas was also consul with P. Rupilius B.C. 132. He returned to Rome after the death of Caius Gracchus.

*Bronze Statues.*] The erecting of statues to their great

men was probably more common at Rome after the conquest of Greece, when they became acquainted with Greek art. Rome at a later period was filled with statues. Though most of the great Romans were distinguished by their military talents, it was not only in respect of military fame that statues were erected; nor were they confined to men as we see in this instance. The daughter of him who conquered Hannibal, the wife of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a successful general, a prudent politician and an honest man, the mother of two sons who died in the cause of the people—the memory of such a woman was perpetuated in the manner best suited to the age by an imperishable monument.

5. A complete view of the legislation of Gracchus is beyond the limits of a note. Part of the subject has been referred to already. (Tiberius Gracchus, c. 8, note.)

The Roman allies (Socii) were subjects of the Roman State, subjects to the sovereign power of Rome, a power which was distributed among many members. They bore heavy burdens, particularly in the form of supplies of men and money for war; and they claimed as an indemnification the citizenship (*civitas*), or admission to the sovereign body, as members of it. The claim was finally settled by the Marsic or Social war. (See Marius and Sulla.)

The law about the price of grain belonged to the class of Laws which the Romans called *Frumentariae Leges*, or Corn Laws; the object of these laws was not to keep up the price of grain, but to furnish it to the poor at a low rate. This low rate however was not effected in the only way in which such an object could profitably be effected, by allowing corn to come to Rome from all parts free of duty, but by buying grain with the Public money and selling it to the poor at a lower rate. This law of Gracchus proposed that corn should be sold to the people (*plebs*) monthly at the rate of  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the *As* for a *modius*. This is the first recorded instance in Roman History of the poor being relieved in this manner. The city was crowded with poor who had few or no means of subsistence, but had votes in the annual elections and were members of the

sovereign body. The consequences of such a measure might be easily foreseen: the treasury became exhausted, and the people were taught to depend for their subsistence, not on their industry, but on these almost gratuitous distributions of grain. This allowance, which was made monthly, added to the sale of their votes at the annual elections, and the distributions on extraordinary occasions, of corn and oil (Dion Cassius, 43, c. 31) helped a poor Roman to live in idleness. This system of distributions of corn, sometimes free of cost, being once established was continued all through the Republic and under the Empire. It was impossible to stop the evil, when it had once been rooted; and in the crowded city of Rome under the Empire, it was an important duty of the administration to prevent famine and insurrection by provisioning the city. C. Julius Cæsar reduced the number of those who received this corn relief from 320,000 to 150,000. The number of receivers must have increased again, for Augustus reduced the number to 200,000. This subject of the distribution of corn among the poor is an important element in the history of the later Republic. Dureau de la Malle (*Economie Politique des Romains*, ii. 307) has compared it with the English mode of providing for the poor by the Poor Laws; but though there are some striking points of resemblance between the two systems, there are many differences, and the matter requires to be handled with more knowledge and judgment than this writer has shown in order to exhibit it in its proper light.

Plutarch's account of the changes made by Gracchus in the body of the *Judices* is probably incorrect. The law of Gracchus related to trials for offences, such as bribery at elections (*ambitus*), and corruption in the administration of offices (*repetundæ*), which belong to the class of trials called at a later time *Judicia Publica* or Public trials. In the trials for these offences, those who had to decide on the guilt or innocence of the accused, were called *Judices*; and the *Judices* were taken only from the Senators. But as the persons accused of offences of the kind above mentioned generally belonged

to the Senatorian order, it was found very difficult to get a man convicted. Some notorious instances of acquittals of persons, who had been guilty of corruption, had occurred just before Gracchus proposed his law. According to Appian, his law gave the judicial power solely to the Equites, who formed a kind of Middle class between the Senators and the people. But the Equites were not a safe body to intrust with this power. To this body belonged the Publicani, or Publicans as they are called in our translation of the Gospels (*Matt.*, ch. v., v. 46, 47), who farmed the revenues in the provinces. A governor who winked at the extortion of the farmers of taxes would easily be acquitted, if he was tried for mal-administration on his return to Rome. The Equites at Rome had an interest in acquitting a man who had favoured their order. Cicero remarks (*In Verrem*, Act. Prima, 13) that the Judices were selected out of the Equites for near fifty years, until the functions were restored to the Senate. He is alluding to the change which Sulla made B.C. 83; but it appears that there were some intermediate changes. Cicero adds that during all this time there was never the slightest suspicion of any Eques taking a bribe in the discharge of his functions as judex. Appian says that they soon became corrupt; and Cicero, who is in the habit of contradicting himself, says in effect the same thing (*In Verrem*, lib. iii. 41; *Brutus*, c. 34). The Judices of Gracchus condemned Opimius, whose character Cicero admired. (See c. 18, notes.) The condemnation was either honest or dishonest: if honest, Cicero is a dishonest man for complaining of the sentence (*Pro Plancio*, c. 29): if dishonest, then Cicero here contradicts what he has said elsewhere. (See also, *In Pisonem*, c. 39.)

I have used the Roman word Judices, which is the word that Plutarch has translated. These Judices were selected out of the whole qualified body by lot (at least this was the rule sometimes) for each particular trial. A judge, generally the Prætor, presided, and the guilt or innocence of the accused was determined by the judices by a majority of votes; the votes were given by ballot at this time.

This Law of Gracchus about the *Judicia* is a difficult subject, owing to the conflicting evidence.

7. *Roads.*] The character of the Roman roads is here accurately described. The straight lines in which they ran are nowhere more apparent than in England, as may be seen by inspecting the Ordnance maps. That from Lincoln to the Humber is a good example. It is conjectured that some of the strong substractions at La Riccia (*Aricia*) on the Appian Road near Rome may be the work of Caius; but I do not know on what this opinion rests. (See *Classical Museum*, ii. 164.)

The Roman mile is tolerably well ascertained. It is variously estimated at 1618 and 1614 yards, which is less than the English mile. The subject of the Stadium, which was the Greek measure of length, is fully examined by Colonel Leake, *London Geographical Journal*, vol. ix.

8. *Fannius.*] Caius Fannius Strabo must not be confounded with the historian of the same name. He was consul B.C. 122 with C. Domitius Ahenobarbus. Cicero speaks of an excellent speech of his against the proposal of Gracchus to give the Latins the full citizenship, and the suffrage to the Italian allies. (Cic., *Brutus*, c. 26.)

10. *Fulvius.*] M. Fulvius Flaccus was consul B.C. 125, and during his year of office he defeated the Transalpine Ligurians. He was an orator of no great note, but an active agitator. He perished with Caius Gracchus (c. 16): his house was pulled down, and the ground made public property.

*Scipio.*] Plutarch's Life of the younger Scipio Africanus is lost. Scipio died B.C. 129, six years before Caius was tribune. He had retired to rest in the evening with some tablets on which he intended to write a speech to deliver before the people on the subject of the Agrarian Law of Tiberius Gracchus and the difficulties of carrying it into effect. He was found dead in the morning, and it was the general opinion that he was murdered. His wife Sempronia was suspected, and even Cornelia his mother-in-law, as well as C. Gracchus. C. Papirius Carbo, one of the triumviri for dividing the land with Caius and Fulvius Flaccus, is distinctly men-

tioned by Cicero as one of the murderers. As to him, there is no doubt that he was believed to be guilty. It is also admitted by all authorities that there was no inquiry into the death of Scipio; and Appian adds that he had not even a public funeral.

11. *Carthage.*] This was the first Roman colony that was established beyond the limits of the Italian Peninsula, which Velleius reckons among the most impolitic measures of Gracchus. The colony of Gracchus appears to have been neglected, and the town was not built. At the destruction of Carthage heavy imprecations were laid on any man who should restore the city. The colony was established by Cæsar the Dictator.

The foundation of a Roman colony was accompanied with solemn ceremonials, to which Plutarch alludes. The anniversary day of the foundation was religiously observed. On some Roman coins there is a representation of a man driving a yoke of oxen and a vexillum (standard), which are the symbols of a Roman colony.

*Oligarchs.*] Plutarch has here used the word oligarch (ὀλιγαρχικός), one who is a friend to the party of the Few as opposed to the Many. The meaning of an Oligarchy, according to Aristotle (*Politik*, 4, c. 4), is a government in which the rich and those of noble birth possess the political power, being Few in number. But the smallness of the number is only an accident: the essence of an Oligarchy consists in the power being in the hands of the rich and the noble, who happen in all countries to be the Few compared with the Many.

12. *Sardonic laugh.*] This was a proverbial expression, of which different explanations were given. Sardinia, it is said, was noted for a bitter herb which contracted the features of those who tasted it. Pausanias (x. 17) says it is a plant like parsley, which grows near springs, and causes people who eat it to laugh till they die; and he supposes that Homer's expression (*Odyssey*, xx. 302), a Sardanian laugh, is an allusion to this property of the plant: but this is not a probable explanation of the expression in Homer.

13. *Letters.*] Some fragments of the Letters of Cornelia

are extant, but there is great difficulty in determining if they are genuine, and opinions are divided on the subject. Gerlach, in his *Essay on Tiberius and Caius Gracchus* (p. 37), maintains their genuineness against the opinion of Spalding and Bernhardt. The Fragments are collected by Roth.

*Antyllus.*] The story in Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 25) is somewhat different.

The Roman *stilus* or *stylus*, which Plutarch translates by *graphium* (γραφειῶν), "a writing instrument," was of metal, iron, or brass, sharp at one end and flat at the other. The point was used for writing on tablets which were smeared with wax: the other end was used for erasing what was written and making the surface even again. The word was often used by the best Roman writers in a metaphorical sense to express the manner and character of a written composition, and from them it has passed into some of the modern languages of Europe, our own among the rest: thus we speak of a good style, a bad style of writing, and so on.

14. *Decree.*] The form of the Decree was, *Videant Consules ne quid Respublica detrimenti capiat* (Livius, 3, c. 4), which empowered the consuls or consul as the case might be, to Provide that the Common-Wealth sustained no damage. The word *Detrimētum*, which signifies damage caused by rubbing off, had a tacit reference to the *Majestas* of the *Populus Romanus*. The *Majestas* (Majesty) of the State is its integrity, its wholeness, any diminution of which was an offence; and under the Emperors the crime of *Majestas*, that is *Majestas* impaired, was equivalent to high treason. The Decree here alluded to was only adopted, as Livius expresses it, in the utmost extremity, when the State was in danger; its effect was to proclaim martial law, and to suspend for the time all the usual forms of proceeding.

15. *Aventine Hill.*] This was one of the hills or eminences in Rome: it was the plebeian quarter.

16. *Caduceus.*] This is the Roman term which corresponds to the *kerukeion* (κηρούκειον) of Plutarch, or the



staff which ambassadors or heralds carried in time of war when they were sent to an enemy.

*Cretan bowmen.*] The Cretans were often employed as mercenaries in the Roman army, as we see from passages in Livius (37, c. 41).

*Amnesty.*] This is not Plutarch's word, but it expresses his meaning, and he uses the word elsewhere. Amnesty is Greek and was used by the later Greek writers in a sense the same or nearly the same as in modern times, to express a declaration on the part of those who had the sovereign power for the time that they would pardon those who had in any way acted in opposition to such power.

17. *Wooden bridge.*] The Pons Sublicius as it was called, the oldest bridge over the Tiber at Rome.

*Philocrates.*] As usual in such cases, there is a dispute about the person or at least his name. Velleius (ii. 6) and Aurelius Victor call him Euporus. Both names are Greek, and the faithful slave was doubtless a Greek, of whom there were now many at Rome. They were valued for their superior acquirements and dexterity, and filled the higher places in great families. The slaves from barbarous nations, that is, nations not Greek, were used for meaner purposes.

*Furies.*] Kaltwasser remarks that Aurelius Victor (*De Viris Illustribus*, c. 55) says that Caius died in the grove of Furina, the goddess of thieves, whose sacred place was beyond, that is, on the west side of the Tiber, and that Plutarch appears to have confounded this with the name of the Furies, the Greek Erinnyes. This may be so; or Victor may have made a mistake, which he often has done.

*Knave.*] Opimius must have been as great a knave as Septimuleius, for the fraud was palpable. Stories of this kind are generally given with variations. Plinius (*N. H.* 33, c. 14) says it was the mouth that was filled with lead, and that Septimuleius had been a confidential friend of Caius. This was the first instance in Rome of head-money being offered and paid; but the example

was followed in the proscriptions of Sulla, and those of the triumviri Lepidus, M. Antonius, and Cæsar Octavianus.

*Discord.*] I have followed Kaltwasser in translating the Greek word ἀνομία, which signifies madness, desperation, or a desperate deed, by Discord, for the sake of maintaining something like the opposition between the two words which exists in the original.

18. Caius Opimius was consul with Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus B.C. 121, the year of the death of Caius. The history of his conduct in Libya is told by Sallustius in the Jugurthine war. He was one of ten commissioners who were sent B.C. 112 to settle the disputes between Adherbal, the son of Micipsa, and Jugurtha, the illegitimate son of Micipsa's brother. The commissioners were bribed by Jugurtha and decided in his favour. Opimius and the rest of them were accused for the offence B.C. 109 and banished. Opimius died in great poverty at Dyrrachium (Durazzo) in Epirus. (Sallustius, *Jugurthine War*, c. 134; Velleius, ii. 7.) Cicero thinks that Opimius was very hardly used after his services in crushing the insurrection at Fregellæ and putting down the disturbances excited by Caius Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus: he calls him the saviour of the State and laments his condemnation. (Cicero, *Pro Plancio* c. 28, &c.; *Brutus*, c. 34; &c.)

*Fulvius Flaccus.*] M. Fulvius Flaccus was consul B.C. 123, during which year he defeated the Transalpine Ligurians.

19.] The Legislation of the Gracchi, particularly of Caius Gracchus, comprehended many objects, the provisions as to which are comprehended under the general name of Sempronianæ Leges, for it was the fashion to name a law after the gentile name of him who proposed it. The most important of the measures of Caius have been mentioned by Plutarch, with the exception of a Law about the Provinces. At the outbreak of the Social War (B.C. 91) the Roman Provinces comprehended Sardinia, Corsica, Sicily, the Spanish Peninsula, the whole of which however was not subdued, Cisalpine Gaul, Asia, Mace-

donia, Achæa, Transalpine Gaul, and some others of less note.

The original sense of the word *Provincia* had no reference to a territory, though this is the later sense of the word and the common usage of it. The functions of the *Prætor Urbanus*, who stayed at Rome were called his *Provincia*, that is, the administration of justice was his *Provincia* or business. The word is used in the sense of a function or office by *Livius* with reference to a time when there was no *Provincia* in the later sense of the word. In the time of *Cicero*, *Provincia* signified a territory out of Italy, which was administered by a Roman Governor. The term Italy, at this time, did not comprise the whole Peninsula, but only that part which was south of the rivers *Rubico* and *Macra*. The primary meaning of the word is confirmed by its etymology; *Provincia* is a shortened form of *Providentia*, which also appears in the shape *Prudentia*. *Providentia* signifies "fore-sight," "superintending care," and so forth; and it is formed on the same principle as *Beneficentia*, *Benevolentia*, and other Latin words which are of a participial character. The etymology of *Niebuhr* (*proventus*) is untenable, and that which I have partly adopted (*Smith's Dict. of Antiquities*, art. "*Provincia*") is no better. Since writing that article, I saw that the word is only another form of *Providentia*, and a friend has pointed out to me that *Mr. G. C. Lewis* first suggested this as the origin of the word in his *Essay on the Government of Dependencies*, London, 1841, Note H. p. 353. If this explanation of the word is correct, the true orthography is *Provincia*, but I have not yet been able to find it on an inscription.

The old practice was for the Senate, after the election of the *Consuls* and *Prætors*, to name two provinces which should be given to the consuls after their *Consulship* was expired. The two Consuls settled by lot or by agreement which province of the two they should have. As the consuls were chosen before the two consular provinces were determined by the Senate, it was in the power of the Senate to give what provinces they pleased to the consuls, and so make the appointment either a

favour or not. A law of Gracchus enacted that the two consular provinces should be determined before the election of consuls, and that the Senate should not have the power, which they had formerly exercised, of prolonging a man's government in a province beyond the year. This law manifestly limited the power of the Senate, though some writers conceive that it was enacted for the advantage of that body as some compensation for their loss of the judicial power.

Plutarch has treated the subject of the Gracchi with perfect impartiality. He has given them credit for good motives, and approved of their measures in general, but he has not disguised their faults. Appian considered that the measures of Tiberius were for the public good, but that his conduct was not judicious. Sallustius also admits that the Gracchi did not conduct themselves with sufficient moderation (*Jugurthine War*, c. 46); but Sallustius belonged to the popular party, and he approved of their measures. Most of the other Roman writers express an unfavourable opinion of the Gracchi. Florus however gives them credit for good intentions, but disapproves of the means by which they attempted to carry their measures into effect. That part of the work of Livius which treated of this period is lost, but we may collect his opinions of the Gracchi from the Epitomes of the lost books, and the general tenor of his History. The measures of the Gracchi were estimated by the rule of party spirit. The judgment of Cicero, who often mentions the Gracchi, is both for and against. His expressed opinion, whatever might be his real opinion, varied with circumstances. If we only knew his opinion from the second oration against the Agrarian Law of Rullus (ii. 5), we should consider him as approving of all the measures of the Gracchi. When he delivered that oration, Cicero had just been elected Consul: he was a *Novus homo*, a new man as the Romans called him, who was the first of his family to attain to the high honours of the State, and he had obtained the consulship as a friend of the people, as a popular man (*Popularis*). In his treatise on Friendship and other of

his writings, he gives a contradictory judgment of the Gracchi: he says that Tiberius Gracchus aimed at the kingly power, or rather in fact was king for a few months; he calls the two Gracchi degenerate sons of their father; he extols the murderers of Tiberius Gracchus; he commiserates the hard fate of Opimius after saving the state by putting Caius Gracchus to death. All this was written or said after he was consul, after he had done what the murderers of the Gracchi had done, after he had put to death Catilina and his accomplices without trial contrary to the constitution, contrary to a special law which Caius Gracchus had carried that no Roman citizen should be put to death without a duly constituted trial; after he had, like Nasicus and Opimius, made himself a murderer by putting men to death without letting them be tried according to law; whether they were guilty or not, is immaterial; they were put to death without trial, contrary to a principle of justice which, before he became guilty himself, Cicero had maintained and defended. The acts of the Gracchi were on record and well understood; but Cicero made his opinion of their acts depend not on his convictions, but on his interests; it is to him mainly that we may trace the common notion that the Gracchi were merely a couple of designing demagogues. The Gracchi were not wise enough or firm enough to be good reformers, but few reformers in so difficult a situation have left behind them so fair a reputation for honest intention. There was a great mass of contemporary materials for the history of the Gracchi, consisting of the speeches of the two brothers, of the numerous speeches made against them, the history of Polybius, who could not have overlooked the Gracchi in his account of the Numantine war, the history of Fannius, and other materials which Gerlach has enumerated in his *Essay on the Gracchi*. It is plain from Plutarch's narrative, that he used these authorities; and if we consider how far removed he was from the time of the Gracchi, and his character, we may conclude that he has given as impartial a view of the times as he could collect from contemporary evidence. He may have made mistakes, and some mistakes we cannot help considering

that he has made; but he can hardly have made any mistake in his representation of the nature of the reforms which the two brothers attempted, of the opposition that they encountered, and of their general character.

*Misenum.*] Misenum was on the coast of Campania near Cape Miseno, a favourite residence of the wealthy Romans, who built villas there. The house of Cornelia had many occupants. It became the property of Caius Marius (c. 34), then of Lucius Lucullus, and finally of the Emperor Tiberius, who died here. It was seated on a hill which commanded an extensive sea-view.

In the last sentence of this chapter I have adopted the reading of Sintenis (*φουλαττομένης*), which is necessary for the sense.

## CAIUS MARIUS.

Chapter I. When Plutarch wrote, the system of naming persons among the Romans had undergone some changes, or at least the old fashion was not strictly observed, and this will explain his remark at the end of the chapter. A Roman had usually three names, as Caius Julius Cæsar. The first name, which was called the Prænomen, denoted the individual: the most common names of this class were Quintus, Caius, Marcus, Lucius, and so on. The second name denoted the gens, and was called the Gentile name, as Cornelius, Julius, Licinius, Mucius, Sempronius, and so on. The same gens often contained different families; thus there were Licinii Crassi, Licinii Luculli, and so on. This third name was called the Cognomen, and was given to the founder of the family or to some member of the gens in respect of some personal peculiarity or other accidental circumstance, as Scipio, Cicero, Crassus, Lucullus, Gracchus. A fourth name, or Agnomen, was sometimes added, as in the case of Publius Cornelius Scipio, the elder, who received the name of Africanus from his conquest of Africa. This agnomen

might be the third name, when there was no cognomen, as in the case of Lucius Mummius, who received the name of Achaicus because he overthrew the Achæan League in that war, of which the concluding event was the destruction of Corinth, which belonged to the League. Posidonius means that the prænomen (Quintus, Marcus, &c.) was more used in speaking of or to an individual; but in Plutarch's time the cognomen or agnomen was most used. We speak of the three Cæsars, Vespasianus, and his two sons Titus and Domitianus, yet the gentile name of all of them was Flavius. The complete names of the first two were Titus Flavius Vespasianus, and of the third Titus Flavius Domitianus.

Women had usually only one name, derived from their gens; thus all the women of the Cornelii, Julii, Licinii, were called Cornelia, Julia, Licinia; and if there were several daughters in a family, they were distinguished by the names First, Second, and so on. If there were two daughters only, they were called respectively Major and Minor. Sulla called one of his daughters Fausta. (See Cicero, *Ad Div.* viii. 7., Paula Valeria; and the note of P. Manutius.)

2. *Statue.*] Some understand the word (*εἰκών*) to mean a bust here. The word is used in both senses, and also to signify a picture. When the statue of Tiberius Gracchus the father is spoken of (Caius Gracchus, c 10), Plutarch uses a different word (*ἀνδρίας*). Plutarch speaks of Ravenna as in Gaul, which he calls Galatia; but though Ravenna was within the limits of Cisalpine Gaul, the name of Italy had been extended to the whole Peninsula south of the Alps about B.C. 44.

*Greek Plays.*] Literally "shows:" they might be plays or they might be other amusements.

3. *Cirrhæaton.*] This is probably a corrupt name. The territory of Arpinum, now Arpino, was in the Volscian mountains. Arpinum was also the birth-place of Cicero. Juvenal in his rhetorical fashion (*Sat.* viii. 245) represents the Young Marius as earning his bread by working at the plough as a servant and afterwards entering the army as a common soldier.

4. *Metellus.*] Lucius Aurelius Cotta and Lucius Cæcilius Metellus were consuls b.c. 119, in which year Marius was tribune. The law which Marius proposed had for its object to make the Pontes narrower. The Pontes were the passages through which the voters went into the Septa or inclosures where they voted. After passing through the pontes they received the voting tablets at the entrance of the septa. The object of the law of Marius was to diminish the crowd and pressure by letting fewer persons come in at a time. Cicero speaks of this law of Marius (*De Legibus*, iii. 17). As the law had reference to elections and its object was among other things to prevent bribery, Plutarch's remark is unintelligible: the text is corrupt, or he has made a mistake.

5. *Curule.*] The higher magistrates of Rome, the curule ædiles, prætors, consuls, censors, and dictator had a chair of office called a Sella Curulis, or Curule seat, which Plutarch correctly describes as a chair with curved feet (See the Cut in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, "Sella Curulis"). The name Curule is derived from Currus, a chariot, as the old writers say, and as is proved by the expression Curulis Triumphus, a Curule Triumph, which is opposed to an Ovatio, in which the triumphing general went on foot in the procession.

The Plebeian Ædiles were first elected b.c. 494, at the same time as the Plebeian tribunes. They had various functions, such as the general superintendence of buildings, the supply of water, the care of the streets and pavements, and other like matters. Their duties mainly belonged to the department of police, under which was included the superintendence of the markets, and of buying and selling. The Plebeian Ædiles were originally two in number.

The Curule Ædiles were first elected b.c. 365 and only from the Patricians, but afterwards the office was accessible to the Plebeians. The functions of the Plebeian Ædiles seem to have been performed by all the Ædiles indifferently after b.c. 368, though the Curule Ædiles alone had the power of making Edicts (*edicta*), which power was founded on their general superintend-



ence of all buying and selling, and many of their rules had reference to the buying and selling of slaves (*Dig.* 21, tit. 1). The Curule Ædiles only had the superintendence of some of the greater festivals, on which occasions they went to great expense to gratify the people and buy popularity as a means of further promotion. (See Sulla, c. 5.)

*Prætor.*] At this time there were six Prætors. The Prætor Urbanus or City Prætor was sometimes simply called Prætor and had the chief administration of justice in Rome. The Prætor Peregrinus also resided in Rome and had the superintendence in matters in dispute between Roman citizens and aliens (peregrini). The other Prætors had provinces allotted to them to administer; and after the expiration of their year of office, the prætors generally received the administration of a Province with the title of Proprætor. It appears (c. 5) that Marius either stayed at Rome during his prætorship or had some Province in Italy. As to the meaning of the Roman word Province, see Caius Græchus, c. 19, note.

*Bribery.*] Bribery at elections among the Romans was called *Ambitus*, which literally signifies "a going about;" it then came to signify canvassing, solicitation, the giving and promising of money for votes and all the means for accomplishing this end, in which the recurrence of elections at Rome annually made candidates very expert. The first law specially directed against the giving of money (*largitiones*) was the *Lex Cornelia Bæbia* B.C. 182; and there were many subsequent enactments, but all failed to accomplish their object. The *Lex Bæbia* incapacitated him who gave a bribe to obtain office from filling any office for ten years.

*Sabaco.*] His alleged intemperance consisted in not being able to endure thirst on such an occasion. His real offence was his conduct which made him suspected of acting as an agent of Marius in the election. It was one of the duties of the Censors when revising the lists of Equites and Senators, to erase the names of those whom they considered unworthy of the rank, and this without giving any reason for it.

*Client.*] The words Patron and Client are now used by us, but like many other Roman terms not in the original or proper sense. Dominus and Servus, Master and Slave, were terms placed in opposition to one another, like Patron and Client, Patronus and Cliens. A master who manumitted his slave became his Patronus, a kind of father (for Patronus is derived from Pater, father); the slave was called the Patron's Libertus, freed-man; and all Liberti were included in the class Libertini. Libertinus is another example of a word which we use (libertine), though not in the Roman sense. But the old Roman relation of Patron and Client was not this. Originally the heads of distinguished families had a number of retainers or followers who were called their Clients, a word which perhaps originally meant those who were bound to hear and to obey a common head. It was a tradition that when Atta Claudius the head of the great Claudian Gens, who were Sabines, was admitted among the Roman Patricians, he brought with him a large body of clients to whom land was given north of the Anio, now the Teverone. (Livius, 2, c. 16; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, c. 1.) The precise relation of the early clients to their leaders is one of the most difficult questions in Roman History, and much too extensive to be discussed here. It was the Patron's duty to protect his clients and to give them his aid and advice in all matters that required it: the clients owed to the Patron respect and obedience and many duties which are tolerably well ascertained. Long after the strictness of the old relation had been relaxed, the name continued and some of the duties, as we see in this sentence of Marius, where the Patron claimed to be exempted from giving evidence against his client. In the last periods of the Republic and under the Empire, Patron was sometimes simply used as Protector, adviser, defender, and Client to express one who looked up to another as his friend and adviser, particularly in all matters where his legal rights were concerned. Great men under the later Republic sometimes became the Patrons of particular states or cities, and looked after their interests at Rome. We have adopted the word Client

the sense of one who goes to an attorney or solicitor for his legal advice, but with us the client pays for the advice, and the attorney is not called his patron. A modern patron is one who patronizes, protects, gives his countenance to an individual, or to some association of individuals, but frequently he merely gives his countenance or his name, that being as much as can be asked from him or as much as he will give.

The Clients must be distinguished from the Plebs in the early history of Rome, though there can be no doubt that part of the Plebeian body was gradually formed out of clients.

6. *Robbery.*] Robbery and piracy were in like manner reckoned honourable occupations by the old Greeks (Thucydides, i. 5). These old robbers made no distinction between robbery and war: plunder was their object, and labour they hated. So says Herodotus (v. 6). A Thracian considered it a disgrace to till the ground; to live by plunder was the mark of a gentleman. When people can live by plunder, there must be somebody worth plundering. One object of modern civilization is to protect him who labours from the aggression of him who does not.

*Cæsars.*] This fact renders it doubtful if Marius was of such mean birth as it is said. He married Julia, the sister of C. Julius Cæsar. This Cæsar was the father of Julius Cæsar, the dictator, who was consequently the nephew of Caius Marius.

*Varicose.*] See *Penny Cyclopædia*, "Veins, Diseases of." Cicero (*Tusculan. Quæst.* 2, c 22) alludes to this story of the surgical operation. He uses the word *Varices*.

7. *Metellus.*] Q. Cæcilius Metellus was consul B.C. 109 with M. Junius Silanus. He obtained the Agnomen of Numidicus for his services in the Jugurthine war.

*Legatus.*] Legatus is a participle from the verb *Légo*, which signifies to assign any thing to a person to do; hence legatus is one to whom something is delegated. The Roman word Legatus had various senses. Here the word legatus, which is the word that Plutarch

intends, is a superior officer who holds command under a Consul, Prætor, Proconsul, Proprætor.

8. *Turpilius.*] The story of Turpilius is told by Sallustius (*Jugurthine War*, 66), who speaks of his execution, but says nothing of his innocence being afterwards established. The Romans had in their armies a body of engineers called Fabri, and the director of the body was called Præfectus Fabrorum. Vaga, which Sallustius calls Vacca, was one of the chief towns in Numidia.

*Son of Metellus.*] Sallustius, who tells the same story pretty nearly in the same way (*Jugurth. War*, c. 64), says that the son of Metellus was about twenty. The insult was not one to be forgiven by a man like Marius, to be told that it would be soon enough for him to be consul three and twenty years hence. This son is Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius who afterwards fought against Sertorius in Spain.

9. *Likenesses.*] The Latin word which Plutarch has translated is Imagines. These Imagines were busts of wax, marble, or metal, which the Romans of family placed in the entrance of their houses. They corresponded to a set of family portraits, but they were the portraits of men who had enjoyed the high offices of the State. These imagines were carried in procession at funerals. Polybius (vi. 53) has a discourse on this subject, which is worth reading. Marius, who was a Novus Homo, a new man, had no family busts to show.

*Bestia and Albinus.*] Lucius Calpurnius Bestia was consul B. C. 111, and Spurius Postumius Albinus B. C. 110. They successively conducted the war against Jugurtha without success. Sallustius (*Jugurth. War*, c. 85) has put a long speech in the mouth of Marius on this occasion, which Plutarch appears to have used.

10. *Cimbri and Teutones.*] Though much has been said on the subject, there is nothing worth adding to what Plutarch tells. He gives the various opinions that he had collected.

*Celta—Tyrrheni.*] This passage of the Celtic Gauls into Italy is mentioned by Livius (5, c. 34) and referred by him to the reign of Tarquinius Priscus. This is the first

invasion of Italy from the French side of the Alps that is recorded, and it has often been repeated.

*Lake Mæotis.*] The modern Sea of Azoff.

*Tribe.*] The Greek is *φυγή*, which hardly admits of explanation, though Coraes has explained it. I have followed Kaltwasser in adopting Reiske's conjecture of *φύλη*.

*Hercynia.*] It is stated by Mannert (*Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, Pf. iii. 410), that the term Hercynian forest was not always used by the ancients to denote the same wooded tract. At this time a great part of Germany was probably covered with forests. Cæsar (*Galic War*, vi. 24) describes it as extending from the country of the Helvetii (who lived near the lake of Geneva) apparently in a general east or north-east direction, but his description is not clear. He says that the forest had been traversed in its length for sixty days without an end being come to.

*Pole.*] Plutarch's description is literally translated; it shows that there was a confused notion of the long days and nights in the arctic regions. Herodotus (iv. 25) and Tacitus in his *Agricola* have some vague talk of the like kind.

*Homer.*] The passage in Homer is in the 11th Book. v. 14, &c. This Book is entitled *Necyia* (*νέκυια*), which is the word that Plutarch uses; it literally signifies an offering or sacrifice by which the shades of the dead are called up from the lower world to answer questions that are put to them.

*Roman armies.*] In B.C. 113 the Romans first heard of the approach of the Cimbri and Teutones. Cn. Papirius Carbo, one of the consuls of this year, was defeated by them in Illyricum (part of Stiria), but they did not cross the Alps. In B.C. 109 the consul M. Junius Silanus was defeated by the Cimbri, who demanded of the Roman Senate lands to settle in; the demand was refused. In B.C. 107 the consul L. Cassius Longinus fell in battle against the Galli Tigurini, who inhabited a part of Switzerland, and his army was sent under the yoke. This was while his colleague Marius was car-

rying on the campaign against Jugurtha in Africa. In n.c. 105 Cn. Manlius Maximus the consul, and Q. Servilius Cæpio, proconsul, who had been consul in b.c. 106, were defeated by the Cimbri with immense slaughter, and lost both their camps. The name of Manlius is written Mallius in the *Fasti Consulares*, ed. Baiter.

12. *Scipio.*] Scipio Africanus the younger was elected consul b.c. 147 when he was thirty-seven years of age, the law as to age being for that occasion not enforced. There was an old Plebiscitum (law passed in the *Comitia Tributa*) which enacted that no man should hold the same magistracy without an interval of ten full years. (Livy, 7, c. 42; 10, c. 13.) The first instance of the law being suspended was in the case of Q. Fabius Maximus. One of Sulla's laws re-enacted or confirmed the old law.

15. *Rhodanus.*] This canal of Marius is mentioned by Strabo (p. 183) and other ancient writers. The eastern branch of the Rhone runs from Arlate (Arles) to the sea, and the canal of Marius probably commenced in this branch about twenty Roman miles below Arles (which did not then exist), and entered the sea between the mouth of this branch and Maritima, now Martigues. The length of the canal of Marius might be about twelve Roman miles. Marseille is east of Martigues. (D'Anville, *Notice De la Gaule Ancienne.*)

*Norici.*] The movements of the barbarians are not clearly stated. It appears from what follows that the Cimbri entered Italy on the north-east over the Noric Alps, for their march brought them to the banks of the Adige. Florus says that they came by the defiles of Tridentum (Trento). The Teutones, if they marched through the Ligurian country along the sea to meet Marius, who was near Marseille, must have come along the Riviera of Genoa.

17. *Martha.*] Plutarch calls her a Syrian. Martha may have been a Syrian name, as well as a Jewish name. Syrians and Jews flocked to Rome in great numbers under the later Republic and the Empire, and got their living in various ways not always reputable. The Jews

at Rome used to cause disturbances in the popular assemblies in Cicero's time. (Cic., *Pro Flacco*, c. 28.) Jews and Syrians are often mentioned together by the Roman writers. The Jews at Rome were greatly troubled at the assassination of the Dictator Cæsar, and they crowded round the place where the body was burnt for nights in succession. Cæsar had rather favoured the nation for their services in the Alexandrine War. (Suetonius, *Cæsar*, c. 84, and Casaubon's note.)

*Alexander.*] He wrote on Natural History; among other things, a History of Birds, from which this story is probably taken. There is evidently an error in the text ἡσπάζοντο τοὺς στρατιωτὰς. I have adopted Reiske's emendation.

*Pessinus.*] Pessinus was in Galatia, properly a part of Phrygia, and the seat of the temple of Cybele, the Mother of the Gods or the Great Mother. In the second Punic War the Romans sent ambassadors to Pessinus, and got permission to convey to Rome the Great Mother of the Gods, who was a sacred stone. The Sibylline books had declared that when a foreign enemy was in Italy, he could be driven out, if the Idæan mother, for Cybele was so called also, was brought to Rome. The goddess was received at Rome (B.C. 203) with great respect, and placed in the temple of Victory. (Livy, 29, c. 10, &c.) Plutarch does not explain how the goddess now happened to be in Asia and Rome at the same time, for there is no account of her leaving Rome after she was taken there. The annual celebration called Megalesia, that is, the festival of the Great Mother, was instituted at Rome in honour of the goddess, and celebrated in the spring. (Herodianus, i. 32, &c.) It was a tradition that the stone fell from the skies at Pessinus. There was another great stone in Syria (Herodianus, v. 5), in the temple of the Sun, which was worshipped: the stone was round in the lower part, and gradually tapered upwards; the colour was black, and the people said that it fell from heaven. It is probable that these stones were Aerolites, the falling of which is often recorded in ancient writers, and now established beyond all doubt by re-

peated observation in modern times. (See *Penny Cyclopædia*, "Aerolites.") There is a large specimen in the British Museum. The immediate cause of the Romans sending for the Great Mother was a heavy shower of stones at Rome, an occurrence which in those days was very common. One might have supposed that one of the Roman aerolites would have answered as well as the stone of Pessinus, but the stone of Pessinus had the advantage of being consecrated by time and coming from a distance, and it was probably a large stone.

*Aquæ Sextiæ.*] This is Aix, about eighteen Roman miles north of Marseille. Places which were noted for warm springs or medicinal springs were called by the Romans *Aquæ*, Waters, with some addition to the name. The colony of *Aquæ Sextiæ* was founded by C. Sextius Calvinus B.C. 120, after defeating the Salyes or Saluvii, in whose country it was. The springs of Aix fell off in repute even in ancient times, and they have no great name now: the water is of a moderate temperature.

Other modern towns have derived their name from the same word *Aquæ*, which is probably the same as the Celtic word *Ac* or *Aeq*. There is an Aix in Savoy, and Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) in the Rhine Province of Prussia. Sometimes the *Aquæ* took a name from a deity. In France there were the *Aquæ Bormonis*, the waters of the God Bormo (Bourbonne-les-Bains): in England, *Aquæ Sulis*, the Waters of the Goddess Sulis, which by an error has become Solis in our books, as if they were called the waters of the Sun. The inscriptions found at Bath name the goddess Sulis.

19. *Ligurians.*] Plutarch means to say that the Ambrones and Ligurians were of one stock, and some writers conclude that they were both Celts. This may be so or it may not, for evidence is wanting. Of all the absurd parade of learning under which ancient history has been buried by modern critics, the weightiest and the most worthless part is that which labours to discover the relationship of people of whom we have only little and that little often conflicting evidence.



*River.*] The Lar according to D'Anville, not the Arc.

21. *One hundred thousand.*] Statements of numbers killed are not worth much even in many modern engagements. Velleius (ii. 12) makes the number of barbarians who fell in both battles above 150,000.

*Massalia.*] The Romans called it Massilia: now Marseille. It was an old Greek colony of the Phocæans. Strabo (p. 183) says that the people of Massilia aided the Romans in these battles and that Marius made them a present of the cut which he had formed from the Rhone to the sea, which the Massilians turned to profit by levying a toll on those who used it.

*Archilochus.*] A Greek lyric poet who lived in the seventh century B.C. His fragments have often been collected.

22. *Set fire.*] This was an old Roman fashion. (Livius, 1, c. 37; 41, c. 16.)

23. *Fortune or Nemesis.*] Plutarch often uses the word Fortune (*τύχη*), the meaning of which may be collected from the passages in which it occurs. Nemesis (*Νέμεσις*) is a Greek goddess, first mentioned by Hesiod, and often mentioned by the Greek Tragedians. She is the enemy of excessive prosperity and its attendant excessive pride and arrogance; she humbles those who have been elevated too high, tames their pride and checks their prosperous career. Nemesis had a temple and statue at Rhamnus in Attica.

*Atiso.*] The Roman Athesis, the Italian Adige, the German Etsch. The extravagance of this chapter of Plutarch is remarkable.

*Eagle.*] The Eagle, Aquila, was the Roman standard in use at this time. Formerly the Romans had five symbols for their standards, the eagle, wolf, minotaur, horse, and wild boar, all of which were appropriated to respective divisions of the army. Marius in this Cimbrian war did away with all of them except the eagle. (Plinius, *N. H.* x. 4.)

24. *Sequani.*] The Sequani were a Gallic people who were separated from the Helvetii by the range of the

Jura, on the west side of which their territory extended from the Rhine to the Rhone and the Saone. Florus (iii. 3) mentions Teutobocus as the name of a king who was taken by the Romans and appeared in the triumph of Marius: he was a man of such prodigious stature that he towered above his own trophies which were carried in the procession.

25. *Spears.*] The object of this contrivance is explained by Plutarch, and it is clear enough. There is no reason then to imagine another purpose in the design, as some do, which moreover involves an absurdity.

*Vercellæ.*] Near Vercelli in Piemont on the Sesia, a branch of the Po, which the Greeks generally call Eridanus, and the Romans. Padus. The plain of Vercelli, in which the battle was fought, is called by Velleius (ii. 12) Raudii campi. The situation of the Raudii campi can only be inferred from Plutarch. Some geographers place them north of Milan.

Plutarch pays no attention to the movements of an army, and his battles are confused. He had perhaps no great turn for studying military movements, and their minute details did not come within his plan.

*Sulla, Catulus.*] Plutarch alludes to Sulla's memoirs in twenty-two books, which he frequently refers to. Catulus wrote a history of the war and of his consulship, which Cicero (*Brutus*, c. 35) compares as to style with Xenophon. It appears from Plutarch's remark that he had not seen the work of Catulus.

*Two darts.*] *Διβολία* is the reading that I have followed. I have given the meaning here and in the first part of the next chapter as well as I can.

26. *Consecrate.*] This was the Roman expression for dedicating something to a sacred purpose. After the victory Catulus consecrated a temple at Rome "To the Fortune of this Day."

*Augustus.*] Sextilis, the sixth month of the Roman year when the year began in March, was called Augustus in honour of Augustus Cæsar, as Quintilis or the fifth month was called Julius in honour of the Dictator Cæsar.

*Parma.*] Reiske would make the ambassadors to be from Panormus (Palermo) in Sicily.

*Rank.*] Marius was now Consul. Catulus was only Proconsul. He was consul the year before.

*Third Founder.*] The allusion is to Romulus, and M. Furius Camillus, who saved Rome in the Gallic invasion b.c. 390.

28. *Saturninus and Glaucia.*] L. Appuleius Saturninus was tribune in this year b.c. 100, in the sixth consulship of Marius. He was put to death in the same year (c. 30), though his death is not mentioned there by Plutarch.

C. Servilius Glaucia was Prætor in this year. He lost his life at the same time with Saturninus. This Servilius was a great favourite with the people. He proposed and carried a law *De Pecuniis Repetundis*, or on mal-administration in a public office, some fragments of which are preserved on a bronze tablet, and have been commented on by Klenze, Berlin, 1825, 4to.

*Rutilius.*] Rutilius Rufus was consul b.c. 105. He was accused of malversation in his proconsulship of Asia b.c. 99, and convicted by the judices, who at that time were taken from the Equites, and retired to Smyrna, where he spent the rest of his days. He wrote his own *Memoirs* in Latin, and a history of Rome in Greek. He was an honest man, according to all testimony, and innocent of the offence for which he was convicted. (Compare Tacitus, *Agricola*, 1; and C. Gracchus, notes, c. 5.)

*Corvinus Valerius.*] The consulships of M. Valerius Corvus were comprised between b.c. 348 and b.c. 299. (See Livius, 8, c. 26.)

29. *Nonius.*] He was murdered at the instigation of Saturninus and Glaucia as he was leaving the place of assembly. He fled into an inn or tavern to escape, but he was followed by the rabble and killed. (Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 28.)

*Land.*] The law related to the lands which the Cimbri had taken from the Gauls in Cisalpine Gaul, and which the Romans now claimed as theirs because they had taken them from the Cimbri. Appian (*Civil Wars*,

i. 29, &c.) gives the history of the events in this chapter.

*Fire, water, and house.*] Appian's account is clearer than Plutarch's. He says that Metellus withdrew before the passing of the enactment by which he was banished. This was the usual formula by which a person was put under a ban, and it was called, the Interdiction of "fire and water," to which sometimes "house" is added as in this case. The complete expression was probably fire, water, and house. Cicero had the same penalty imposed on him, but he withdrew from Rome, like Metellus, before the enactment was carried. There is no extant Life of Metellus Numidicus by Plutarch.

30. *Saturninus.*] The story of the death of Saturninus and Glaucia is told by Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 32). These men committed another murder before they were taken off. They set men upon Memmius, who was the competitor of Glaucia for the consulship, and Memmius was killed with clubs in the open day while the voting was going on. The Senate made a decree that Marius should put down these disturbers, but he acted unwillingly and slowly. The supply of water, according to Appian, was cut off by others, before Marius began to move. These turbulent times are spoken of by Cicero in his oration for C. Rabirius, c. 11. Marius put the men who surrendered into the Senate-house, but the people pulled the tiles off the roof and pelted the prisoners with the tiles till they died.

31. *Metellus from exile.*] The return of Metellus was mainly due to the exertions of his son, who thence obtained the name of Pius. He was restored B.C. 99 by an enactment (*lex*) which was necessary in order to do away with the effect of the Interdict. Cicero was restored in like manner. One Publius Furius, a tribune, the son of a man who had once been a slave, successfully opposed the return of Metellus during his year of office. In the next year Furius was out of office, and Caius Canuleius a tribune prosecuted him for his conduct before the people (*populi iudicium*), who had not patience enough to listen to his defence: they tore him in pieces

in the Forum. Metellus was detained a whole day at the gates of Rome with receiving the congratulations of his friends on his return. (Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 33.)

*Mithridates.*] See the Life of Sulla.

32. *Social War.*] The Social called also the Marsic war from the warlike nation of the Marsi who were active in it, commenced B.C. 91 and was not completely ended till B.C. 88. The immediate cause of the Social war, or the war of the Italian Allies (Socii) of the Romans, was the rejection of a measure proposed by the tribune M. Livius Drusus, which was to give to the Italian allies the rights of Roman citizens. The Allies were subject States of Rome, which supplied the Romans with men and money for their wars and contributed to their victories. They claimed to have the political rights of Romans as a compensation for their burdens; and they succeeded in the end. The war was at first unfavourable to the Romans. In the consulship of L. Julius Cæsar B.C. 90, a Lex Julia was proposed which gave the Roman citizenship to all the Italians who had continued faithful to Rome, if they chose to accept it. A Lex Plautia Papiria of the following year extended the Lex Julia and gave the Roman citizenship to all the allies except the Samnites and Lucanians. Sulla finished the war. (See Life of Sulla.)

*Publius Silo.*] The MSS. of Plutarch vary in this name. His true name was Pompædius Silo: he was the leader of the Marsi. He fell in battle against Metellus Pius.

34. *Sulpicius.*] Publius Sulpicius Rufus was tribune B.C. 88 in the first consulship of Sulla. Cicero had heard many of the speeches of Sulpicius. "He was," says Cicero, "of all the orators that ever I heard, the most dignified, and if one may use the expression, the most tragic: his voice was powerful, sweet, and clear; his gesture and every movement graceful; and yet he seemed as if he were trained for the Forum and not for the stage; his language was rapid and flowery, and yet not redundant or diffuse." (*Brutus*, c. 55.) Yet this great orator was no writer, and Cicero had heard him say

that he was not accustomed to write and could not write. The fact of his inability to write is sufficiently explained by the fact that he did not try. Cicero has made Sulpicius one of the speakers in his Book on the Orator, where (iii. 3) he admits that he was a rash man. (See *Penny Cyclopædia*, "P. Sulpicius Rufus," by the author of this note; and as to his end, see Sulla, c. 10.)

*Baiæ.*] Baiæ on the north side of the Bay of Naples, and near Putcoli (Pozzuoli), was a favourite residence of the wealthy Romans, who came for pleasure and to use the warm baths. The promontory of Misenum is near Baiæ.

*Seventy-five thousand.*] Plutarch means drachmæ. (See Tiberius Gracchus, c. 2.)

35. *Sulpicius.*] The history of this affair is given somewhat more clearly by Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 55). Marius gave the Italians who had lately obtained the franchise, hopes that they would be distributed among the other tribes, and thus they would have a preponderance, for they were more numerous than the old citizens. Sulpicius accordingly proposed a law to this effect, which was followed by a great disturbance, upon which the consuls Pompeius and Sulla proclaimed a *Justitium*, such as was usual on festivals. A *Justitium* signifies a stopping of all legal proceedings; during a *Justitium* nothing could be done; and the consuls adopted this measure to prevent the proposed law of Sulpicius from being carried. Appian says that Sulpicius carried this law, and the tribes in which the new citizens now had the majority appointed Marius to the command in the war against Mithridates. But Sulla and Pompeius afterwards got all the laws of Sulpicius repealed on the ground of being carried by unconstitutional means. (Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 59.)

*Slaves.*] This act is sufficient to stamp Marius with infamy; and it is not the only time that he did it. Octavius, an honest man, refused to arm the slave against his master. (Marius, c. 42.) The last British governor of Virginia closed his inglorious career by the same unsuccessful act of cowardice. (November, 1775.) "In

November Lord Dunmore proclaimed martial law in the colony, and executed his long-threatened plan of giving freedom to all slaves who could bear arms and would flock to his standard. But these measures, though partially annoying, had the effect of irritating and rousing the people rather than breaking their spirit" (Tucker's *Life of Jefferson*, vol. i. p. 78). Before the middle of the next year Dunmore made his escape from Virginia, after setting fire to the town of Norfolk.

*Soloniun.*] The site of this place is unknown. Cramer (*Ancient Italy*, ii. 31) says that the place is only mentioned by Dionysius (ii. 37).

*Marius.*] Appian calls this Marius the adopted son of Caius Marius.

*Ostia.*] The port of Rome at the mouth of the Tiber.

36. *Circeii.*] Circeii is a promontory which contains a solitary elevation, now Monte Circello. Terracina or Anxur is about twelve miles east of it, and the Pomptine marshes lie between. This tract is now very thinly inhabited, being used for pasturage, and it was apparently in the same state in the time of Marius. Yet this desolate tract where a house is now rarely seen was once full of Latin towns, in the earlier period of Rome.

*Musæus.*] This is the older Greek poet of the name. It is unknown when he lived, but he belongs to a period earlier than that of authentic history. Aristotle (*Hist. of Animals*, vi. 5) quotes this line, and in Bekker's edition the last word is ἀλεγιζει, which I have translated. Sinenis reads ἀλυβάζει, and Kaltwasser says that ἀλεγιζει cannot have the meaning which I and others have given to it.

37. *Minturnæ.*] Minturnæ is near the mouth of the Liris, now the Garigliano, and in a swampy district. The lower course of the Garigliano is through a flat, marshy, unhealthy region. If Marius landed near Circeii he could not well have passed Terracina without being seen. It is probable therefore that he landed south of Terracina.

*Ænaria.*] Ænaria, now Ischia, is forty miles south of the mouth of the Liris.

38. *Instructions.*] Marius and his adherents had been declared enemies to the State; and in the declaration it was not forgotten that Marius had attempted to excite the slaves to rebellion. The head of Sulpicius was already stuck up in the Forum. (Appian. *Civil Wars*, i. 60; Velleius, ii. 19.)

*Fannia.*] A divorce at Rome was effected by the husband or wife giving a written notice. In the time of Cicero, at least, either party might effect the divorce. If the divorce was owing to the adultery of the wife, the husband was entitled to retain a part of the marriage portion; a sixth, according to Ulpian (*Frag.* vi.). The marriage portion or *Dos* (which Plutarch translates by the Greek word *φέρωνη*) was that property which on the occasion of a woman's marriage was transferred to the husband by the woman or by another, for the purpose of enabling the husband to bear the additional burden of a wife and family. All the woman's property which did not become *dos*, remained her own, except in one of the forms of marriage (*conventio in manum*), when, pursuant to the nature of the union by which the wife came into her husband's power and assumed towards him the relation of a daughter, all her property became her husband's; as is distinctly asserted by Cicero (*Topica*, 4; compare Ulpian, *Frag.* xix. 18). As the *Dos* was given to the husband for a particular purpose; it was consistent that it should be returned when the marriage was dissolved. The means of recovering the *Dos* was by action. The liability to restore the *Dos* would be one check on the husband lightly separating from his wife. When Cicero's brother Quintus divorced his wife Pomponia, he had a good deal of trouble in finding means to return her portion. (Cicero, *Ad Attic.* xiv. 13.) The law of *Dos* comprised a great number of rules, and is a difficult subject. Rein (*Das Römische Privatrecht*, p. 204) has given a sketch of the Roman Law of Divorce that is useful to scholars; and he has in another place (p. 193, &c.) treated of the Law of *Dos*. It is difficult to avoid error in stating anything briefly on the subject of Divorce and *Dos*.



Plutarch does not say what the copper coins were ; nor is it important. The penalty was merely nominal, but it was accompanied by what the Romans called *Infamia*. Fannia showed on this occasion that she was a better woman than Marius took her to be. Tinnius is perhaps not a Roman name. There are many errors in proper names in Plutarch's text. Perhaps the true reading is Titinius. (See the note of Sintenis.)

39. *Magistrates and Council.*] All or nearly all of the Italian cities had a Municipal constitution. The chief Magistrates were generally two, and called *Duumviri*. The Council was called the *Decuriones* or *Senate*.

40. *Meninx.*] This is the island of Gerba in the regency of Tunis, close to the shore and to the town of Gabs or Cabes. It is now a large and populous island inhabited by an industrious manufacturing population. It is about 200 miles south of Tunis which is near the site of Carthage. Cercina is a group of smaller islands above 50 miles north of Meninx, now called the *Karkenna* islands. These distances show that Marius must have been rambling about for some time on this coast. (*Penny Cyclopædia*, art. "Tunis.")

41. Cn. Octavius Nepos and L. Cornelius Cinna were consuls B.C. 87. Cinna had sworn to maintain the interests of the Senate (Sulla, c. 10), but when Sulla had left Italy for the Mithridatic war, Cinna declared himself in favour of the new citizens, and attempted to carry the measure for incorporating them with the old tribes. It is said that he received a considerable sum of money for undertaking this. The parties of Cinna and Octavius armed for the contest which was expected to take place when this measure was proposed. Octavius drove his opponents out of the Forum with great slaughter, and Cinna left the city. He was joined by great numbers of the new citizens and then formed an army. The Senate passed a decree that Cinna was neither Consul nor a citizen, inasmuch as he had deserted the city, and offered freedom to the slaves if they would join him. L. Cornelius Merula, who was elected consul in place of Cinna,

was Flamen Dialis or Priest of Jupiter. He put himself to death by opening his veins, after Marius and Cinna entered Rome. (Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 74.)

*Telamo.*] Now Talamone on the coast of Tuscany near Orbitello.

42. *Corn vessels.*] Rome had long before this derived supplies of corn from Sicily and other parts out of Italy. Perhaps this may prove that the cultivation in the Campagna of Rome and the countries south of Terracina had not improved with the increase of Rome. But other countries are better suited for grain than the low lands of this side of Italy, and so far as concerns the cost of transport, grain might be brought from Sardinia and Sicily as cheap as from many parts of Italy, and cheaper than from the plains of Apulia, which is a good corn country.

*Metellus.*] Metellus Pius was now carrying on the war against the Sullanites, who were still in arms. He came to Rome at the invitation of the Senate. (Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 68.)

*Chaldæans.*] The Roman writers often mention the Chaldæans. They were adventurers from Asia who made their living in the great superstition market of Rome by foretelling future events. Whether they were really Chaldæans does not appear. The death of Octavius is told somewhat differently by Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 71). His head was cut off and placed on the Rostra, and many other heads also. He was the first consul whose head was exposed on the Rostra. Other atrocities are mentioned by Appian, c. 72, &c. It was the fashion in England less than a hundred years back to place traitors' heads on Temple Bar, London. "I have been this morning at the Tower, and passed under the new heads at Temple Bar; where people make a trade of letting spy-glasses at a halfpenny a look" (Horace Walpole, Letter to George Montague, Aug. 16, 1746).

44. *Antonius.*] Marcus Antonius sometimes called the Orator was the grandfather of Marcus Antonius the Triumvir. His head was fixed on the Rostra. Cicero, who has left on record a testimony to his great talents

and deplored his fate (*De Oratore*, iii. 3), had the same ill-luck from the hands of Antonius the Triumvir. M. Antonius the orator filled many high posts, and was consul B.C. 99. But his title to remembrance is his great oratorical skill. Cicero says that Antonius and his contemporary Lucius Licinius Crassus were the first Romans who equalled the great orators of Greece. The judicious remarks of Antonius on the conduct of a cause are preserved by Cicero (*De Oratore*, ii. 72). Antonius left no writings. (See "Antonius, Marcus," in *Biog. Dict.* of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.)

45. *Consul.*] Marius was elected Consul for the seventh time B.C. 86. His colleague was Cinna. On the death of Marius, Valerius Flaccus was elected in his place, and sent to Asia. On the death of Flaccus, Carbo was elected in his place.

*Sextus Lucinus.*] One MS. has Licinius, which is the right name. Licinius was a Senator. (Livius, *Epit.* lib. 80; Dion, *Frag.* 120.)

*Posidonius.*] The same person who is mentioned above (c. 1). He was of Rhodes and a Stoic. Posidonius was one of Cicero's teachers, and survived Cicero's consulship, as we see from a letter of Cicero (*Ad Attic.* ii. 1), which also shows that he knew how to flatter his old pupil's vanity. Cicero (*De Natura Deorum*, ii. 38) speaks of a Sphere of Posidonius which represented certain phenomena of the sun's and moon's motions and those of the five stars (planets). Nothing is known about this embassy.

*Caius Piso.*] It is not known who is meant. (See Krause, *Fragment. Historicorum Romanorum*, p. 139.)

46. *His daemon and his fortune.*] See the note, Sulla, c. 6.

*Antipater of Tarsus.*] He was a Stoic and the master of Panætius. His age is determined approximately by the facts mentioned in the Life of Tiberius Gracchus, c. 5. (See "Antipater of Tarsus," in *Biog. Dict.* of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.)

*Marius.*] See Life of Sulla, c. 28—32. Marius was

consul with Cn. Papirius Carbo b. c. 82. Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 87) says that this Marius was the nephew of the distinguished Marius. There seems to be some confusion about this younger Marius. (See c. 35.)

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## SULLA.

Chapter 1. *Lucius Cornelius Sulla.*] Many distinguished families belonged to the Cornelii, as the Scipiones, Lentuli, Dolabellæ, and others. The Patricians were the old Roman noble families, whom Plutarch compares with the Athenian Eupatridæ, or men of noble family, who formed in the older periods of Athenian history the first class in the State.

The origin of the word Sulla is uncertain. This Sulla was not the first who bore it. P. Cornelius Rufinus, Prætor b. c. 212, the grandfather of this Sulla, also bore the name. The various conjectures on the origin of the name Sulla are given by Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, II. p. 426. The name should be written Sulla, not Sylla. The coins have always Sulla or Sula. (Rasche, *Lex. Rei Numariæ*; Eckhel, *Doctrina Num. Vet.* V. 189.) L. Cornelius Sulla was the son of L. Cornelius Sulla, and born b. c. 138.

2. *Rufinus.*] P. Cornelius Rufinus was consul b. c. 290. He was also Dictator, but in what year is uncertain. He was ejected from the Senate by the Censor C. Fabricius b. c. 275 for violating one of the Sumptuary laws of Rome, or those which limited expense. The story is mentioned by Gellius (iv. 8; xvii. 21). Plutarch has translated the Latin word *Libræ* by the Greek *Litræ*.

The Romans made many enactments for limiting expense in dress, entertainments, funerals (Sulla, c. 35), amount of debt to be incurred, and so forth, all of which were unavailing. The notion of regulating private expenditure was not peculiar to the Romans among the States of Antiquity; and our own legislation, which in its absurd as well as its best parts has generally some parallel in

that of the Romans, contains many instances of Sumptuary Laws, which prescribed what kind of dress, and of what quality, should be worn by particular classes, and so forth. The English Sumptuary Statutes relating to Apparel commenced with the 37th of Edward III. This Statute, after declaring that the outrageous and excessive apparel of divers people against their estate and degree is the destruction and impoverishment of the land, prescribes the apparel of the various classes into which it distributes the people; but it goes no higher than Knights. The clothing of the women and children is also regulated. The next statute, 3rd of Edward IV., is very minute. This kind of Statute-making went on at intervals to the 1st of Philip and Mary, when an act was passed for the Reformation of Excessive Apparel. These Apparel Statutes were repealed by the 1st of James I.

*Satirists.*] This word does not convey the exact notion, but it is sufficient. The original is Gephyrists (γεφυρισται). There was, they say, a bridge (Gephyra) on the road between Athens and Eleusis, from which, during the sacred processions to Eleusis, the people (or, as some authorities say, the women) were allowed the liberty of joking and saying what they pleased; and hence the name of such free speakers, Bridgers, Bridge-folk. (See Casanbon's note on Strabo, p. 400.) Hence the word came to signify generally abusive people. Sulla did not forget these insults when he took Athens (c. 13). Plutarch alludes to this also in his treatise on Garrulity, c. 7.

*Mimi.*] Mimus is a name given by the Romans both to an actor and to a kind of dramatic performance, which probably resembled a coarse farce, and was often represented in private houses. Its distinguishing character was a want of decency. The word Mimus is of Greek origin, and probably derived its name from the amount of gesture and action used in these performances. The Greeks also had their Mimi.

*Metrobius.*] This passage is apparently corrupt. But the general meaning is tolerably clear. (See Sulla, c. 36.)

3. *Jugurtha.*] See Marius, c. 10.

4. *Tribune.*] *Tribunus Militum*, a Military tribune. Plutarch translates the term by *Chiliarchus*, a commander of a thousand. At this time there were six tribunes to a Roman Legion.

*Tectosages.*] The Tectosages were a Celtic people who lived at the foot of the Pyrenees west of Narbo (Narbonne).

*Marsi.*] Mannert (*Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, Pt. iii. p. 216) wishes to establish that these Marsi were a German nation, who lived on both sides of the Lippe and extended to the Rhine, and not the warlike nation of the Marsi who inhabited the central Apennines south-east of Rome. This is the remark of Mannert as quoted by Kaltwasser; but I do not find it in the second edition of Mannert (Pt. iii. 168), where he is treating of the German Marsi.

*Euripides.*] The passage is in the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides, v. 531 &c. :

Why seek the most pernicious of all dæmons,  
Ambition, O my son? not so; unjust the goddess,  
And houses many, many prosperous states  
She enters and she quits, but ruins all.

*Libyan wild beasts.*] The exhibition of wild animals in the Roman games was now become a fashion. In the latter part of the Republic it was carried to an enormous extent: the elephant, the rhinoceros, the lion, and other wild animals, were brought from Africa to Rome for these occasions. When Sulla was prætor b.c. 93, he exhibited one hundred lions in the Circus, which were let loose and shot with arrows by archers whom King Bocchus sent for the purpose. (Plinius, *N. H.* viii. 16; Seneca, *De Brevitate Vitæ*, c. 13.) There was an old decree of the Senate which prohibited the importation of African wild beasts, but it was repealed by a measure proposed by the tribune Cn. Aufidius so far as to render the importation legal for the games of the Circus.

Plutarch speaks of Sulla as immediately canvassing for the Prætorship after his return to Rome. The dates show that at least several years elapsed before he succeeded.

*Cæsar.*] Probably Sextus Julius Cæsar, Consul B.C. 67, and the uncle of the Dictator, C. Julius Cæsar.

*Ariobarzanes.*] Ariobarzanes I. called Philoromæus, or a lover of the Romans, was elected King of Cappadocia B.C. 93, but he was soon expelled by Tigranes, King of Armenia, the son-in-law of Mithridates. Ariobarzanes applied for help to the Romans, and he was restored by Sulla B.C. 92. He was driven out several times after, and again restored by the Romans.

*Mithridates.*] The name is written Mithradates on the Greek coins. The word Mithradates occurs in various shapes in the Greek writers; and it was a common name among the Medes and Persians. The first part of the name (Mithra) is probably the Persian name Mitra or Mithra, the Sun. This Mithridates is Mithridates the sixth, King of Pontus in Asia, who succeeded his father Mithridates V. B.C. 120, when he was about eleven years of age. He was a man of ability, well instructed in the learning of the Greeks, and a great linguist: it is said that he could speak twenty-two languages. He had already got possession of Colchis on the Black Sea, and placed one of his sons on the throne of Cappadocia. He had also strengthened himself by marrying his daughter to Tigranes, King of Armenia. Other events in his life are noticed in various parts of the Lives of Sulla, Lucullus, and Pompeius. (See *Penny Cyclopædia*, "Mithridates VI.")

*Arsaces.*] This name was common to a series of Armenian, and to a series of Parthian kings. One Arsaces is considered to be the founder of the dynasty of the Parthian kings, which dynasty the Greeks and Romans call that of the Arsacidæ. This Arsaces is reckoned the ninth in the series, and was the son and successor of Arsaces the eighth. He is placed in the series of Parthian kings as Arsaces IX. Mithridates II. (On the series of Parthian Arsacidæ, see "Arsaces," in *Biograph. Dictionary* of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.) From the time of this interview of Sulla to a late period under the Roman Empire, the Romans and Parthians were sometimes friends, oftener enemies.

No name occurs so frequently among the Roman writers of the Augustan period as that of the Parthians, the most formidable enemy that the Romans encountered in Asia, and who stopped their victorious progress in the East.

*Chaldean.*] The MSS. have "a native of Chalcis" (*Χαλκιδεύς*), a manifest blunder, which has long since been corrected,

*Censorinus.*] Censorinus was a family name of the Marcii. This appears to be C. Censorinus, whom Cicero (*Brutus*, c. 67) speaks of as moderately versed in Greek Literature. He lost his life in the wars of Sulla B.C. 81.

6. *Timotheus.*] Timotheus distinguished himself during the period of the decline of the power of Athens. In the year B.C. 357 he and Iphicrates were sent with a fleet to reduce to obedience the Athenian subject states and especially the island of Samos. The expedition was unsuccessful, and Timotheus and other generals were brought to trial on their return home. Timotheus was convicted, and sentenced to pay a heavy fine, but as he was unable to pay it, he withdrew to Chalcis in Eubœa, where he died B.C. 354. (*Penny Cyclopædia*, art. "Timotheus.") This story of the painting is told by Ælianus, *Var. Hist.* xiii. 43.

*Fortune showed her spite.*] The original has "the dæmon" (*δαίμόνιον*), which is Fortune, as the context shows. It is not very easy to unravel all the ancient notions about Fortune, Nemesis, and the like personifications. The opinion that the deity, or the dæmon, looks with an envious eye on a man's prosperity and in the end pays him off with some equivalent loss, is very common in the Greek writers. One instance of it occurs in the letter of Amasis, the cunning King of Egypt, to Polycrates the tyrant of Samos. (Herodotus, iii. 40.) The Egyptian King tells Polycrates plainly that his great good luck would certainly draw upon him some heavy calamity, for "the dæmon (*τὸ θεῖον*) is envious," and so it was, for Polycrates died a wretched death. Timotheus, according to Plutarch, provoked Fortune by his arrogance.



This word (*daimon*) often occurs in Plutarch. In order to understand it, we must first banish from our minds the modern notions attached to the word *daemon*. A little further, Sulla speaks of what the *daemones* (*τὰ δαιμόνια*) enjoins during the night. People in ancient times attached great importance to dreams, because they were considered as a medium by which the gods communicated with men. There is great difficulty in translating an ancient writer on account of the terms used in speaking of superhuman powers.

Plutarch, who lived in the second century of our æra, was consequently nearly a contemporary of Plutarch, who explained this doctrine of *Dæmons* in his treatise on the *Education of Socrates*. "Moreover there are certain divine powers, situated in this interval between the highest heaven and earth, which is in the lowest place, through which our desires and deserts pass to the gods. These are called by a Greek name *dæmons*, who being placed between the terrestrial and celestial inhabitants, transmit messages from the one and gifts from the other. They likewise carry supplications from the *æge* and auxiliaries from the other, as certain interpreters and saluters of the gods. Through these same *dæmons*, as Plato says in the *Timæus*, all denunciations, the various miracles of enchantments, and all the species of presages, are directed to the gods, from among the number of these, providentially assigned to everything, according to the province assigned to each; either by the formation of dreams, or causing the winds in entrails, or governing the flights of some birds, or instructing the song of others, or by inspiring prophets, or hurling thunder, or producing the coruscations of lightning in the clouds, or causing other things to be done. And it is requisite to think that all these particular operations are effected by the will, the power, and authority of the celestial gods, but by the compliance, operations, and ministrant offices of *dæmons*." F. Taylor's *Translations* adds, "for a copious account of *dæmons*, their powers, and different orders, see the notes on the First Book of Plato and also the translation

of Iamblichus on the Mysteries." A little further on Apuleius says: "It is not fit that the supernal Gods should descend to things of this kind. This is the province of the intermediate Gods, who dwell in the regions of the air, which border on the earth, and yet are no less conversant with the confines of the heavens; just as in every part of the world there are animals adapted to the several parts, the volant being in the air and the gradient on the earth."

As to the expression "the God" (ὁ θεός) which often occurs in Greek writers, Taylor observes (note *a.*) "According to Plato one thing is a God simply, another on account of union, another through participation, another through contact, and another through similitude. For of super-essential natures, each is primarily a god; of intellectual natures, each is a god according to union; and of divine souls, each is a god according to contact with the gods; and the souls of men are allotted this appellation through similitude." He therefore concludes that Apuleius was justified in calling the *dæmon* of Socrates a God; and that this was the opinion of Socrates appears, as he says, from the First Alcibiades, where Socrates says "I have long been of opinion that the God did not as yet direct me to hold any conversation with you."

Apuleius further says, "There is another species of *dæmons*, more sublime and venerable, not less numerous, but far superior in dignity, who, being always liberated from the bonds and conjunction of the body, preside over certain powers. In the number of these are Sleep and Love, who possess powers of a different nature; Love, of exciting to wakefulness, but Sleep of lulling to rest. From this more sublime order of *dæmons*, Plato asserts that a peculiar *dæmon* is allotted to every man who is a witness and a guardian of his conduct in life, who, without being visible to any one, is always present, and who is an arbitrator not only of his deeds, but also of his thoughts. But when, life being finished, the soul returns [to the judges of its conduct], then the *dæmon* who presided over it, immediately seizes and leads it as

his charge to judgment and is there present with it while it pleads its cause. There, this dæmon reprehends it, if it has acted on any false pretence; solemnly confirms what it says, if it asserts anything that is true; and conformably to its testimony passes sentence. All you therefore who hear this divine opinion of Plato, as interpreted by me, so form your minds to whatever you may do, or to whatever may be the subject of your meditation, that you may know there is nothing concealed from those guardians either within the mind or external to it; but that the dæmon who presides over you inquisitively participates of all that concerns you, sees all things, understands all things, and in the place of conscience dwells in the most profound recesses of the mind. For he of whom I speak is a perfect guardian, a singular prefect, a domestic speculator, a proper curator, an intimate inspector, an assiduous observer, an inseparable arbiter, a reprobator of what is evil, an approver of what is good; and if he is legitimately attended to, sedulously known, and religiously worshipped, in the way in which he was revered by Socrates with justice and innocence, will be a predictor of things uncertain, a premonitor in things dubious, a defender in things dangerous, and an assistant in want. He will also be able, by dreams, by tokens, and perhaps also manifestly, when the occasion demands it, to avert from you evil, increase your good, raise your depressed, support your falling, illuminate your obscure, govern your prosperous, and correct your adverse circumstances. It is not therefore wonderful, if Socrates, who was a man exceedingly perfect, and also wise by the testimony of Apollo, should know and worship this his God; and that hence, this his keeper, and nearly, as I may say, his equal, his associate and domestic, should repel from him everything which ought to be repelled, foresee what ought to be noticed, and pre-admonish him of what ought to be foreknown by him, in those cases in which, human wisdom being no longer of any use, he was in want not of counsel but of presage, in order that when he was vacillating through doubt, he might be rendered firm through divination. For there are many

things, concerning the development of which even wise men betake themselves to diviners and oracles." I have adopted Taylor's translation of this eloquent passage, because he was well acquainted with the theological systems of antiquity. The whole passage is a useful comment on this chapter of Plutarch and many other passages in him, and may help to rectify some erroneous notions which people maintain of the philosophical systems of antiquity, people who, as Bishop Butler expresses it, "take for granted that they are acquainted with everything." The passage about conscience contains, as Taylor observes, a dogma which is only to be found implicitly maintained in the Scholia of Olympiodorus on the First Alcibiades of Plato. Olympiodorus says that we shall not err if we call "the allotted daemon conscience;" on which subject he has some further remarks. This doctrine of the sameness of Conscience and the internal Dæmon seems to be that of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus (ii. 13): "it is sufficient to attend only to the daemon within us and to reverence it duly," and he goes on to explain wherein this reverence consists. In another passage (ii. 17) he says that Philosophy consists "in keeping the daemon within us free from violence and harm, superior to pleasures and pains, doing nothing without a purpose, and yet without any falsehood or simulation, without caring whether another is doing so or not; further, taking what happens and what is our lot as coming from the same origin from which itself came; and finally, waiting for death with a tranquil mind, as nothing else than the separation of the elements of which every living being is composed. And if there is nothing to fear in the elemental parts constantly changing one into another, why should a man have any apprehension about the change and dissolution of the whole? for it is according to Nature, and nothing is bad that is according to Nature." Bishop Butler remarks (Preface to his Sermons): "The practical reason of insisting so much upon the natural authority of the principle of reflection or conscience is, that it seems in a great measure overlooked by many who are by no means the worst sort of men.

It is thought sufficient to abstain from gross wickedness, and to be humane and kind to such as happen to come in their way. Whereas, in reality, the very constitution of our nature requires, that we bring our whole conduct before this superior faculty; wait its determination; enforce upon ourselves its authority; and make it the business of our lives, as it is absolutely the whole business of a moral agent, to conform ourselves to it. This is the true meaning of that ancient precept, *reverence thyself*."

This note does not apply to any particular case, when dæmons are mentioned by Plutarch, but to all cases where he speaks of dæmons, divination, dreams, and other signs.

*Metellus.*] Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Pius, the son of Metellus Numidicus, was consul with Sulla in his second consulship B.C. 80.

*Laverna.*] The place is unknown, unless it be the place near the altar of Laverna, the goddess of thieves, which was near the Porta Lavernalis, as Varro says (*Ling. Lat.* v. 163). Horatius (1 *Ep.* xvi. 60) represents the rogue as putting up a prayer "to the Fair Laverna," that he may appear to be what he is not, an honest man, and that night and darkness may kindly cover his sins. The phænomenon which Sulla describes appears to have been of a volcanic character; and if so, it is the most recent on record within the volcanic region of the Seven Hills.

*Albinus.*] Apparently Aulus Postumius Albinus who was consul with Marcus Antonius B.C. 99. Valerius Maximus tells the story (ix. 8, 3).

*Quintus Pompeius.*] This was Sulla's first consulship, B.C. 88. If he was now fifty, he was born B.C. 138. His colleague was Quintus Pompeius Rufus, who was killed in this same year at the instigation or at least with the approbation of Cn. Pompeius Strabo, the father of Pompeius Magnus. (Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 63.)

*Cæcilia.*] Cæcilia Metella was the fourth wife of Sulla. The other three are mentioned in this chapter. Ilia is perhaps a mistake for Julia. Sulla's fifth and last wife was Valeria, c. 35.

Drumann (*Geschichte Roms*, Cæcili) has shown that Plutarch is mistaken in supposing Cæcilia to be the daughter of Metellus Pius, who was consul with Sulla B.C. 80. She was the daughter of L. Metellus Dalmaticus, who was the brother of Metellus Numidicus and the uncle of Metellus Pius. Her first husband was M. Scæurus, consul B.C. 115, by whom she had several children, and among them the Scæurus whom Cicero defended. Metella had children by Sulla also. (See c. 36, notes.)

*Titus Livius.*] The historian of Rome. These events belonged to the seventy-seventh book of Livius, which is lost. The Epitome shows what this book contained.

7. *Deity.*] This word occurs three times in this chapter. In the first instance, the word is *the demonium*; in the second, it is *the god* (ὁ θεός); in the third, it is *the daemonion* again.

*Bellona.*] The Senate often met in the temple of Duellona or Bellona, the goddess of War. Duellona and Bellona are the same. Compare the Bacchanalian Inscription, and Livius (28, c. 9, &c.).

The last sentence of this chapter is corrupt and the precise meaning is uncertain.

8. *Sulpicius.*] See Marius, c. 35.

*Libertini.*] A man might be manumitted so as either to have the complete citizenship or not. If Plutarch's account is true, the citizenship was sold to those libertini who were of the class Dediticii or Latini. (Gaius, i. 12, &c.)

*Debt.*] See the note on the Sumptuary Laws, c. 1.

*Cessation.*] Plutarch here uses the same word (ἀπραξία) which I have elsewhere translated by the Roman word Justitium. (Marius, c. 35.)

9. Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 57) says that all Sulla's officers left him, when he was going to march to Rome, except one Quæstor. They would not serve against their country.

*Selene, &c.*] That is, Moon, Athena (Minerva), and Enyo (Bellona). It is difficult to conjecture what Capulocian goddess Plutarch means, if it be not the Great Mother. (Marius, c. 17.)

*Picina.*] The place is unknown. There are some discrepancies between the narrative of these transactions in Plutarch and Appian. Appian's is probably the better (i. 58, &c.). The reading *Pictæ* has been suggested. (Strabo, p. 237.)

*Earth.*] The Roman word is *Tellus*. (Livius, 2, c. 41.) The temple was built on the ground occupied by the house of Spurius Cassius, which was pulled down after his condemnation. (Livius, 2, c. 41.)

10. Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 60) mentions the names of twelve persons who were proscribed. The attempt to rouse the slaves to rebellion was one of the grounds of this condemnation, and a valid ground.

*Cinna.*] L. Cornelius Cinna and Cn. Octavius were consuls B.C. 87, the year in which Sulla left Italy to fight with Mithridates. Apuleius (*On the God of Socrates*) thus alludes to the kind of oath which Cinna took—"Shall I swear by Jupiter, holding a stone in my hand, after the most ancient manner of the Romans? But if the opinion of Plato is true, that God never mingles himself with man, a stone will hear me more easily than Jupiter. This however is not true: for Plato will answer for his opinion by my voice. I do not, says he, assert that the Gods are separated and alienated from us, so as to think that not even our prayers reach them; for I do not remove them from an attention to, but only from a contact with human affairs."

*Sulla—set out.*] Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 63, 64) gives another reason. Sulla was alarmed at the assassination of his colleague Quintus Pompeius Rufus and left Rome by night for Capua, whence he set out to Greece.

11. *Asia.*] This was the country on the west coast of Asia Minor, of which the Romans had formed the province of Asia. Mithridates took advantage of the Romans being busied at home with domestic troubles to advance his interests in Asia, where he was well received by the people, who were disgusted with the conduct of the Roman governors. He had defeated the Roman generals L. Cassius, Manius Aquilius, and Q. Oppius. (Appian, *Mithridatic War*, c. 17, &c.) He also ordered

all the Romans and Italians who were in Asia with their wives and children to be murdered on one day; which was done.

*Bosporus.*] The kingdom of Bosporus was a long narrow slip on the south-east coast of the Peninsula, now called the Crimea or Taurida. The name Bosporus was properly applied to the long narrow channel, now called the Straits of Kaffa or Yenikalé, which unites the Black Sea and the Maëotis or Sea of Azoff. Bosporus was also a name of Panticapæum, one of the chief towns of the Bosporus. There was a series of Greek kings of the Bosporus, extending from B.C. 430 to B.C. 304, whose names are known; and there may have been others. In the time of Demosthenes, in the fourth century before the Christian æra, the Athenians imported annually a large quantity of corn from the Bosporus. This was the country that now belonged to Mithridates. (*Penny Cyclopaedia*, article "Bosporus.")

*Ariarathes.*] Kaltwasser conjectures that the son who is first mentioned was Mithridates, and he remarks that Appian (*Mithridatic War*, c. 64) calls him also Mithridates. But in place of the name Ariarathes, he reads Aciarathes, whom he makes to be the same as the Arcathias of Appian (c. 35). Ariarathes however was a son of Mithridates (*Mithridatic War*, 15); and according to Appian, it was a son Mithridates who held Pontus and the Bosporus. Ariarathes and Arcathias assisted their father in the war in Asia.

*Archelaus.*] This Archelaus was a native of Cappadocia, and probably of Greek stock. His name often occurs afterwards. (See "Archelaus," *Biograph. Dict.* of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.)

*Cyclades—Malca.*] The promontory of Malea, now Cape St. Angelo, is the most south-eastern point of the Peloponnesus. The expression of Plutarch is, "all the islands situated within Malea," by which he means all the islands of the Archipelago which are east of Malea, including the Cyclades, or the group which lies in somewhat of a circular form round the small rocky island of Delos.



*Bruttius Sura.*] His name is Brettius in the MSS. of Plutarch. His Roman name is Bruttius, as Appian (*Mithridat. War*, 29) writes it. He took the island of Sciathus, where the enemy deposited their plunder: he hanged the slaves that he found there, and cut off the hands of the freemen. Cæsar, when he was in Gaul, cut off the hands of all the persons who had assisted in the defence of Uxellodunum against the Romans, according to the author of the eighth book of the *Gaulic War* (viii. 44).

*Lucius Lucullus.*] See the Life of Lucullus.

12. *Aristion.*] He is called Athenion by Athenæus. His father was an Athenian citizen; his mother was an Egyptian woman. His political career began with his being sent by the Athenians on an embassy to Mithridates, and he ultimately persuaded the Athenians to join the king. This is the account of Posidonius as quoted by Athenæus (v. 211, &c. ed. Casaub.). Appian (*Mithridatic War*, 28, &c.) gives an account of his making himself a tyrant in Athens, which is somewhat different. He appears to have established himself in B.C. 88; and his power only lasted till B.C. 86. This Aristion was a philosopher, which gives occasion to some curious remarks by Appian (*Mithridatic War*, c. 28), who says, speaking of his enormities: "and all this he did though he was a follower of the Epicurean philosophy. But it was not Aristion only at Athens, nor yet Critias before him, and all who were philosophers with Critias and tyrants at the same time, but in Italy also, those who were Pythagoreans and in Greece the Seven Sages as they are called, as many of them as engaged in public affairs,—all were chiefs and tyrants more cruel than tyrants who were not philosophers. So that one may doubt as to other philosophers, and have some suspicion, whether it was for virtue's sake, or merely to console them for their poverty and having nothing to do with political matters, that they adopted philosophy. There are now many philosophers in a private station and poor who consequently wrap themselves up in philosophy out of necessity, and bitterly abuse those who are

rich or in power; and thereby do not so much get a reputation for despising wealth and power as being envious of them. But those whom they abuse act much more wisely in despising them." There was at least one exception to these philosophers, Marcus Antoninus, who was the head of the Roman State, and required in his exalted station all the comfort that philosophy could give.

*Piræus—Upper City.*] The Piræus, one of the chief ports of Athens, is often used to express the maritime city generally and the lower city, as opposed to Athens, which was called the Upper City. The two cities were united by the Long Walls, about four miles in length.

*Academia—Lycæum.*] The Academia, one of the suburbs of Athens, was planted with trees, among others with the olive. It was on the north-west side of the city. In the Academia there was a Gymnasium, or exercise place, and here also Plato delivered his lectures; whence the name Academy passed into use as a term for a University (in the sense of a place of learning) in the middle ages, and has now other significations. The Lycæum was another similar place on the east side of Athens.

*Epidaurus—Olympia.*] This was Epidaurus on the east coast of Argolis in the Peloponnesus, which contained a temple of Æsculapius, the god of healing. Olympia on the Alpheius, in Elis, contained the great temple of Jupiter and immense wealth, which was accumulated by the offerings of many ages. This and other temples were also used as places of deposit for the preservation of valuable property. Pausanias (v. 21, vi. 19, and in other passages) has spoken at great length of the treasures of Olympia. These rich deposits were a tempting booty to those who were in want of money and were strong enough to seize it. At the commencement of the Peloponnesian war (B.C. 431) it was proposed that the Peloponnesian allies should raise a fleet by borrowing money from the deposits at Olympia and Delphi (Thucydides, i. 121), a scheme which the Athenians, their enemies, appear to have looked upon as a mode of borrowing

of which repayment would form no part (i. 143. εἶτι καὶ κινήσαντες, &c.). Many of the rich churches in Italy were plundered by the French during their occupation of Italy in the Revolutionary wars; their search after valuables extended to very minute matters. The rich stores of the Holy House of the Virgin at Loreto were nearly exhausted by Pope Pius VI. in 1796 to satisfy the demands of the French. It is said that there is a new store got together for the next invader.

*Amphictyons.*] The history of this ancient body cannot be given with any accuracy except in detail. See the article "Amphictyons," *Penny Cyclopædia*. The "royal presents" were the gifts of Cræsus, king of Lydia (in the sixth century B.C.), the most munificent of all the donors to the temple. Among his other presents Herodotus (i. 51) mentions four of these silver casks or jars, and he uses the same word that Plutarch does. The other three had probably been taken by some previous plunderer. In the Sacred War (B.C. 357) the Phocians under Philomelus took a large part of the valuable things at Delphi for the purpose of paying their troops. (Diodorus, xvi. 30.)

*Titus Flaminius.*] Flaminius, whose Life Plutarch has written under the name of Flaminius, defeated Philip V. King of Macedonia B.C. 197. Manius Aelius Glabrio, who was consul B.C. 191, defeated in that year Antiochus III. King of Syria, commonly called the Great, at Thermopylæ in Greece. Antiochus afterwards withdrew into Asia. Æmilius Paulus defeated Perseus, the last King of Macedonia, at Pydna B.C. 168, upon which Macedonia was reduced into the form of a Roman Province. (Livius, 45, c. 18.) Plutarch has written the Life of Paulus Æmilius.

*Octavius.*] See the Life of Marius, c. 42.

*Fimbria.*] See c. 20, 24. C. Flavius Fimbria was the legatus of the consul L. Valerius Flaccus. Cicero (*Brutus*, 66) calls him a madman.

13. *Medimnus.*] The Medimnus was a dry measure, reckoned at 11 gallons 7·1456 pints English. It was

equivalent to six Roman modii. (Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*.)

*Parthenium*.] This plant may have had its name from the Virgin (parthenos) goddess Athene, whom the Romans call Minerva. Plinius (*N. H.* 22, c. 20) has described it. It is identified with the modern Feverfew by Smith in Rees's 'Cyclopædia,' a plant of the chamomile kind; rather unpleasant for food, as one might conjecture. The oil-flasks were of course leather. In Herodotus (ix. 118) we read of a besieged people eating their bed-cords, which we may assume to have been strips of hides, or leather at least.

14. *Ceramicus*.] For all matters relating to the Topography of Rome and Athens, the reader must consult a plan: nothing else can explain the text. The gate called Dipylon or Double-Gate was the passage from the Ceramicus within the walls to the Ceramicus outside of the walls on the north-west side of Athens.

*Teius*.] Teius is not a Roman name. It is conjectured that it should be Ateius.

*Sacred*.] The road from Athens to Eleusis was called the Sacred (Pausanias, i. 36): it led to the sacred city of Eleusis. The space between the Piræic gate and the Sacred is that part of the wall which lay between the roads from Athens to the Piræus and Eleusis respectively.

*Agora*.] A Greek Agora corresponds to a Roman Forum.

*Calends of March*.] The description of the capture of Athens is given by Appian. (*Mithridatic War*, c. 30.) Plutarch here alludes to the deluge in the time of Deucalion, which is often mentioned by the Greek and Roman writers. In the time of Pausanias (i. 18), in the second century of our æra, they still showed at Athens the hole through which the waters of the deluge ran off. A Map of the Topography of Athens has been published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Leake's *Topography of Athens*, K. O. Müller, in Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclop.* art. "Attika," p. 223, and P. W.

Forchhammer, *Topographie von Athen*, 1841, should be consulted.

*Philo.*] See Strabo, p. 395.

15. *Munychia.*] One of the ports of the maritime town of Athens. The events mentioned in this chapter should be compared with Appian (*Mithridat. War*, c. 41).

*Hortensius.*] His name was Lucius and he was probably a brother of the great orator Hortensius. L. Hortensius had to pass through a difficult country to reach Bœotia. His route lay through the straits of Thermopylæ; but he probably took some other line, and he was conducted by Caphis over the heights of the great mountain mass of Parnassus. Caphis appears to be the person of the same name who has been mentioned before (c. 12), though he is there called a Phocian. In this chapter Plutarch calls him a Chæronæian. Tithora or Tithorea was in the time of Herodotus (viii. 32) the name of that summit of Parnassus to which the Phocians of the neighbouring town of Neon fled from the soldiers of Xerxes B.C. 480. Pausanias (x. 32) remarks that the city Neon must have taken the name of Tithorea after the time of Herodotus. But Plutarch means to say that the Tithora of which he speaks was the place to which the Phocians fled; and therefore Neon, the place from which they fled, cannot be Tithora, according to Plutarch; and the description of Tithorea by Herodotus, though very brief, agrees with the description of Plutarch. Pausanias places Tithorea eighty stadia from Delphi.

16. *Elateia.*] Elateia was an important position in Phocis and near the river Cephissus. It was situated near the north-western extremity of the great Bœotian plain, and commanded the entrance into that plain from the mountainous country to the north-west. The Cephissus takes a south-east course past Elateia, Panopeus, Chæronca, and Orchomenus, and near Orchomenus it enters the Lake Copais. Bœotia is a high table-land surrounded by mountains, and all the drainage of the plain of which those of Elateia and Orchomenus are part is received in the basin of the Lake, which has no outlet.

*Parapotamii.*] This city was burnt by Xerxes in his

invasion of Greece B.C. 480. (Herodotus, viii. 33.) Pausanias (x. 33) says that it was not rebuilt by the Bœotians and Athenians: in another passage (x. 3) he says it was destroyed by Philip after the close of the Sacred or Phœcian war B.C. 346; and therefore it had been rebuilt by somebody.

*Chalcaspides.*] The soldiers who had shields of brass.

*Gabinus.*] This was Aulus Gabinus, who was sent by Sulla B.C. 81 with orders to L. Licinius Murena to put an end to the war with Mithridates. Ericius is not a Roman name: perhaps it should be Hirtius.

*Juba.*] This is Juba II., king of Mauritania, who married Cleopatra, one of the children of Marcus Antonius by Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. Juba was a scholar and an author: he is often quoted by Strabo, Plinius (*Nat. Hist.*), and other writers.

*Our city.*] "Our city" will explain why Plutarch has described the campaign in the plains of Bœotia at such length. Plutarch's battles are none of the best; and he has done well in making them generally short.

17. *Lebadeia.—Trophonius.*] The cave of Trophonius was at Lebadeia in Bœotia. Pausanias (ix. 39) has given a full account of the singular ceremonies used on consulting the deity.

*Vision.*] The word is ὀμφήε, literally "voice," which has caused a difficulty to the translators; but the reading is probably right.

*Murena.*] This was Lucius Licinius Murena, who conducted the war against Mithridates in Asia B.C. 83 as Proprætor. He was the father of the Lucius Murena in whose defence we have an extant oration of Cicero.

*Cadmus.*] The old story is well told by Ovidius (*Metamorphoses*, iii. 14, &c.)

*Museum.*] A temple of the Muses.

*Galba.*] Kaltwasser has followed the reading "Gallus" in his version, though, as he remarks in a note, this man is called Galba by Appian (*Mithridat. War*, 43); and he is coupled with Hortensius, just as in Plutarch.

18. *Scythe-bearing chariots.*] This clumsy military contrivance must generally have been a failure. These

chariots were useless in the battle between Cyrus and his brother Artaxerxes B.C. 401. (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, i. 8.) Appian (*Mithridatic War*, c. 42) mentions sixty of these chariots as being driven against the Romans, who opened their ranks to make way for them: the chariots were surrounded by the Roman soldiers in the rear and destroyed.

*Circus.*] A Circus was a Roman race-course. The chief Circus was the Circus Maximus, which was used also for hunts of wild beasts. See the article "Circus" in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*.

*Hoplita.*] I have kept the Greek word (*ὀπλίτης*) which means a soldier who was equipped with defensive armour for close fighting.

*Saturnalia.*] The Saturnalia were a kind of Carnival at Rome in the month of December, when people indulged themselves in feasting and revelry, and the slaves had the licence of doing for a time what they pleased, and acting as if they were freemen. The original "freedom of speech" may mean a little more than these words convey. The point of the centurion's remark, like many other jokes of antiquity, seems rather blunt. He simply meant to express surprise at seeing slaves in an army serving as soldiers, they whose only freedom, so far as he knew, was to have a little licence once a year at the Saturnalia.

19. *Chalcis.*] A town in Eubœa on the strait of the Euripus which separates the island of Eubœa from the mainland. The smallness of the Roman loss is incredible. Appian considerably adds one to the number, and makes it fifteen (*Mithridatic War*, c. 42, &c.). Sulla was a braggart, though he was brave.

*Molus.*] This stream is called Morius (c. 17). Pausanias, who made his tour through Greece in the first half of the second century of our era, saw the trophies (ix. 40).

20. *Flaccus.*] L. Valerius Flaccus was elected consul B.C. 86 in the place of C. Marius, who died at the beginning of the year.

*Ionian Sea.*] The name given by the Greeks and Romans to that part of the Mediterranean which lay

between Dyrrachium (Durazzo) and the opposite coast of Italy. Thucydides (i. 24) makes the Ionian Sea commence about Epidamnus (which was the old name of Dyrrachium), and probably he extended the name to all the Adriatic or modern Gulf of Venice.

*Meliteia.*] A town in Phthiotis, a district which is included in Thessalia in the larger sense of that term. It was on the river Enipeus, a branch of the Peneus. (Strabo, p. 452.) Thucydides (ix. 78) means the same place, when he speaks of Melitia in Achæa.

*Tilphossium.*] A mountain in Bœotia and a spring (Tilphussa) about fifty stadia from Haliartus. (Pausanias, ix. 33.) Haliartus is on the south side of the Lake Copais.

*Melas.*] Orchomenus, one of the oldest towns in Bœotia and in Greece, is situated near the point where the Cephissus enters the great Lake. Plutarch speaks again of the Melas in the Life of Pelopidas (c. 16). Pausanias (ix. 38) says that the Melas rises seven stadia from Orchomenus, and enters the lake Cephissus, otherwise called Copais.

21. *Two hundred years.*] If we assume that it was exactly two hundred years, Plutarch wrote this passage about A.D. 114, in the reign of Trajanus. This battle was fought B.C. 86. Hadrianus became Emperor A.D. 117. (See Preface, p. 7.)

22. *Carbo.*] Cn. Papirius Carbo was the colleague of Cinna in the consulship B.C. 85 and 84.

*Delos.*] A Deliac merchant. This might be a merchant of Delium, the small town in Bœotia, on the Euripus, where Sulla and Archelaus met. But Delos, a small rocky island, one of the Cyclades, is probably meant. Delos was at this time a great slave-market (Strabo, p. 668.)

*Marshes.*] Appian (*Mithridat. War*, c. 50) says that Archelaus hid himself in a marsh, and afterwards made his escape to Chalciis. Sulla's arrogance is well characterized by his speech. The Cappadocians were considered a mean and servile people, and their character became proverbial.

*Asia.*] The Roman Province of Asia. Compare



Appian (*Mithridat. War*, c. 54, 55) as to the terms of the peace.

23. *Aristion.*] The death of Aristion is mentioned by Appian (*Mithridat. War*, c. 39); but he does not speak of the poisoning.

*Mædice.*] Mædice appears to be the right name. Thucydides (ii. 98) calls the people Mædi: they were a Thracian people. Compare Strabo (p. 316). Appian (*Mithridat. War*, c. 55) speaks of this expedition as directed against the Sinti, who were neighbours of the Mædi, and other nations which bordered on Macedonia, and annoyed it by their predatory incursions. Sulla thus kept his soldiers employed, which was the practice of all prudent Roman commanders, and enriched them with booty at the same time.

*Philippi.*] This is the old town called Crenides, or the Little Springs, which King Philippos, the father of Alexander the Great, restored and gave his name to. It was near Amphipolis on the river Strymon. (See Life of Brutus, c. 38.)

24. *Dardanus.*] The Troad is the north-west angle of Asia Minor, which borders on the Hellespont and the Ægean Sea (the Archipelago). The name of the district, Troas in Greek, is from the old town of Troja. Strabo (lib. xiii.) gives a particular description of this tract.

The narrative of this affair in Appian (*Mithridat. War*, c. 56, &c.) differs in some respects from that of Plutarch, and this may be observed of many other events in this war. Appian is perhaps the better authority for the bare historical facts; but so far as concerns the conduct and character of Sulla on this and other occasions, Plutarch has painted the man true to the life.

25. *Thyateira.*] Thyateira was a town in Lydia about 45 miles from Pergamum. Sulla left L. Lucullus behind him to collect the money. (See Life of Lucullus, c. 4.) The story of Fimbria in Appian (*Mithridat. War*, c. 69, 70) differs from that of Plutarch in some respects, but it is near enough to show that though these two writers apparently followed different authorities, Plutarch has given the facts substantially correct.

When Sulla was within two stadia of Fimbria, he sent him orders to give up the army, which he was illegally commanding. Fimbria sent back an insulting message, to the effect that Sulla also had no right to the command which he held. While Sulla was throwing up his intrenchments, and many of Fimbria's soldiers were openly leaving him, Fimbria summoned those who still remained to a meeting, and urged them to stay with him. Upon the soldiers saying that they would not fight against their fellow-citizens, Fimbria tore his dress, and began to intreat them severally. But the soldiers turned a deaf ear to him, and the desertions became still more numerous, on which Fimbria went round to the tents of the officers, and bribing some of them, he called another meeting, and commanded the soldiers to take the oath to him. As those who were hired by him called out that he ought to summon the men by name to take the oath, he called by the crier those who had received favours from him, and he called Nonius first who had been his partner in everything. Nonius refused to take the oath, and Fimbria drew his sword and threatened to kill him, but as there was a general shout, he became alarmed and desisted. However he induced a slave by money and the promise of his freedom to go to Sulla as a deserter and to attempt his life. The man as he came near the act was alarmed, and this gave rise to suspicion, which led to his being seized, and he confessed. The army of Sulla, full of indignation and contempt, surrounded the camp of Fimbria, and abused him, calling him Athenion, which was the name of the fellow who put himself at the head of the rebel runaway slaves in Sicily, and was a king for a few days. Fimbria now despairing came to the rampart, and invited Sulla to a conference. But Sulla sent Rutilius; and this first of all annoyed Fimbria, as he was not honoured with a meeting, which is granted even to enemies. On his asking for pardon for any error that he might have committed, being still a young man, Rutilius promised that Sulla would allow him to pass safe to the coast, if he would sail away from Asia, of which Sulla was proconsul. Fimbria replied that he had better

means than that, and going to Pergamum and entering the temple of Æsculapius, he pierced himself with his sword. As the wound was not mortal, he bade his slave plunge the sword into his body. The slave killed his master, and then killed himself on the body. Thus died Fimbria, who had done much mischief to Asia after Mithridates. Sulla allowed Fimbria's freedmen to bury their master; adding that he would not imitate Cinna and Marius, who had condemned many persons to death at Rome, and also refused to allow their bodies to be buried. The army of Fimbria now came over to Sulla, and was received by him and united with his own. Sulla also commissioned Curio to restore Nicomedes to Bithynia and Ariobarzanes to Cappadocia, and he wrote to the Senate about all these matters, pretending that he did not know that he had been declared an enemy.

26. *Eleusinian mysteries.*] The original is simply "after being initiated;" but the Eleusinian mysteries are meant. The city of Eleusis was in Attica, and the sacred rites were those of Ceres and Proserpine (Demeter and Persephone). Those only who were duly initiated could partake in these ceremonies. An intruder ran the risk of being put to death. Livius (31, c. 14) tells a story of two Acarnanian youths who were not initiated, and during the time of the Initia, as he calls them, entered the temple of Ceres with the rest of the crowd, knowing nothing of the nature of the ceremonies. Their language and some questions that they put, betrayed them, and they were conducted to the superintendants of the temple; and though it was clear that they had erred entirely through ignorance, they were put to death as if they had committed an abominable crime. Toleration was no part of the religious system of Antiquity; that is, nothing was permitted which was opposed to any religious institution, though there was toleration for a great variety. Many illustrious persons were initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, which were maintained until Christianity became the general religion of the Empire. Marcus Aurelius, when he visited Athens, was initiated. The ceremonial of the temple may be collected to a certain extent from

the ancient writers, but no one has yet succeeded in divining what were the peculiar doctrines of this place.

*Apellicon.*] Much has been written about this story, which cannot be literally true. The writings of Aristotle were not unknown to his immediate followers. If there is any truth in this story as told by Plutarch and Strabo (p. 608) it must refer to the original manuscripts of Aristotle. Part of the text of Plutarch is here manifestly corrupt. The subject has been examined by several writers. See art. "Aristotle," *Biog. Diet.* of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and Blakesley, *Life of Aristotle*, Cambridge, 1839.

*Strabo.*] This is Strabo the Geographer, but the passage is not in the Geography, and probably was in an historical work (*Υπομνήματα ιστορικά*, Strabo, p. 13) which he wrote, and which is cited by Plutarch in his *Life of Lucullus*, c. 28.

*Ædepsus.*] These warm springs which still exist are on the west coast of Eubœa, opposite to the mainland. They were much resorted to in Plutarch's time, as appears from his *Symposiaca* (iv. Probl. 4). The place is named Galepsus in Wyttenbach's edition, but in a note the editor admits that the true name is Ædepsus. Demetrius Calatianus (quoted by Strabo p. 60), who had recorded all the earthquakes in Greece, says that the hot springs at Thermopylæ and at Ædepsus once ceased to flow for three days owing to an earthquake, and those of Ædepsus, when they flowed again, broke out in a fresh place. The hot springs near Cape Therma in Eubœa are supposed to be those of Ædepsus. They are more copious than the springs of Thermopylæ on the opposite mainland, but of the same kind, "The water rushes down in a copious stream into the sea, the vapour from which is visible at a considerable distance." (*Penny Cyclopædia*, art. "Eubœa.")

Ialææ should probably be written Ialæ. It was near the Euripus, within Bœotia and on the borders of Phocis. (Pausanias, ix. 24.)

27. *Dyrachium.*] The usual passage from Italy to

Greece and Greece to Italy was between Brundisium and Dyrrachium. Compare Appian, *Civil Wars*, c. 79.

*Nymphæum.*] This phenomenon is mentioned by Strabo (p. 316), Dion Cassius (41, c. 45), and Ælian (*Various History*, 13, c. 16). I do not know if this spot has been examined by any modern traveller. It is a matter of some interest to ascertain how long a phenomenon of this kind has lasted. The pitch-springs of Zante (Zacynthus), which Herodotus visited and describes (iv. 195), still produce the native pitch. Strabo, who had not seen the Nymphæum, describes it thus after the account of Posidonius: "In the territory of Apollonia is a place called the Nymphæum; it is a rock which sends forth fire, and at the base of it are springs of warm asphaltus, the asphaltic earth, as it appears, being in a state of combustion; and there is a mine of it near on a hill. Whatever is cut out, is filled up again in course of time, as the earth which is thrown into the excavations changes into asphaltus, as Posidonius says." We cannot conclude from this confused description what the real nature of the phenomenon was. Probably the asphaltus or bitumen was occasionally set on fire by the neighbouring people. (See the art. "Asphaltum," *Penny Cyclopædia*.)

*Cohorts.*] The cohort was the tenth part of a Roman Legion. Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 82) says that on this occasion the opponents of Sulla made their cohorts contain 500 men each, so that a legion would contain 5000 men. According to this estimate there were 90,000 men under arms in Italy to oppose Sulla, who had five legions of Italian soldiers, six thousand cavalry and some men from Peloponnesus and Macedonia; in all forty thousand men. (Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 79.) Appian says that he had 1600 ships.

*Crown.*] This passage is explained by the cut p. 287 in Smith's *Dict. of Antiquities*, art. "Corona."

*Norbanus.*] Caius Junius Norbanus and L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus were now consuls B. C. 83.

*Silvium.*] Silvium is a town in Apulia on the Appian

road, on the Apennines. As to the burning of the Capitol, see Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 86.

*Fidentia.*] Fidentia was in North Italy not far from Placentia (Piacenza): it is now Borgo San Donnino. Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 92) speaks of this battle near Placentia, which Lucullus gained over some of Carbo's troops, not over Carbo himself, as is stated by some modern writers. Carbo was now in Central Italy.

29. *Scipio.*] Sulla with Metellus Pius, who had joined him (Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 80), met L. Scipio near Teanum in Campania. Sertorius was with Scipio. The circumstances are told by Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 86) as usual with more minuteness and very clearly. The main story is correct in Plutarch.

*Signia.*] Signia, now Segni, is in the Volseian mountains, 35 miles south-east of Rome. It was a Roman colony as old as the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, according to Livius (l. 55). This battle was fought B.C. 82, when Cn. Papirius Carbo was consul for the third time with the younger Marius. It appears that Sulla's progress towards Rome was not very rapid. Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 87) places the battle at Sacriportus, the situation of which is unknown.

*Dolabella.*] Cn. Cornelius Dolabella was consul B.C. 81. He was afterwards Proconsul of Macedonia, and had a triumph for his victories over the Thracians and other barbarian tribes. C. Julius Cæsar, when a young man (*Cæsar*, c. 4), prosecuted B.C. 77 Dolabella for maladministration in his province. Dolabella was acquitted.

*Præneste.*] Præneste, now Palestrina. This strong town was about 20 miles E. by S. of Rome near the source of the Tiberus, now the Sacco, a branch of the Liris, the modern Garigliano.

*Fenestella.*] A Roman historian of the age of Augustus, who wrote Annals, of which there were at least twenty-two books.

*Pompeius, &c.*] These were Cn. Pompeius Magnus, who afterwards was the great opponent of C. Julius Cæsar; his Life is written by Plutarch: M. Licinius Crassus, called Dives or the Rich, whose Life is written

by Plutarch; Quintus Metellus Pius, the son of Metellus Numidicus; and P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, whom Sulla made consul B.C. 79, when he declined the office himself.

*Carbo.*] Carbo lost courage and ran away. He got safe to the African coast, whence, with many men of rank, he made his way to Sicily, and thence to the small island of Cossyra. Cn. Pompeius sent men to seize him, who caught Carbo and his company: Carbo's followers were immediately put to death pursuant to the orders of Pompeius. Carbo was brought to Pompeius, and placed at his feet in chains; and after Pompeius had insulted him who had thrice been consul by pronouncing an harangue over him, Carbo was put to death, and his head was sent to Sulla. (Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 96.) The statement of Plutarch (*Pompeius*, c. 10) agrees with that of Appian. These and other acts of Pompeius should be remembered by those who are inclined to pity his fate. He was probably under a necessity to put Carbo to death pursuant to the orders of his master Sulla, but the insult might have been spared.

29. *Claudius Appius.*] It is uncertain who he was. See Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, ii. Claudii No. 26.

*Ofella Lucretius.*] See c. 33. Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 93) gives a different account of this affair before the Colline gate, but agrees with Plutarch in stating that Sulla's right wing was successful and the left was defeated. He says that Telesinus fell in the battle.

30. *Antemnae*] was a few miles from Rome, near the junction of the Tiber and the Anio (Teverone).

*Circus.*] Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 93) briefly mentions this massacre. It took place in the Circus Flaminius, which was near the temple of Bellona.

Plutarch here starts a question which suggests itself to all men who have had any experience. It is a common remark that a man who has been raised from a low degree to a high station, or has become rich from being poor, is no longer the same man. Nobody expects those whom he has known in the same station as himself to behave themselves in the same way when they are exalted above it. Nobody expects a man who has got

power to be the same man that he was in an humble station. Any man who has lived a reasonable time in the world and had extensive conversation with it knows this to be true. But is the man changed, or are his latent qualities only made apparent by his changed circumstances? The truth seems to be that latent qualities are developed by opportunity. All men have the latent capacities of pride, arrogance, tyranny, and cruelty. Cruelty perhaps requires the most opportunities for its development; and these opportunities are, power, fear, and opposition to his will. It has been well observed, that all men are capable of crime, but different circumstances are necessary to develop this capacity in different men. All have their price; and some may be bought cheap. He who is above the temptation of money may yield to other temptations. The possession of power is the greatest temptation of all, as it offers the greatest opportunities for the development of any latent disposition; and every man has a point or two in which he is open to the insidious attacks of opportunity. In matters political, the main thing is to know, from the indications that a man gives when he has not power, what he will be when he has power: in the ordinary intercourse of life, the main thing is to judge of the character of those with whom we deal by compulsion or choice, to know how far we can trust what they say, how far their future conduct may be predicted from present indications. But to show what these indications are, belongs, as Plutarch says, to another inquiry than the present. The general rule of old was Distrust, which the crafty Sicilian, as Cicero (*Ad Attic.* i. 19) calls Epicharmus, was always whispering in his ear. Epicharmus has well expressed his maxim in a single line:

Νᾶφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν ἕρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν.

Wakeful be thou and distrustful: sinews these are to the mind.

This is the rule for the timid, and for them a safe one. But he who is always suspicious must not expect to be



trusted himself: and when the bold command, he must be content to obey.

31. *Afidius.*] This is not a Roman name. The nearest name to it is Aufidius. But it is conjectured that one Fufidius is meant here (see the note of Sintenis), and also in the Life of Sertorius (c. 26, 27). This is probably the Fufidius (Florus, iii. 21, where the name is written incorrectly Furfidius in some editions) who said, that Some should be left alive that there might be persons to domineer over.

*Proscription.*] A Proscriptio was a notice set up in some public place. This Proscription of Sulla was the first instance of the kind, but it was repeated at a later time. The first list of the proscribed, according to Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 55), contained forty senators and above sixteen hundred equites. Sulla prefaced his proscription by an address to the people, in which he promised to mend their condition. Paternulus (ii. 28) states that the proscription was to the following effect:—That the property of the proscribed should be sold, that their children should be deprived of all title to their property, and should be ineligible to public offices; and further, that the sons of Senators should bear the burdens incident to their order and lose all their rights. This will explain the word Infamy, which is used a little below. Infamia among the Romans was not a punishment, but it was a consequence of conviction for certain offences; and this consequence was a civil disability; the person who became Infamis lost his vote, and was ineligible to the great public offices. He also sustained some disabilities in his private rights. Sulla therefore put the children of the proscribed in the same condition as if they had been found guilty of certain offences.

The consequence of these measures of Sulla was a great change of property all through Italy. Cities which had favoured the opposite faction were punished by the loss of their fortifications and heavy requisitions, such as the French army in the Revolutionary wars levied in Italy. Sulla settled the soldiers of twenty-three legions in the

Italian towns as so many garrisons, and he gave them lands and houses by taking them from their owners. These were the men who stuck to Sulla while he lived, and attempted to maintain his acts after his death, for their title could only be defended by supporting his measures. These are "the men of Sulla," as Cicero sometimes calls them, whose lands were purchased by murder, and who, as he says (*Contra Rullum*, ii. 26), were in such odium that their title could not have stood a single attack of a true and courageous tribune.

32. *Præneste*.] Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 94) states that Sulla made all the people in Præneste come out into the plain unarmed, that he picked out those who had served him, who were very few, and these he spared. The rest he divided into three bodies, Romans, Samnites, and Prænestines: he told the Romans that they deserved to die, but he pardoned them; the rest were massacred, with the exception of the women and young children.

*Catilina*.] L. Sergius Catilina, who formed a conspiracy in the consulship of M. Tullius Cicero B.C. 63. (*Life of Cicero*.)

*Marcus Marius*.] Cn. Marius Gratidianus, the son of M. Gratidius of Arpinum. He was adopted by one of the Marii; by the brother of Caius Marius, as some conjecture.

*Font*.] A vessel of stone or metal placed at the entrance of a temple, that those who entered might wash their hands in it, or perhaps merely dip in a finger.

33. *Dictator*.] Plutarch's expression is "he proclaimed himself Dictator," but this expression is not to be taken literally, nor is it to be supposed that Plutarch meant it to be taken literally. Sulla was appointed in proper form, though he did in fact usurp the power, and under the title of Dictator was more than king. (*Appian, Civil Wars*, i. 98.) The terms of Sulla's election were that he should hold the office as long as he pleased; the disgrace of this compulsory election was veiled under the declaration that Sulla was appointed to draw up legislative measures and to settle affairs. Paternus (ii. 28) mentions the 120 years as having elapsed since the time of a

previous dictatorship, which was the year after Hannibal left Italy B.C. 202. As Sulla was elected Dictator in B.C. 81, Plutarch's statement is correct. (On the functions of the Dictator see Life of Caesar, c. 37.)

*Glabrio.*] Manius Acilius Glabrio, who was prætor B.C. 70 during the proceedings against Verres. He was the son of the M' Acilius Glabrio who got a law passed on mal-administration in offices (*repetundæ*), and the grandson of the Glabrio who defeated King Antiochus near Thermopylæ. (See c. 12.)

*Lucretius Ofella.*] This murder is told more circumstantially by Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 101), who has added something that Plutarch should not have omitted. After saying to the people that Lucretius had been put to death by his order, Sulla told them a tale: "The lice were very troublesome to a clown, as he was ploughing. Twice he stopped his ploughing and purged his jacket. But he was still bitten, and in order that he might not be hindered in his work, he burnt the jacket; and I advise those who have been twice humbled not to make fire necessary the third time."

34. *Triumph.*] Plinius (*H. N.* 33, c. 5) speaks of this triumph: it lasted two days. In the first day Sulla exhibited in the procession 15,000 pounds weight of gold and 115,000 pounds of silver, the produce of his foreign victories: on the second, 13,000 pounds weight of gold and 6000 pounds of silver which the younger Marius had carried off to Præneste after the conflagration of the Capitol and from the robbery of the other Roman Temples.

*Eutyches.*] The term Felix appears on the coins of Sulla. Epaphroditus signifies a favourite of Aphrodite or Venus. (Eckhel, *Doctrina Num. Vet.* V. 190.) Eckhel infers from the guttus and lituus on one of Sulla's coins that he was an Augur.

*Dictatorship.*] Sulla abdicated the Dictatorship B.C. 79 in the consulship of P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus and Appius Claudius Pulcher. Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 103, &c.) speaks of the abdication. He made no attempt to secure to his family the power that he had acquired.

It may be that he had no desire to perpetuate the power in his family; and it is certain that this could not have been accomplished. Sulla had only one son, and he was now a child. But it is certainly a striking trait in this man's character that he descended to a private station from the possession of unlimited power, and after, as Appian observes, having caused the death of more than one hundred thousand men in his Italian wars, besides ninety senators, fifteen consuls, and two thousand six hundred equites, not to mention those who were banished and whose property was confiscated, and the many Italian cities whose fortifications he had destroyed and whose lands and privileges he had taken away. Sulla's character was a compound of arrogance, self-confidence, and contempt of all mankind, which have seldom been united. But his ruling character was love of sensual pleasures. He was weary of his life of turmoil, and he returned to his property in the neighbourhood of Cumæ on the pleæne shore of Campania, where he spent his time on the sea, in fishing, and in sensual enjoyments. But he had nothing to fear: there were in Italy one hundred and twenty thousand men who had served under him, to whom he had given money and land; there was a great number of persons at Rome who had shared in his cruelties and the profits of them, and whose safety consisted in maintaining the safety of their leader. Besides this, he had manumitted above ten thousand vigorous men, once the slaves of masters who had been murdered by his orders, and made them Roman citizens under the name of *Cornelii*. These men were always in readiness to execute his orders. With these precautions, this blood-stained man retired to enjoy the sensual gratifications that he had indulged in from his youth upwards, glorying in his happy Fortune and despising all mankind. No attempt to assassinate him is recorded, nor any apprehension of his on that score. He lived and died Sulla the Fortunate.

*Lepidus.*] M. Æmilius Lepidus and Q. Lutatius Catulus were consuls b.c. 78, the year of Sulla's death. Lepidus attempted to overthrow Sulla's constitution after

Sulla's death. He was driven from Rome by Q. Catulus and Cn. Pompeius Magnus, and died B.C. 77 in Sardinia. This Lepidus was the father of M. Lepidus the associate of Cæsar Octavianus and M. Antonius in the Triumvirate (See the Life of M. Antonius.)

Catulus was the son of Lutatius Catulus who was once the colleague of C. Marius in the consulship. He has received great praise from Cicero. Sallustius calls him a defender of the aristocratical party, and C. Licinius Maecr, as quoted by Sallustius in his History, says that he was more cruel than Sulla. We cannot trust Cicero's unqualified praise of this Aristocrat nor the censure of Sallustius. What would Cicero's character be, if we had it from some one who belonged to the party of Catiline? and what is it as we know it from his own writings? Insincere, changing with the times, timid, revengeful, and, when he was under the influence of fear, cruel.

35. *Places.*] The Greek word (θέατρον) from which came the Roman *Theatrum* and our word *Theatre*, means a place for an exhibition or spectacle. The Roman word for dramatic representations is properly *Scena*. I do not know when the men and women had separate seats assigned to them in the theatres. A law of the tribune L. Roscius Otho B.C. 68 fixed the places in the theatres for the different classes, and it may have assigned separate seats to the women.

*Valeria*] Valeria was the daughter of M. Valerius Messala. She could not be the sister of Hortensius, for in that case her name would be Hortensia. The sister of the orator Hortensius married a Valerius Messala.

*Imperator.*] Plutarch has translated the Roman word *Imperator* by the Greek *Autocratōr* (ἄτοκρατορ), "one who has absolute power;" the title *Autocratōr* under the Empire is the Greek equivalent of the Roman *Imperator*, but hardly an equivalent at this time. (See the Life of Cæsar.)

36. *Roscius.*] This was the Quintus Roscius whom Cicero has so often mentioned and in defence of whom he made a speech which is extant. The subject of the action against Roscius is not easy to state in a few words.

(See the Argument of P. Manutius, and the essay of Unterholzner in Savigny's *Zeitschrift*, &c. i. p. 248.) Roscius is called Comædus in the title of Cicero's oration and by Plutarch, but he seems to have acted tragedy also, as we may collect from some passages in Cicero. The general name at Rome for an actor was *histrion*; but the *histrion* is also contrasted by Cicero (*Pro Q. Roscio*, c. 10) with the Comædus, as the inferior compared with the higher professor of the art. Yet Roscius is sometimes called a *histrion*. Roscius was a perfect master of his art, according to Cicero; and his name became proverbial among the Romans to express a perfect master of any art. (Cicero, *De Oratore*, i. 28.) Cicero was intimate with Roscius, and learned much from him that was useful to him as an orator. Roscius wrote a work in which he compared oratory and acting. His professional gains were immense; and he had a sharp eye after his own interest, as the speech of Cicero shows.

*Women's parts.*] The original is *λυσιπρόσ*, which is explained by Aristoxenus, quoted by Athenæus (p. 620), as I have translated it.

*Vermin.*] Appian does not mention this disease of Sulla, though other writers do. Appian merely speaks of his dying of fever. Zachariæ (Life of Sulla) considers the story of his dying of the lousy disease as a fabrication of Sulla's enemies, and probably of the Athenians whom he had handled so cruelly. This disease, called *Morbus Pediculosus* or *Pthiriasis*, is not unknown in modern times. Plutarch has collected instances from ancient times. Acæstus belongs to the mythic period. Aleman lived in the seventh century B.C.: fragments of his poetry remain. This Pherecydes was what the Greeks called *Theologus*, a man who speculated on things appertaining to the nature of the gods. He is said to have been a teacher of Pythagoras, which shows that he belongs to an uncertain period. He was not a Philosopher: his speculations belonged to those cosmogonical dreams which precede true philosophy, and begin again when philosophy goes to sleep, as we see in the speculations of the present day. Callisthenes is mentioned in Plu-

tarch's *Life of Alexander*, c. 55. He was thrown into prison on a charge of conspiring against Alexander. This Mucius the lawyer (*νομικός*), or juriconsultus, as a Roman would call him, is the P. Mucius Scaevola who was consul in the year in which Tiberius Gracchus was murdered.

There were two Servile wars in Sicily. Plutarch alludes to the first which broke out B.C. 134, and is described in the Excerpts from the thirty-fourth book of Diodorus. Diodorus says that Eunus died of this disease in prison at Morgantina in Sicily.

*Dicarchia.*] This town, also called Puteoli, the modern Pozzuolo, was near Sulla's residence. It was originally a Greek town; and afterwards a Roman colonia. Plutarch simply says that Granius "owed a public debt." Valerius Maximus (ix. 3) states that Granius was a Princeps of Puteoli and was slow in getting in the money which had been promised by the Decuriones of Puteoli towards the rebuilding of the Capitol. Sulla had said that nothing remained to complete his good fortune, except to see the Capitol dedicated. No wonder that the delay of Granius irritated such a man.

*Postuma.*] The Roman words Postumus, Postuma, seem to have been generally used to signify a child born after the father's death. But they also signified a child born after the father had made a will. The word simply means "last." We use the expression "Posthumous child;" but the meaning of the word is often misunderstood. (On the effect of the birth of a Postumus on a father's will, see Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, art. "Heres, Roman.")

Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 104) speaks of Sulla's death. He saw his death coming and hastened to make his will: he died in his sixtieth year, the most fortunate man in his end and in everything else, both in name and estimation; if indeed, the historian wisely adds, a man should think it good fortune to have obtained all his wishes.

Sulla had the following children:—Cornelia, by Ilia;

she married Q. Pompeius Rufus who was murdered B.C. 88, and she may have died before her father: Cornelius Sulla, a son by Metella, who died, as Plutarch has said, before his father: Faustus Cornelius Sulla and Fausta Cornelia, the twin children by Metella, who were both young when their father died. Faustus lost his life in Africa, when he was fighting on the Pompeian side. Fausta's first husband was C. Memmius, from whom she was divorced. She then married T. Annius Milo B.C. 55, who caught her in the act of adultery with the historian Sallustius, who was soundly lashed by the husband and not let off till he had paid a sum of money. Sallustius did not forget this.

38. *Will.*] It was considered a mark of intentional disrespect or of disapprobation, when a Roman made no mention of his nearest kin or friends in his will; and in certain cases, the person who was passed over could by legal process vindicate the imputation thus thrown on him. (See the article "Testamentum," in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, under the head "Querela Inofficiosi.") Sulla did not like Cn. Pompeius. The only reason for keeping on terms with him was that he saw his talents and so wished to ally him to his family. For the same reason Sulla wished to put C. Julius Cæsar to death (*Cæsar*, 1): he predicted that he would be the ruin of the aristocratical party. Sulla made his friend Lucius Lucullus the guardian of his children and intrusted him with the final correction of his Memoirs. (See the Life of Lucullus, c. 1.)

*Funeral.*] The description of the funeral in Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 105, &c.) is a striking picture. Sulla was buried with more than regal pomp.

Plutarch's Life of Sulla has been spoken of as not one of his best performances. But so far as concerns Plutarch's object in writing these Lives, which was to exhibit character, it is as good as any of his Lives, and it has great merit. Whether his anecdotes are always authentic is a difficult matter to determine. Sulla had many enemies and it is probable that his character in private life has been made worse than it was. The acts of his public life are well ascertained. Plutarch has nearly



omitted all mention of him as a reformer of the Roman Constitution and as a Legislator. Sulla's enactments were not like the Imperial Constitutions of a later day, the mere act of one who held the sovereign power: they were laws (*leges*) duly passed by the popular assembly. Yet they were Sulla's work, and the legislative body merely gave them the formal sanction. The object of Sulla's Constitutional measures was to give an aristocratical character to the Roman Constitution, to restore it to something of its pristine state, and to weaken the popular party by curtailing the power of the Tribunes. The whole subject has often been treated, but at the greatest length by Zachariæ, *Lucius Cornelius Sulla*, &c., Heidelberg, 1834. Zachariæ has drawn the character of Sulla, in an apologetical tone. I think the character of Sulla is drawn better by Plutarch and that he has represented him as near to the life as a biographer can do. Whatever discrepancies there may be between Plutarch and other authorities, whatever Plutarch may have omitted which other authorities give, still he has shown us enough to justify his delineation of the most prominent man in the Republican Period of Rome, with the exception of the Dictator Cæsar. But to complete the view of his intellectual character, a survey of Sulla's legislation is necessary. Sulla was an educated man: he was not a mere soldier like Marius; he was not only a general; he was a man of letters, a lover of the arts, a keen discriminator of men and times, a legislator, and a statesman. He remodelled and reformed the whole criminal law of the Romans. His constitutional measures were not permanent, but it may truly be said that he prepared the way for the temporary usurpation of Cæsar and the permanent establishment of the Roman State under Augustus. I propose to treat of the Legislation of Sulla in an Appendix to a future volume.

THE END.

THE  
CIVIL WARS OF ROME

SELECT LIVES

TRANSLATED FROM PLUTARCH,

WITH NOTES.

BY GEORGE LONG.

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SERIES II.

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# CIVIL WARS OF ROME.

## SERTORIUS.

1. It is perhaps not a matter of surprise, if in the lapse of time, which is unlimited, while fortune is continually changing her course, spontaneity should often result in the same incidents; for, if the number of elemental things is not limited, fortune has in the abundance of material a bountiful supply of sameness of results; and, if things are implicated in a dependence upon definite numbers, it is of necessity that the same things must often happen, being effected by the same means. Now, as some are pleased to collect, by inquiry and hearsay, from among the things which accidentally happen, such as bear some likeness to the works of calculation and forethought: such, for instance, as that there were two celebrated Atteis, the one Syrian and the other an Arcadian, and that both were killed by a wild boar; that there were two Actæons, one of whom was torn in pieces by his dogs and the other by his lovers; that there were two Scipios, by one of whom the Carthaginians were first conquered, and by the other were cut up root and branch; that Troy was taken by Hercules, on account of the horses of Lamoedon, and by Agamemnon by means of the wooden horse,

as it is called, and was taken a third time by Charidemus, by reason of the Ilions not being able to close the gates quick enough, owing to a horse having got between them; that there are two cities which have the same name with the most fragrant of plants, Ios and Smyrna, and that Homer was born in one of them and died in the other: I may be allowed to add to these instances, that the most warlike of commanders and those who have accomplished most by a union of daring and cunning, have been one-eyed men, Philippus, Antigonus, Annibal, and the subject of this Life—Sertorius; he whom one may affirm to have been more continent as to women than Philip, more true to his friends than Antigonus, more merciful to his enemies than Annibal, inferior in understanding to none of them, but in fortune inferior to all; and, though he always found Fortune more hard to deal with than his open enemies, yet he proved himself her equal by opposing the experience of Metellus, the daring of Pompeius, the fortune of Sulla, and the power of the whole Roman state; a fugitive and a stranger putting himself at the head of barbarians. Of all the Greeks, Eumenes of Cardia presents the nearest resemblance to him. Both of them were men qualified to command; both were warlike, and yet full of stratagem; both became exiles from their native land and the commanders of foreign troops; and both had the same violent and unjust fortune in their end, for both of them were the objects of conspiracy, and were cut off by the hands of those with whom they were victorious over their enemies.

2. Quintus Sertorius belonged to a family not among the meanest in Nussa, a Sabine city. He

was carefully brought up by a widowed mother, for he had lost his father, and he appears to have been exceedingly attached to her. His mother's name, they say, was Rhea. He had a competent practical education in the courts of justice, and, as a young man, he attained some influence in the city by his eloquence. But his reputation and success in war diverted all his ambition in that direction.

3. Now, first of all, after the Cimbri and Teutones had invaded Gaul, he was serving under Caepio at the time when the Romans were defeated and put to flight; and, though he lost his horse and was wounded in the body, he crossed the Rhone swimming in his cuirass and with his shield against the powerful stream—so strong was his body and disciplined by exercise. On a second occasion, when the same barbarians were advancing with many thousand men and dreadful threats, so that for a Roman to stand to his ranks at such a time, and to obey his general, was a great matter, Marius had the command, and Sertorius undertook to be a spy upon the enemy. Putting on a Celtic dress, and making himself master of the most ordinary expressions of the language, for the purpose of conversation when occasion might offer, he mingled with the barbarians, and, either by his own eyes or by inquiry learning all that was important to know, he returned to Marius. For this he obtained the prize of merit; and in the rest of the campaign, having given many proofs of his judgment and daring, he was honoured and trusted by his general. After the close of the war with the Cimbri and Teutones, he was sent as tribune by Didius the prætor to Iberia, and he wintered in Castlo, a city of the Celtiberi. The soldiers, being in the midst of abundance, lost all



discipline, and were generally drunk, which brought them into contempt with the barbarians, who, by night, sent for aid from their neighbours the Gyrisœni, and, coming on the soldiers in their lodgings, began to slaughter them. Sertorius with a few others stole out, and, collecting the soldiers who made their escape, surrounded the city. Finding the gates open through which the barbarians had secretly entered, he did not make the same mistake that they did, but he set a watch there, and, hemming in the city on all sides, he massacred every man who was of age to bear arms. When the massacre was over, he ordered all his soldiers to lay down their own armour and dress, and, putting on those of the barbarians, to follow him to the city from which the men came who had fallen on them in the night. The barbarians were deceived by the armour, and he found the gates open, and a number of men expecting to meet friends and fellow citizens, returning from a successful expedition. Accordingly most of them were killed by the Romans near the gates, and the rest surrendered and were sold as slaves.

4. This made the name of Sertorius known in Iberia; and as soon as he returned to Rome he was appointed quæstor in Gaul upon the Padus at a critical time; for the Marsic war was threatening. Being commissioned to levy troops and procure arms, he applied so much zeal and expedition to the work, compared with the tardiness and indolence of the other young men, that he got the reputation of being a man likely to run an active career. Yet he remitted nothing of the daring of a soldier after he was promoted to the rank of commander; but he exhibited wonderful feats of courage,

and exposed himself without any reserve to danger, whereby he lost one of his eyes through a wound. But he always prided himself on this. He used to say that others did not always carry about with them the proofs of their valour, but put them aside, at times, as chains, and spears, and crowns, while the proofs of his valour always abided with him; and those who saw what he had lost saw at the same time the evidence of his courage. The people also showed him appropriate marks of respect; for, on his entering the theatre, they received him with clapping of hands and expressions of their good wishes—testimonials which even those who were far advanced in age, and high in rank, could with difficulty obtain. However, when he was a candidate for the tribuneship, Sulla raised a party against him, and he failed; and this was, apparently, the reason why he hated Sulla. But when Marius was overpowered by Sulla, and fled from Rome, and Sulla had set out to fight with Mithridates, and the consul, Octavius adhered to the party of Sulla, while his colleague Cinna, who aimed at a revolution, revived the drooping faction of Marius, Sertorius attached himself to Cinna, especially as he saw that Octavius was deficient in activity, and he distrusted the friends of Marius. A great battle was fought in the Forum between the consuls, in which Octavius got the victory, and Cinna and Sertorius took to flight, having lost nearly ten thousand men. However, they persuaded most of the troops, which were still scattered about Italy, to come over to their side, and they were soon a match for Octavius.

5. When Marius had returned from Libya, and was proposing to join Cinna, himself in a mere

private capacity and Cinna as consul, all the rest thought it politic to receive him ; but Sertorius was against it : whether it was because he thought that Cinna would pay less respect to him when a general of higher reputation was present, or because he feared the ferocious temper of Marius, and that he would put all in confusion in his passion, which knew no bounds, transgressing the limits of justice in the midst of victory. However this may be, Sertorius observed that there remained little for them to do, as they were now triumphant, but if they received the proposal of Marius, he would appropriate to himself all the glory and all the troops ; being a man who could endure no partner in power, and who was devoid of good faith. Cinna replied, that what Sertorius suggested was true, but he felt ashamed and had a difficulty about refusing to receive Marius, after having invited him to join their party ; whereupon Sertorius rejoined : “ For my part, I thought that Marius had come to Italy on his own adventure, and I was merely considering what was best ; but it was not honourable in you to make the thing a matter of deliberation at all, after the arrival of the man whom you had thought proper to invite, but you ought to have employed him and received him ; for a promise leaves no room for any further consideration.” Accordingly Cinna sent for Marius, and the forces being distributed among them, the three had the command. The war being finished, Cinna and Marius were filled with violence and bitterness, so that they made the evils of war as precious gold to the Romans, compared with the new state of affairs. Sertorius alone is said to have put no person to death to gratify his vengeance, nor to have

abused his power; but he was much annoyed at the conduct of Marius, and he moderated Cinna by private interviews and entreaties. At last, the slaves whom Marius had used as allies in war, and kept as guards to protect his tyranny, becoming formidable and wealthy, partly from the grants of Marius and his direct permission, partly from their violent and outrageous treatment of their masters, whom they butchered, and then lay with their masters' wives, and violated their children, Sertorius, unable to endure any longer, speared the whole of them in their camp, to the number of four thousand.

6. But when Marius had died, and Cinna shortly after was cut off, and the younger Marius, contrary to the wish of Sertorius, and by illegal means, obtained the consulship, and the Carbo and the Norbani and Scipios were unsuccessfully contending against Sulla on his march to Rome, and affairs were being ruined, partly through the cowardice and laziness of the commanders, and partly through treachery; and there was no use in his staying to see things still go on badly, owing to the want of judgment in those who had more power than himself; and, finally, when Sulla, after encamping near Scipio, and holding out friendly proposals, as if peace was going to be made, had corrupted the army, though Sertorius had warned Scipio of this, and given his advice, but without effect—altogether despairing about the city, Sertorius set out for Iberia, in order that if he should anticipate his enemies in strengthening his power there, he might offer protection to such of his friends as were unfortunate at Rome. Sertorius, having fallen in with bad weather in the mountainous parts, was required by the barbarians to pay them a tribute, and to pur-

chase a free passage. His companions were much incensed at this, and declared it to be a great degradation for a Roman proconsul to pay a tribute to wretched barbarians; but Sertorius cared little for what they considered disgrace, and he said that he was buying time, the rarest of things for a man who was aiming at great objects; and so he pacified the barbarians with money, and hurrying into Iberia, got possession of the country. He there found nations strong in numbers and fighting men, but owing to the greediness and tyranny of the governors who had from time to time been sent among them, ill disposed to the Roman administration in general: however, he regained the good will of the chiefs by his personal intercourse with them, and the favour of the mass by remission of taxes. But he got most popularity by relieving the people from having soldiers quartered on them; for he compelled the soldiers to fix their winter tents in the suburbs of the towns, and he was the first to set the example. However, Sertorius did not depend altogether on the attachment of the barbarians, but he armed all the Roman settlers in Iberia who were able to bear arms, and by commencing the construction of all kinds of military engines and building ships he kept the cities in check; showing himself mild in all the affairs of civil administration, but formidable by his preparations against the enemy.

7. Hearing that Sulla was master of Rome, and that the party of Marius and Carbo was on the wane, and being in immediate expectation of an army coming to fight against him under some commander, he sent Julius Salinator to occupy the passes of the Pyrenees, with six thousand heavy armed soldiers. Shortly after this, Caius Annius was sent from

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

8. As the wind abated he set sail, and put in at some scattered islands, which had no water. Leaving them, and passing through the Straits of Gades, he touched at those parts of Iberia on the right which lie out of the strait, a little beyond the mouths of

the Bætis, which flows into the Atlantic sea, and has given name to those parts of Iberia which lie about it. There he fell in with some sailors, who had returned from a voyage to the Atlantic Islands, which are two in number, separated by a very narrow channel, and ten thousand stadia from the coast of Libya, and are called the Islands of the Happy. These islands have only moderate rains, but generally they enjoy gentle breezes, which bring dews; they have a rich and fertile soil, adapted for arable cultivation and planting; they also produce fruit spontaneously, sufficient in quantity and quality to maintain, without labour and trouble, a population at their ease. The air of the islands is agreeable, owing to the temperature of the seasons, and the slightness of the changes; for the winds which blow from our part of the world from the north and east, owing to the great distance, fall upon a boundless space, and are dispersed and fail before they reach these islands; but the winds which blow round them from the ocean, the south and west, bring soft rains at intervals, from the sea, but in general they gently cool the island with moist clear weather, and nourish the plants; so that a firm persuasion has reached the barbarians that here are the Elysian Plains and the abode of the Happy which Homer has celebrated in song.

9. Sertorius, hearing this description, was seized with a strong desire to dwell in the islands, and to live in quiet, free from tyranny and never-ending wars. The Cilicians, who did not want peace and leisure, but wealth and spoil, observing this inclination, sailed off to Africa, to restore Ascalis, the son of Iphtha, to the Moorish kingdom. Sertorius, however, did not despond, but he determined to help

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

10. While Sertorius was considering where he



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

11. However, he then set sail from Libya, at the invitation of the Lusitanians, and got them into

fighting condition, being immediately made commander with full powers, and he subjected the neighbouring parts of Iberia, most of which, indeed, voluntarily joined him, chiefly by reason of his mild treatment and his activity, but in some cases he availed himself of cunning to beguile and win over the people, the chief of which was in the affair of the deer, which was after this fashion :

Spanos, a native, and one of those who lived on their lands, fell in with a deer which had just brought forth a young one, and was flying from the hunters ; he missed taking the deer, but he followed the fawn, being struck with its unusual colour (it was completely white), and caught it. It happened that Sertorius was staying in those parts, and when people brought him as presents anything that they had got in hunting, or from their farms, he would readily receive it, and make a liberal return to those who showed him such attentions. Accordingly the man brought the fawn and gave it to Sertorius, who accepted the present. At first he took no particular pleasure in the animal, but in course of time, when he had made it so tame and familiar that it would come to him when he called it, accompany him in his walks, and cared not for crowds and all the noise of the army, by degrees he began to give the thing a supernatural character, saying that the fawn was a gift from Artemis (Diana), and he gave out as a token of this that the fawn showed him many hidden things ; for he knew that it is the nature of barbarians to be easily accessible to superstition. He also resorted to such tricks as these : whenever he had got secret information that the enemy had invaded any part of the country, or were attempting to draw any city away from him, he

would pretend that the deer had spoken to him in his sleep, and bid him keep his troops in readiness ; and, on the other hand, when he heard that his generals had got a victory, he would keep the messenger concealed, and bring forward the deer crowned with chaplets, as is usual on the occasion of good news, and tell his men to rejoice and sacrifice to the gods, as they would hear of some good luck.

12. By these means he tamed the people, and had them more manageable for all purposes, as they believed they were led, not by the counsels of a foreigner, but by a deity, and facts also confirmed them in this opinion, inasmuch as the power of Sertorius increased beyond all expectation ; for with the two thousand six hundred men whom he called Romans, and four thousand Lusitanian targetiers, and seven hundred horsemen, whom he joined to a motley band of seven hundred Libyans, who crossed over with him to Lusitania, he fought with four Roman generals, who had under them one hundred and twenty thousand foot soldiers, six thousand horsemen, two thousand bowmen and slingers, and cities innumerable, while he had only twenty cities in all under him. But, though so feeble and insignificant at first, he not only subdued great nations, and took many cities, but of the generals who were opposed to him he defeated Cotta in a naval engagement in the channel near Mellaria ; he put to flight Fufidius, the governor of Bætica on the banks of the Bætis, with the slaughter of two thousand of his Roman soldiers ; Lucius Domitius, proconsul of the other Iberia, was defeated by his quæstor ; Thoranius, another of the commanders of Metellus, who was sent with a force, he destroyed ;

and on Metellus himself, the greatest man among the Romans in his day, and of the highest repute, he inflicted several discomfitures, and brought him to such straits, that Lucius Manlius came from Narbo, in Gaul, to his relief, and Pompeius Magnus was hastily despatched from Rome with an army ; for Metellus was perplexed at having to deal with a daring man, who evaded all fighting in the open field, and could adapt himself to any circumstances by reason of the light and easy equipment and activity of his Iberian army ; he who had been disciplined in regular battles fought by men in full armour, and commanded a heavy immovable mass of men, who were excellently trained to thrust against their enemies when they came to close quarters, and to strike them down, but unable to traverse mountains, to be kept always on the alert by the continual pursuing and retreating of light active men, and to endure hunger like them, and to live under the open sky without fire or tent.

13. Besides this, Metellus was now growing old, and after so many great battles was somewhat inclined to an easy and luxurious mode of life ; and he was opposed to Sertorius, a man full of the vigour of mature age, whose body was wonderfully furnished with strength, activity, and power of endurance. He was never intoxicated with drink, even in his seasons of relaxation, and he was accustomed to bear great toil, long marches, and continued watchfulness, content with a little food of the meanest quality ; and, inasmuch as he was always rambling about and hunting, when he had leisure, he became intimately acquainted with all the spots, both impracticable and practicable, which gave chance of escape if he had to fly, or opportunity of hemming

in an enemy if he was in pursuit. Consequently, it happened that Metellus, being prevented from fighting, was damaged as much as men who are beaten in battle, and Sertorius by flying had all the advantage of the pursuer. He used to cut off the supplies of water, and check the foraging; and when Metellus was advancing Sertorius would get out of his way, and when he was encamped he would not let him rest; when Metellus was occupied with a siege, Sertorius would all at once show himself, and put Metellus in his turn in a state of blockade, owing to the want of the necessary supplies, so that the soldiers were quite wearied; and when Sertorius challenged Metellus to single combat, the men cried out and bid him fight, as it would be a match between a general and a general, and a Roman and a Roman; and when Metellus declined, they jeered him. But he laughed at them, and he did right; for a general, as Theophrastus said, should die the death of a general, not that of a common targetier. Metellus perceiving that the Langobritæ assisted Sertorius in no small degree, and that their town could easily be taken, as it was ill supplied with water, for they had only one well in the city, and any one who blockaded the place would be master of the streams in the suburbs and near the walls, he advanced against the city, expecting to finish the siege in two days, as there was no water; and accordingly his soldiers received orders to take provisions with them for five days only. But Sertorius quickly coming to their aid, gave orders to fill two thousand skins with water, and he offered for each skin a considerable sum of money. Many Iberians and Moors volunteered for the service, and, selecting the men who were strong

and light-footed, he sent them through the mountain parts, with orders, when they had delivered the skins to the people in the city, to bring out of the town all the useless people, that the water might last the longer for those who defended the place. When the news reached Metellus he was much annoyed, for his soldiers had already consumed their provisions ; but he sent Aquinius, at the head of six thousand men, to forage. Sertorius got notice of this, and laid an ambush on the road of three thousand men, who starting up out of a bushy ravine, fell on Aquinius as he was returning. Sertorius attacked in front and put the Romans to flight, killing some and taking others prisoners. Aquinius returned with the loss of both his armour and horse, and Metellus made a disgraceful retreat amidst the jeers of the Iberians.

14. By such acts as these Sertorius gained the admiration and love of the barbarians ; and, by introducing among them the Roman armour, and discipline, and signals, he took away the frantic and brutal part of their courage, and transformed them from a huge band of robbers into an efficient regular army. Besides, he employed gold and silver unsparingly for the decoration of their helmets, and he ornamented their shields, and accustomed them to the use of flowered cloaks and tunics, and, by supplying them with money for such purposes, and entering into a kind of honourable rivalry with them, he made himself popular. But they were most gained by what he did for their children. The youths of noblest birth he collected from the several nations at Osca, a large city, and set over them teachers of Greek and Roman learning ; and thus he really had them as hostages under the

show of educating them, as if he intended to give them a share in the government and the administration when they attained to man's estate. The fathers were wonderfully pleased at seeing their children dressed in robes with purple borders, and going so orderly to the schools of Sertorius, who paid for their education, and often had examinations into their proficiency, and gave rewards to the deserving, and presented them with golden ornaments for the neck, which the Romans call "bullæ." It was an Iberian usage for those whose station was about the commander to die with him when he fell in battle, which the barbarians in those parts express by a term equivalent to the Greek "devotion." Now only a few shield-bearers and companions followed the rest of the commanders; but many thousands followed Sertorius, and were devoted to die with him. It is said that, when the army of Sertorius was routed near a certain city and the enemy was pressing on them, the Iberians, careless about themselves, saved Sertorius, and, raising him on their shoulders, every one vying with the rest, helped him to the walls; and when their general was secure they then betook themselves to flight, each as well as he could.

15. Sertorius was not beloved by the Iberians only, but also by the soldiers of Italy, who served with him. When Perpenna Vento, who belonged to the same party as Sertorius, had arrived in Iberia with much money and a large force, and had determined to carry on war against Metellus on his own account, his soldiers were dissatisfied, and there was much talk in the camp about Sertorius, to the great annoyance of Perpenna, who was proud of his noble family and his wealth. However, when the soldiers

heard that Pompeius was crossing the Pyrenees, taking their arms and pulling up the standards, they assailed Perpenna with loud cries, and bade him lead them to Sertorius; if he did not, they threatened to leave him, and go of themselves to a man who was able to take care of himself and others too. Perpenna yielded, and led them to join the troops of Sertorius, to the number of fifty-three cohorts.

16. All the nations within the Iber river were now joining Sertorius at once, and he was powerful in numbers; for they were continually flocking and crowding to him from all quarters. But he was troubled by the loose discipline and self-confidence of the barbarians, who called on him to attack the enemy, and were impatient of delay, and he attempted to pacify them with reasons. Seeing, however, that they were discontented, and were unwisely pressing him with their demands, he let them have their way, and winked at their engaging with the enemy, in so far as not to be completely crushed, but to get some hard knocks, which he hoped would render them more tractable for the future. Things turning out as he expected, Sertorius came to their aid when they were flying, and brought them back safe to the camp. However, as he wished also to cheer their spirits, a few days after this adventure he had all the army assembled, and introduced before them two horses, one very weak and rather old, the other of a large size and strong, with a tail remarkable for the thickness and beauty of the hair. There stood by the side of the weak horse a tall strong man, and by the side of the strong horse a little man of mean appearance. On a signal given to them, the



strong man began to pull the tail of the horse with all his might towards him, as if he would tear it off; the weak man began to pluck out the hairs from the tail of the strong horse, one by one. Now the strong man, after no small labour to himself to no purpose, and causing much mirth to the spectators, at last gave up; but the weak man in a trice, and with no trouble, bare the tail of all its hairs. On which Sertorius getting up, said, "You see, fellow allies, that perseverance will do more than strength, and that many things which cannot be compassed all at once, yield to continued efforts; for endurance is invincible, and it is thus that time in its course assails and vanquishes every power, being a favourable helper to those who with consideration watch the opportunities that it offers, but the greatest of enemies to those who hurry out of season." By contriving from time to time such means as these for pacifying the barbarians, he managed his opportunities as he chose.

17. His adventure with the people called Charicatani was not less admired than any of his military exploits. The Charicatani are a people who live beyond the river Tagonius: they do not dwell in cities or villages; but there is a large lofty hill, which contains caves and hollows in the rocks, looking to the north. The whole of the country at the foot of the hill consists of a clayey mud and of light earth, easily broken in pieces, which is not strong enough to bear a man's tread; and if it is only slightly touched will spread all about, like unslaked lime, or ashes. Whenever the barbarians through fear of war hid themselves in their caves, and, collecting all their plunder there kept quiet, they could not be taken by any force; and now,

seeing that Sertorius had retired before Metellus, and had encamped near the hill, they despised him as being beaten; on which Sertorius, whether in passion or not wishing to appear to be flying from the enemy, at daybreak rode up to the place and examined it. But he found the mountain unassailable on all sides; and while he was perplexing himself to no purpose and uttering idle threats, he saw a great quantity of dust from this light earth carried by the wind against the barbarians; for the caves are turned, as I have said, to the north, and the wind which blows from that quarter (some call it "caecias") prevails most, and is the strongest of all the winds in those parts, being generated in wet plains and snow-covered mountains; and at that time particularly, it being the height of summer, it was strong, and maintained by the melting of the ice in the sub-arctic regions, and it blew most pleasantly both on the barbarians and their flocks, and refreshed them. Now, Sertorius, thinking on all these things, and also getting information from the country people, ordered his soldiers to take up some of the light ashy earth, and bringing it right opposite to the hill to make a heap of it there; which the barbarians thought to be intended as a mound for the purpose of getting at them, and they mocked him. Sertorius kept his soldiers thus employed till nightfall, when he led them away. At daybreak a gentle breeze at first began to blow, which stirred up the lightest part of the earth that had been heaped together, and scattered it about like chaff; but when the caecias began to blow strong, as the sun got higher, and the hills were all covered with dust, the soldiers got on the heap of earth and stirred it up to the bottom, and

broke the clods; and some also rode their horses up and down through the earth, kicking up the light particles and raising them so as to be caught by the wind, which, receiving all the earth that was broken and stirred up, drove it against the dwellings of the barbarians, whose doors were open to the caecias. The barbarians, having only the single opening to breathe through, upon which the wind fell, had their vision quickly obscured, and they were speedily overpowered by a suffocating difficulty of breathing, by reason of respiring a thick atmosphere filled with dust. Accordingly, after holding out with difficulty for two days, they surrendered on the third, and thus added not so much to the power as to the reputation of Sertorius, who had taken by stratagem a place that was impregnable to arms.

18. Now, as long as Sertorius had to oppose Metellus, he was generally considered to owe his success to the old age and natural tardiness of Metellus, who was no match for a daring man, at the head of a force more like a band of robbers than a regular army. But when Pompeius had crossed the Pyrenees, and Sertorius had met him in the field, and he and Pompeius had mutually offered one another every opportunity for a display of generalship, and Sertorius had the advantage in stratagem and caution, his fame was noised abroad as far as Rome, and he was considered the most able general of his age in the conduct of a war: for the reputation of Pompeius was no small one; but at that time particularly he was enjoying the highest repute by reason of his distinguished exploits in the cause of Sulla, for which Sulla gave him the name of Magnus, which means Great, and Pompeius obtained triumphal honours before he

had a beard. All this made many of the cities which were subject to Sertorius turn their eyes towards Pompeius, and feel inclined to pass over to him; but their intentions were checked by the loss at Lauron, which happened contrary to all expectation. Sertorius was besieging this town, when Pompeius came with all his force to relieve it. There was a hill, well situated for enabling an enemy to act against the place, which Sertorius made an effort to seize, and Pompeius to prevent its being occupied. Sertorius succeeded in getting possession of the hill, on which Pompeius made his troops stop, and was well pleased at what had happened, thinking that Sertorius was hemmed in between the city and his own army; and he sent a message to the people in Lauron, bidding them be of good cheer, and to keep to their walls and look on while Sertorius was blockaded. Sertorius smiled when he heard of this, and said he would teach Sulla's pupil (for so he contemptuously called Pompeius), that a general should look behind him rather than before. As he said this he pointed out to his men, who were thus blockaded, that there were six thousand heavy armed soldiers, whom he had left in the encampment, which he had quitted before he seized the hill, in order that if Pompeius should turn against them, the soldiers in the camp might attack him in the rear. And Pompeius too saw this when it was too late, and he did not venture to attack Sertorius for fear of being surrounded; and, though he could not for shame leave the citizens in their danger, he was obliged to sit there and see them ruined before his eyes; for the barbarians in despair surrendered. Sertorius spared their lives, and let them all go; but he burnt the city, not for revenge or because he was cruel, for of all

commanders<sup>s</sup> Sertorius appears to have least given way to passion; but he did it to shame and humble the admirers of Pompeius, and that the barbarians might say that Pompeius did not help his allies, though he was close at hand, and all but warmed with the flames of their city.

19. However, Sertorius was now sustaining several defeats, though he always saved himself and those with him from defeat; but his losses were occasioned by the other generals. Yet he gained more credit from the means by which he repaired his defeats than the generals on the other side who won the victories; an instance of which occurred in the battle against Pompeius, on the Sucro, and another in the battle near Tuttia, against Pompeius and Metellus together. Now the battle on the Sucro is said to have been brought about by the eagerness of Pompeius, who wished Metellus to have no share in the victory. Sertorius, on his part, also wished to engage Pompeius before Metellus arrived; and, drawing out his forces when the evening was coming on, he commenced the battle, thinking that, as the enemy were strangers and unacquainted with the ground, the darkness would be a disadvantage to them, whether they were the pursued or the pursuers. When the battle began, it happened that Sertorius was not engaged with Pompeius, but with Afranius at first, who commanded the left wing of the enemy, while Sertorius commanded his own right. But, hearing that those who were opposed to Pompeius were giving way before his attack and being defeated, Sertorius left the right wing to the care of other generals, and hastened to the support of the wing that was giving way. Bringing together the soldiers who were already flying, and those who were still keeping their

ranks, he encouraged them and made a fresh charge upon Pompeius, who was pursuing, and put his men to the route; on which occasion Pompeius himself nearly lost his life, and had a wonderful escape after being wounded. The Libyans of Sertorius seized the horse of Pompeius, which was decked with golden ornaments and loaded with trappings; but while they were dividing the booty and quarrelling about it, they neglected the pursuit. As soon as Sertorius quitted the right wing to relieve the other part of the army, Afranius put to flight his opponents and drove them to their camp, which he entered with the captives, it being now dark, and began to plunder, knowing nothing of the defeat of Pompeius, and being unable to stop his soldiers from seizing booty. In the mean time Sertorius returned, after defeating the enemy who were opposed to him, and falling on the soldiers of Afranius, who were all in disorder and consequently panic-stricken, he slaughtered many of them. In the morning he again armed his troops and came out to fight; but observing that Metellus was near, he broke up his order of battle, and marched off, saying, "If that old woman had not come up, I would have given this boy a good drubbing by way of lesson, and have sent him back to Rome."

20. About this time Sertorius was much dispirited, because that deer of his could nowhere be found; for he was thus deprived of a great means of cheering the barbarians, who then particularly required consolation. It happened that some men, who were rambling about at night for other purposes, fell in with the deer and caught it, for they knew it by the colour. Sertorius hearing of this, promised to give them a large sum of money

if they would mention it to nobody ; and, concealing the deer for several days, he came forward with a joyful countenance to the tribunal, and told the barbarian chiefs that the deity prognosticated to him in his sleep some great good fortune. He then ascended the tribunal, and transacted business with those who applied to him. The deer being let loose by those who had charge of it close by, and, seeing Sertorius, bounded joyfully up to the tribunal, and, standing by him, placed its head on his knees, and touched his right hand with its mouth, having been accustomed to do this before. Sertorius cordially returned the caresses of the animal, and even shed tears. The spectators were at first surprised ; then clapping their hands and shouting they conducted Sertorius to his residence, considering him to be a man superior to other mortals and beloved by the gods ; and they were full of good hopes.

21. Sertorius, who had reduced the enemy to the greatest straits in the plains about Seguntum, was compelled to fight a battle with them when they came down to plunder and forage. The battle was well contested on both sides. Memmius, one of the most skilful of the commanders under Pompeius, fell in the thick of the fight, and Sertorius, who was victorious, and making a great slaughter of those who opposed him, attempted to get at Metellus, who stood his ground with a resolution above his years, and, while fighting bravely, was struck by a spear. This made the Romans who were on the spot, as well as those who heard of it, ashamed to desert their leader, and inspired them with courage against their enemies. After covering Metellus with their shields and rescuing him from danger, by making a vigorous onset they drove the Iberians from their

ground; and, as the victory now changed sides, Sertorius, with the view of securing a safe retreat for his men, and contriving the means of getting together another army without any interruption, retired to a strong city in the mountains, and began to repair the walls and strengthen the gates, though his object was anything rather than to stand a siege: but his design was to deceive the enemy, in which he succeeded; for they sat down before the place, thinking they should take it without difficulty, and in the mean time they let the defeated barbarians escape, and allowed Sertorius to collect a fresh army. It was got together by Sertorius sending officers to the cities, and giving orders that when they had collected a good body of men, they should dispatch a messenger to him. When the messengers came, he broke through the besiegers without any difficulty and joined his troops; and now he again advanced against the enemy in great force, and began to cut off their land supplies by ambuscades, and hemming them in, and showing himself at every point, inasmuch as his attacks were made with great expedition; and he cut off all their maritime supplies by occupying the coast with his piratical vessels, so that the generals opposed to him were obliged to separate, one to march off into Gaul, and Pompeius to winter among the Vaccæi, in great distress for want of supplies, and to write to the Senate, that he would lead his army out of Iberia, if they did not send him money, for he had spent all his own in defence of Italy. There was great talk in Rome that Sertorius would come to Italy before Pompeius; to such difficulties did Sertorius, by his military abilities, reduce the first and ablest of the generals of that age.



22. Metellus also showed, that he feared the man and thought he was powerful; for he made proclamation, that if any Roman killed Sertorius he would give him a hundred talents of silver and twenty thousand jugera of land; and, if he was an exile, permission to return to Rome: thus declaring that he despaired of being able to defeat Sertorius in the field, and therefore would purchase his life by treachery. Besides this, Metellus was so elated by a victory which on one occasion he gained over Sertorius, and so well pleased with his success, that he was proclaimed Emperor, and the cities received him in his visits to them with sacrifices and altars. It is also said, that he allowed chaplets to be placed on his head, and accepted invitations to sumptuous feasts, at which he wore a triumphal vest; and Victories, which were contrived to move by machinery, descended and distributed golden trophies and crowns, and companies of youths and women sang epinician hymns in honour of him. For this he was with good reason ridiculed, for that after calling Sertorius a runaway slave of Sulla, and a remnant of the routed party of Carbo, he was so puffed up and transported with delight because he had gained an advantage over Sertorius, who had been compelled to retire. But it was a proof of the magnanimous character of Sertorius, first, that he gave the name of Senate to the Senators who fled from Rome and joined him, and that he appointed quæstors and generals from among them, and arranged everything of this kind according to Roman usage; and next, that though he availed himself of the arms, the money, and the cities of the Iberians, he never yielded to them one tittle of the Roman supremacy, but he appointed Romans

to be their generals and commanders, considering that he was recovering freedom for the Romans, and was not strengthening the Iberians against the Romans; for Sertorius loved his country and had a great desire to return home. Notwithstanding this, in his reverses he behaved like a brave man, and never humbled himself before his enemies; and after his victories he would send to Metellus and to Pompeius, and declare that he was ready to lay down his arms and to live in a private station, if he might be allowed to return home; for, he said, he would rather be the obscurest citizen in Rome than an exile from his country, though he were proclaimed supreme ruler of all other countries in the world. It is said, that he longed to return home chiefly on account of his mother, who brought him up after his father's death, and to whom he was completely devoted. At the time when his friends in Iberia invited him to take the command, he heard of the death of his mother, and he was near dying of grief. He lay in his tent for seven days without giving the watchword, or being seen by any of his friends; and it was with difficulty that his fellow generals and those of like rank with himself, who had assembled about his tent, prevailed on him to come out to the soldiers, and take a share in the administration of affairs, which were going on well. This made many people think that Sertorius was naturally a man of mild temper, and well disposed to a quiet life; but that, owing to uncontrollable causes, and contrary to his wishes, he entered on the career of a commander, and then, when he could not ensure his safety, and was driven to arms by his enemies, he had recourse to war as the only means by which he could protect his life.

23. His negotiations with Mithridates also were a proof of his magnanimity; for now that Mithridates, rising from the fall that he had from Sulla, as it were, to a second contest, had again attacked Asia, and the fame of Sertorius was great, and had gone abroad to all parts, and those who sailed from the West had filled the Pontus with the reports about him, as if with so many foreign wares, Mithridates was moved to send an embassy to him, being urged thereto mainly by the fulsome exaggerations of his flatterers, who compared Sertorius to Hannibal and Mithridates to Pyrrhus, and said that if the Romans were attacked on both sides, they could not hold out against such great abilities and powers combined, when the most expert of commanders had joined the greatest of kings. Accordingly, Mithridates sent ambassadors to Iberia, with letters to Sertorius and proposals. On his part he offered to supply money and ships for the war, and he asked from Sertorius a confirmation of his title to the whole of Asia, which he had given up to the Romans pursuant to the treaty made with Sulla. Sertorius assembled a council, which he called a senate, and all the members advised to accept the king's proposal, and to be well content with it; they said the king only asked of them a name and an empty answer touching things that were not in their power, in return for which they were to receive what they happened to stand most in need of. But Sertorius would not listen to this: he said he did not grudge Mithridates having Bithynia and Cappadocia; these were nations that were accustomed to a king, and the Romans had nothing to do with them; but the province which belonged to the Romans by the justest of titles, which Mithridates took from them and kept, from which,

after a contest, he was driven out by Fimbria, ~~one~~ which he gave up by treaty with Sulla, ~~the~~ province he would never allow to fall again into the power of Mithridates; for it was fit that the Roman state should be extended by his success, not that his success should be owing to her humiliation. To a generous mind, victory by honest means was a thing to desire, but life itself was not worth having with dishonour.

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

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

26. Now Perpenna, having got several to idin

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

they openly used obscene language, and, pretending to be drunk, behaved indecently, for the purpose of irritating Sertorius. Whether it was that he was vexed at this disorderly conduct, or had now suspected their design by the flagging of the conversation and their unusual contemptuous manner towards him, he changed his posture on the couch by throwing himself on his back, as if he was paying no attention to them, and not listening. On Perpenna taking a cup of wine, and in the middle of the draught throwing it from him and so making a noise, which was the signal agreed on, Antonius, who lay next to Sertorius, struck him with his sword. On receiving the blow, Sertorius turned himself, and at the same time attempted to rise, but Antonius, throwing himself upon his chest, held his hands, and he was despatched by blows from many of the conspirators, without even making any resistance.

27. Now most of the Iberians immediately sent ambassadors to Pompeius and Metellus, to make their submission; those who remained Perpenna took under his command, and attempted to do something. After employing the means that Sertorius had got together, just so far as to disgrace himself, and show that he was not suited either to command or to obey, he engaged with Pompeius. Being quickly crushed by him and taken prisoner, he did not behave himself even in this extremity as a commander should do; but, having got possession of the papers of Sertorius, he offered to Pompeius to show him autograph letters from consular men and persons of the highest influence at Rome, in which Sertorius was invited to Italy, and was assured that there were many who were desirous to change

the present settlement of affairs, and to alter the constitution. Now Pompeius, by behaving on this occasion, not like a young man, but one whose understanding was well formed and disciplined, relieved Rome from great dangers and revolutions. He got together all those letters, and all the papers of Sertorius, and burnt them, without either reading them himself or letting any one else read them; and he immediately put Perpenna to death, through fear that there might be defection and disturbance if the names were communicated to others. Of the fellow conspirators of Perpenna, some were brought to Pompeius, and put to death; and others, who fled to Libya, were pierced by the Moorish spears. Not one escaped, except Aufidius, the rival of Manlius, and this happened, either because he escaped notice, or nobody took any trouble about him, and he lived to old age, in some barbarian village, in poverty and contempt.



## CIVIL WARS OF ROME.

### LUCULLUS.

1. THE grandfather of Lucullus was a man of consular rank, and his uncle on the mother's side was Metellus, surnamed Numidicus. His father was convicted of peculation, and his mother, Cæcilia, had a bad name as a woman of loose habits. Lucullus, while he was still a youth, before he was a candidate for a magistracy and engaged in public life, made it his first business to bring to trial his father's accuser, Servilius the Augur, as a public offender; and the matter appeared to the Romans to be creditable to Lucullus, and they used to speak of that trial as a memorable thing. It was, indeed, the popular notion, that to prefer an accusation was a reputable measure; even when there was no foundation for it, and they were glad to see the young men fastening on offenders, like well-bred whelps laying hold of wild beasts. However, there was much party spirit about that trial, and some persons were even wounded and killed; but Servilius was acquitted. Lucullus had been trained to speak both Latin and Greek competently, so that Sulla, when he was writing his memoirs, dedicated them to Lucullus as a person who would put together and arrange his history better than himself; for the style of the oratory of Lucullus was not merely suited to business and prompt, like that of the other orators which disturbed the Forum—

“As a struck tunny throws about the sea.”

but when it is out of the Forum is

“Dry, and for want of true discipline half dead;”

but he cultivated the appropriate and so called liberal sciences, with a view to self-improvement, from his early youth. When he was more advanced in years he let his mind, as it were, after so many troubles, find tranquillity and repose in philosophy, rousing to activity the contemplative portion of his nature, and seasonably terminating and cutting short his ambitious aspirations after his difference with Pompeius. Now, as to his love of learning, this also is reported, in addition to what has been mentioned : when he was a young man, in a conversation with Hortensius, the orator, and Sisenna, the historian, which began in jest, but ended in a serious proposition, he agreed that if they would propose a poem and a history, Greek and Roman, he would treat the subject of the Marsic war in whichever of these two languages the lot should decide; and it seems that the lot resulted in a Greek history, for there is still extant a Greek history of the Marsic-war by Lucullus. Of his affection to his brother Marcus there were many proofs, but the Romans speak most of the first; being older than his brother, he did not choose to hold a magistracy by himself, but he waited till his brother was of the proper age, and so far gained the public favour that his brother in his absence was elected ædile jointly with him.

2. Though he was a young man during the Marsic war, he gave many proofs of courage and prudence; but it was rather on account of the solidity of his character and the mildness of his temper that Sulla attached Lucullus to himself, and from the beginning he constantly employed him in affairs of the greatest importance; one of which

was the matter relating to the coinage. It was Lucullus who superintended the coining of most of the money in the Peloponnesus during the Mithridatic war, and it was named Lucullean after him, and continued for a long time to have a ready circulation, in consequence of the demands of the war. Afterwards Sulla, who was in possession of the country about Athens, but was shut out from supplies by sea by the enemy, who had the command of it, sent Lucullus to Egypt and Libya to get ships there. It was now the depth of winter, but still he set sail with three Greek piratical ships, and the same number of Rhodian biremes, exposing himself to a wide sea and to hostile vessels, which, owing to their having the superiority, were cruising about in great numbers and in all directions. However, he landed at Crete, and made the people friendly to his cause; and, finding the Cyrenæans in a state of confusion, owing to continual tyrannies and wars, he tranquillized and settled the State, by reminding the citizens of a certain expression of Plato, which the philosopher had addressed to them in a prophetic spirit. They asked him, as it appears, to draw up laws for them, and to settle their democracy after the model of a well ordered polity; but he replied, that it was difficult to legislate for the Cyrenæans while they were so prosperous. Nothing, indeed, is more difficult to govern than a man who considers himself prosperous; and, on the other hand, there is nothing more obedient to command than a man when he is humbled by fortune. And it was this that made the Cyrenæans tractable to Lucullus in his legislation for them. Sailing from Cyrene to Egypt, he lost most of his vessels by an attack of pirates: but he escaped himself, and entered

Alexandria in splendid style; for the whole fleet came out to meet him, as it was used to do when a king entered the port, equipped magnificently. The young king, Ptolemæus, showed him other surprising marks of attention, and gave him a lodging and table in the palace, though no foreign general had ever before been lodged there. He also offered him an allowance for his expenditure, not such as he used to offer to others, but four times as much; Lucullus however would not receive any thing more than his necessities required, nor yet any present, though the king sent presents to the value of eighty talents. It is said that Lucullus did not go up to Memphis, nor make inquiry about any other of the wondrous and far-famed things in Egypt; he said that such things befitted an idle spectator, and one who had only to enjoy himself: not a man like himself, who had left the Emperor encamped under the bare sky, and close to the enemy's battlements.

3. Ptolemæus declined the alliance, being afraid of the war; but he gave Lucullus ships to convoy him as far as Cyprus, and when he was setting sail, he embraced him and paid him great attention, and presented him with an emerald set in gold, of great price. Lucullus at first begged to be excused from taking the present; but when the king showed him that the engraving contained his royal likeness, Lucullus was afraid to refuse the present, lest, if he should be supposed to sail away at complete enmity with the king, he might be plotted against on the sea. In his voyage along the coast Lucullus got together a number of vessels from the maritime towns, except such as participated in piratical iniquities, and passed over to Cyprus, where, hearing that his enemies were lying in wait for him with their ships

at the headlands, he drew up all his vessels, and wrote to the cities about winter quarters and supplies, ~~as~~ if he intended to stay there till the fine season. As soon as a favourable opportunity offered for his voyage, he launched his ships and got out to sea, and, by sailing during the day with his sails down and low, and putting them up at night, he got safe to Rhodes. The Rhodians supplied him with some more ships, and he persuaded the people of Cos and Cnidus to quit the king's side, and join him in an attack on the Samians. He drove the king's party also out of Chios, and he gave the people of Colophon freedom by seizing Epigonus, their tyrant. It happened about this time that Mithridates had left Pergamum, and was shut up in Pitane. While Fimbria was keeping the king blockaded there on the land side and pressing the siege, Mithridates, looking to the sea, got together and summoned to his ships from every quarter, having given up all design of engaging and fighting with Fimbria, who was a bold man and had defeated him. Fimbria observing this, and, being deficient in naval force, sent to Lucullus, and prayed him to come with his fleet and help him to take the most detested and the most hostile of kings, in order that Mithridates, the great prize, which had been followed through many contests and labours, might not escape the Romans, now that he had given them a chance of seizing him, and was caught within the nets. He said, if Mithridates was taken, no one would have more of the glory than he who stopped his flight, and laid hold of him when he was trying to steal away; that if Mithridates were shut out from the land by him, and excluded from the sea by Lucullus, there would be a victory for both of them, and that as to the vaunted ex-

plots of Sulla at Orchomenus and Chæronea, the Romans would think nothing of them in comparison with this. There was nothing unreasonable in all that Fimbria said; and it was plain to every man that if Lucullus, who was at no great distance, had then accepted the proposal of Fimbria, and led his ships there and blockaded the port with his fleet, the war would have been at an end, and all would have been delivered from innumerable calamities. But whether it was that Lucullus regarded his duty to Sulla above all private and public interests, or that he detested Fimbria, who was an abandoned man, and had lately murdered his own friend and general, merely from ambition to command, or whether it was through chance, as the Deity would have it, that he spared Mithridates, and reserved him for his own antagonist, he would not listen to Fimbria, but allowed Mithridates to escape by sea, and to mock the force of Fimbria. Lucullus himself, in the first place, defeated off Lectum in the Troad the king's ships, which showed themselves there, and again observing that Neoptolemus was stationed at Tenedos with a larger force, he sailed against him ahead of all the rest, in a Rhodian galley of five banks, which was commanded by Demagoras, a man well affected to the Romans, and exceedingly skilful in naval battles. Neoptolemus came against him at a great rate, and ordered the helmsman to steer the ship right against the vessel of Lucullus; but Demagoras, fearing the weight of the king's vessel and the rough brass that she was fitted with, did not venture to engage head to head, but he quickly turned his ship round and ordered them to row her stern foremost, and the vessel being thus depressed at the stern received the blow, which was rendered harmless by

falling on those parts of the ship which were in the water. In the mean time his friends coming to his aid, Lucullus commanded them to turn his ship's head to the enemy ; and, after performing many praise-worthy feats, he put the enemy to flight, and pursued Neoptolemus.

4. After this, Lucullus joined Sulla in the Chersonesus, as he was going to cross the Hellespont, and he made the passage safe for him, and assisted his army in getting over. When the treaty was made, and Mithridates had sailed off to the Euxine, and Sulla had imposed a contribution of twenty thousand talents on Asia, and Lucullus had been appointed to collect the money, and to strike coin, it appeared some small consolation to the cities of Asia for the harshness of Sulla that Lucullus not only behaved with honesty and justice, but conducted himself mildly in the discharge of so oppressive and disagreeable a duty. Though the Mitylenæans had openly revolted, Lucullus wished them to come to their senses, and to submit to some reasonable penalty for their ill conduct in the matter of Marius ; but, perceiving that they were under the influence of some evil dæmon, he sailed against them, and defeated them in a battle, and, after shutting them up in their walls, and establishing a blockade, he sailed out in open day to Elæa, but he returned by stealth, and, laying an ambuscade near the city, kept quiet. The Mitylenæans approached in disorder, and with confidence in the expectation of plundering a deserted camp ; but Lucullus falling on them took a great number alive, and killed five hundred of them who made resistance. He also took six thousand slaves, and the rest of the booty was past count. But in the miseries which Sulla and

Marius were at that time bringing on the people of Italy, without limit and of every kind, he had no share, being detained by his business in Asia by some happy fortune. Nevertheless, he had not less favour with Sulla than the rest of his friends ; for, as I have said, Sulla dedicated his memoirs to Lucullus, as a token of his affection, and finally he appointed him the guardian of his son, and passed by Pompeius. And this was probably the origin of the difference and the jealousy between Lucullus and Pompeius ; for they were both young, and burning for distinction.

5. Shortly after Sulla's death, Lucullus was consul with Marcus Cotta, about the hundred and seventy-sixth Olympiad. Many persons were again attempting to stir up the Mithridatic war, and Marcus said that the war was not ended, but only stopped for a time. It was for this reason that Lucullus was annoyed at the lot giving him for his province Gaul within (south of) the Alps, which offered no opportunity for great exploits. But the reputation of Pompeius, who was now in Iberia, stung him most, as it was expected that Pompeius, in preference to any one else, would be forthwith chosen to the command of the war against Mithridates, if it should happen that the Iberian war should be brought to a close. Accordingly, when Pompeius asked for money, and wrote to say that if they did not send it, he would leave Iberia and Sertorius, and lead his troops back to Italy, Lucullus did all he could to get money sent, and to prevent Pompeius returning from Iberia on any pretence whatever while he was consul ; for he considered that the whole State would be at the disposal of Pompeius if he were at Rome with so large an army. Cethegus also, who had then



the power in his hands by always speaking and acting with a view to popularity, was at enmity with Lucullus, who detested his habits of life, which were nothing but a course of unnatural lusts, insolence, and violence. With Cethegus then Lucullus was at open war. There was, indeed, another demagogue, Lucius Quintius, who had set himself against Sulla's measures, and attempted to disturb the present settlement of affairs; but Lucullus, by much persuasion in private and reproof in public, drew him from his designs, and quieted his ambition, in as politic and wholesome a way as a man could do, by taking in hand so great a disease at its commencement.

6. In the mean time news arrived of the death of Octavius, the Governor of Cilicia. Now there were many eager competitors for the province, who courted Cethegus as the person who was best able to help them to it. As to Cilicia itself, Lucullus made no great account of that province; but, inasmuch as he thought, if he should get Cilicia, which bordered on Cappadocia, no one else would be sent to conduct the war against Mithridates, he left no means untried to prevent the province falling into other hands; and, at last, contrary to his natural disposition, he submitted from necessity to do an act which was not creditable, or commendable, though it was useful towards the end he had in view. There was a woman named Præcia, who was famed through Rome for her beauty and gallantry, and, though in other respects she was no better than a common prostitute, yet, as she availed herself of her influence with those who visited her and talked to her, for the purpose of forwarding the interests and political views of her friends, she added to her other

attractions the reputation of being a woman who was much attached to her friends, and very active in accomplishing anything, and she obtained great influence. Cethegus, who was then at the height of his popularity, and directed the administration, was captivated by Præcia, and began to cohabit with her, and thus the whole power of the State fell into her hands; for no public measure was transacted if Cethegus was not for it, and if Præcia did not recommend it to Cethegus. Now Lucullus gained over Præcia by presents and flattery; and, indeed, it was in itself a great boon to a proud woman, fond of public display, to be seen using her influence on behalf of Lucullus; and thus he soon had Cethegus speaking in his favour, and trying to get Cilicia for him. When Lucullus had once gained the province of Cilicia, it was no longer necessary for him to call in the aid of Præcia or Cethegus, but all alike readily put into his hands the conduct of the Mithridatic war, believing that it could not be managed better by any other person; for Pompeius was still fighting against Sertorius, and Metellus had withdrawn from service by reason of his age, and these were the only persons who could be considered as rivals to Lucullus in any dispute about the command in the war. However, Cotta, the colleague of Lucullus, after making earnest application to the Senate, was sent with some ships to watch the Propontis, and to defend Bithynia.

7. Lucullus, with one legion which he had raised at home, crossed over into Asia, where he took the command of the rest of the forces, all of whom had long been spoiled by luxurious habits and living at free quarters; and the soldiers of Fimbria were said to have become diffi-

cult to manage, from being accustomed to obey no commander. They were the men who joined Fimbria in putting to death Flaccus, who was a consul and their general, and who gave up Fimbria himself to Sulla—self-willed and lawless men, but brave and full of endurance, and experienced soldiers. However, in a short time, Lucullus took down the insolence of these soldiers, and changed the character of the rest, who then, for the first time, as it seems, knew what it was to have a genuine commander and leader: for under other generals, they were used to be courted, and spirited on to military service in such wise as was agreeable to them. As to the enemy matters thus:—Mithridates, like most of the , full of boasting at first, and rising up against the Romans arrogantly, with an army unsubstantial in fact, but in appearance brilliant and pompous, had failed in his undertaking, and exposed himself to ridicule; but now, when he was going to commence the war a second time, taught by experience he concentrated his powers in a real and effectual preparation. Rejecting those motley numbers and many-tongued threats of the barbarians, and arms ornamented with gold and precious stones, which he considered to be the spoils of the victors, and to give no strength to those who possess them, he set about having Roman swords made, and heavy shields manufactured; and he got together horses which were well trained, instead of horses which were well caparisoned; and one hundred and twenty thousand foot-soldiers who were disciplined to the Roman order of battle, and sixteen thousand horse-soldiers, without reckoning the scythe-bearing four horse-chariots, and these were a hundred: besides

his ships were not filled with tents embroidered with gold, nor with baths for concubines, nor apartments for the women luxuriously furnished; but fitting them out fully with arms, missiles, and stores, he invaded Bithynia, where he was again gladly received by the cities, and not by these cities only, for a return of their former calamities had visited all Asia, which was suffering past endurance from the Roman money-lenders and farmers of the taxes. These men, who like so many harpies were plundering the people of their substance, Lucullus afterwards drove out; but, for the time, he endeavoured by reproof to make them more moderate in their conduct, and he stopped the insurrections of the towns, when, so to speak, not a single man in them was quiet.

8. While Lucullus was busied about these matters, Cotta, thinking a good opportunity for himself, was preparing to fight with Mithridates; and, though many persons brought him intelligence that Lucullus was encamped in Phrygia on his advanced march, Cotta thinking that he had the triumph all but in his hands, hastened to engage, that Lucullus might have no share in it. But he was defeated by land and by sea at the same time; and he lost sixty vessels with all the men in them, and four thousand foot-soldiers, and he was shut up in Chalcedon and besieged there, and obliged to look for help at the hands of Lucullus. Now there were some who urged Lucullus not to care for Cotta, but to advance forward, as he would be able to seize the kingdom of Mithridates, which was unprotected; and this was the language of the soldiers especially, who were indignant that Cotta, not satisfied with ruining himself and those

with him by his imprudent measures, should be a hindrance to their getting a victory without a contest when it was in their power; but Lucullus said in reply to all this in an harangue, that he would rather save one Roman from the enemy than get all that the enemy had. And when Archelaus, who had commanded for Mithridates in Bœotia, and afterwards had left him, and was now in the Roman army, maintained, that if Lucullus would only show himself in Pontus, he might make himself master of every thing at once, Lucullus replied that he was not a greater coward than huntsmen, which he should be if he passed by the wild beasts and went to their empty dens. Saying this he advanced against Mithridates, with thirty thousand foot-soldiers and two thousand five hundred cavalry. On arriving in sight of the enemy, he was startled at their numbers, and wished to avoid a battle and to protract the time. Marius, however, whom Sertorius had sent from Iberia to Mithridates in command of a force, came out to meet Lucullus, and challenged him to the contest, on which Lucullus put his army in order of battle; and they were just on the point of commencing the engagement, when, without any evident change, but all at once, the sky opened, and there appeared a huge flame-like body, which came down between the two armies, in form most like a cask, and in colour resembling molten silver, so that both armies were alarmed at the sight and separated. This, it is said, took place in Phrygia, at a place called Otryæ. Lucullus, considering that it was not possible for any human resources or wealth to maintain for any length of time, and in the presence of an enemy, so many thousands as Mithri-

dates had, ordered one of the prisoners to be brought to him, and asked him first how many messmates he had, and then how much provision he had left in his tent. When the man had given his answer, he ordered him to be removed, and he put the same question to a second, and to a third. Then comparing the amount of provisions that the enemy had with the number of those who were to be fed, he concluded that the enemy's provisions would fail them in three or four days. He now stuck still more closely to his plan of protracting the time, and he employed himself in getting into his camp a great store of provision, that he might have abundance himself, and so wait till the enemy was reduced to want.

9. In the mean time Mithridates resolved to attack the Cyziceni, who had received a blow in the battle at Chalcedon; for they had lost three thousand men and ten ships. Accordingly, wishing to give Lucullus the slip, he put himself in motion immediately after supper, taking advantage of a dark and rainy night; and he succeeded in planting his force at day-break right opposite to the city, at the base of the mountain tract of the Adrasteia. Lucullus, who perceived his movements and followed him, was well satisfied that he had not come up with the enemy while his own troops were out of battle order; and he posted his army near the village named Thracia, in a position excellently adapted to command the roads and the places from which and through which the soldiers of Mithridates must bring their supplies. Now, as he had in his own mind a clear comprehension of the issue, he did not conceal it from his men; but as soon as he had chosen his ground, and the men had finished the

entrenchments, he summoned them together, and confidently told them, that he would, in a few days, give them a victory which would cost no blood. Mithridates had hemmed in the Cyziceni with ten camps on the land side, and towards the sea with his ships, by blocking up the narrow channel which separates the city from the mainland, and thus he was besieging them on both sides. Though the citizens were disposed to resist the enemy boldly, and had determined to sustain all hardships for the sake of the Romans, they were troubled at not knowing where Lucullus was, and at having heard nothing of him. Yet the army of Lucullus was visible and in sight of the city; but the citizens were deceived by the soldiers of Mithridates, who pointed to the Romans in their entrenchments on the higher ground, and said, "Do you see them? That is the army of the Armenians and Medes, which Tigranes has sent to support Mithridates."

The Cyziceni were alarmed to see such a host of enemies around them, and they had no hopes that they could be released, even if Lucullus should come. However, Demonax, who was sent to them by Archelaus, was the first to inform them of Lucullus being there. While they were distrusting his intelligence, and thinking that he had merely invented this story to comfort them in their difficulties, there came a youth, who had been captured by the enemy and had made his escape. On their asking him where he supposed Lucullus to be, he laughed outright, for he thought they were making sport of him; but, seeing that they were in earnest, he pointed with his hand to the Roman camp, and the citizens again took courage. Now the lake Dascyliſtis is navigable for boats of a considerable

size, and Lucullus, drawing up the largest of them, and conveying it on a waggon to the sea-coast, put into it as many soldiers as it would hold. The soldiers crossed over by night unobserved, and got into the city.

10. It appears that the deity also admiring the bravery of the Cyziceni, encouraged them by other manifest signs, and especially by this: the festival called Persephassia was at hand, and as they had not a black cow to sacrifice, they made one of dough, and placed it at the altar. The cow which was intended to be the victim, and was fattening for the goddess, was pasturing like the other animals of the Cyziceni, on the opposite mainland; but on that day, leaving the rest of the herd by itself, it swam over the channel to the city and presented itself to be sacrificed. The goddess also appeared in a dream to Aristagoras, the town-clerk, and said: "For my part, I am come, and I bring the Libyan fifer against the Pontic trumpeter. Bid the citizens then be of good cheer." The Cyziceni were wondering at these words, when at daybreak the sea began to be disturbed by an unsteady, changing wind that descended upon it, and the engines of the king, which were placed near the walls,—admirable contrivances of Niconides the Thessalian,—by their creaking and rattling showed what was going to happen: then a south-west wind, bursting forth with incredible fury, broke to pieces the other engines in a very short time, and shook and threw down the wooden tower, which was a hundred cubits high. It is told that Athena appeared to many of the people in Ilium in their sleep, streaming with copious sweat, showing part of her peplus rent, and saying that she had just returned from helping the Cyziceni.



And the people of Ilium used to show a stele which contained certain decrees and an inscription about these matters.

11. Mithridates, so long as he was deceived by his generals and kept in ignorance of the famine in his army, was annoyed at the Cyziceni holding out against the blockade. But his ambition and his haughtiness quickly oozed away when he had discovered the straits in which his army was held, and that they were eating one another; for Lucullus was not carrying on the war in a theatrical way, nor with mere show; but, as the proverb says, was kicking against the belly, and contriving every means how he should cut off the food. Accordingly, while Lucullus was engaged in besieging a certain garrisoned post, Mithridates, seizing the opportunity, sent off into Bithynia nearly all his cavalry, with the beasts of burden, and all his superfluous infantry. Lucullus hearing of this, returned to his camp during the night, and early in the following morning, it being winter-time, getting ready ten cohorts and the cavalry, he followed the troops of Mithridates, though it was snowing, and his soldiers suffered so much that many of them gave in by reason of the cold, and were left behind: however, with the rest he came up with the enemy at the river Rhyndacus, and gave them such a defeat that the women came from the town of Apollonia and carried off the baggage and stripped the dead. Many fell in the battle, as might be supposed, but there were taken six thousand horses, with a countless number of baggage-beasts, and fifteen thousand men, all whom he led back past the camp of the enemy. I wonder at Sallustius saying that this was the first time that the Romans saw the camel; for he must have supposed

that the soldiers of Scipio, who some time before had defeated Antiochus and those who had also fought with Archelaus at Orchomenus and Chæronea, were unacquainted with the **●**mel. Now Mithridates had determined to fly as soon as he could : but, with the view of contriving something which should draw Lucullus in the other direction, and detain him in his rear, he sent his admiral, Aristonicus, to the Grecian sea, and Aristonicus was just on the point of setting sail when he was betrayed to Lucullus, who got him into his power, together with ten thousand pieces of gold which he was carrying to bribe a part of the Roman army with. Upon this Mithridates fled to the sea, and his generals led the land forces off. But Lucullus falling upon them at the river Granicus, took many prisoners, and slew twenty thousand of them. It is said that near three hundred thousand persons were destroyed out of the whole number of camp followers and fighting men.

12. Upon entering Cyzicus, Lucullus took his pleasure, and enjoyed a friendly reception suitably to the occasion ; he next visited the Hellespont, and got his navy equipped. Arriving at the Troad, he placed his tent within the sacred precincts of Aphrodite, and as he was sleeping there he thought that he saw the goddess in the night standing by him, saying :

“ Why slumber, lion of the mighty heart ?  
The fawns are near at hand.”

Waking from sleep, Lucullus called his friends and told them his dream, while it was still night ; and there came persons from Ilium, who reported that thirteen of the king's quinqueremes had been seen near the Achæan harbour, moving in the direction of Lemnos. Immediately setting sail, Lucullus

captured these vessels and killed their commander, Isidorus, and he then advanced against the other captains. Now, as they happened to be at anchor, they drew all their vessels together up to the land, and, fighting from the decks, dealt blows on the men of Lucullus ; for the ground rendered it impossible to sail round to the enemy's rear, and, as the ships of Lucullus were afloat, they could make no attack on those of the enemy, which were planted close to the land and securely situated. However, with some difficulty, Lucullus landed the bravest of his soldiers in a part of the island which was accessible, who, falling on the rear of the enemy, killed some and compelled the rest to cut their cables and make their escape from the land, and so to drive their vessels foul of one another, and to be exposed to the blows of the vessels of Lucullus. Many of the enemy perished ; but among the captives there was Marius, he who was sent from Sertorius. Marius had only one eye, and the soldiers had received orders from Lucullus, as they were setting out on the expedition, to kill no one-eyed man ; for Lucullus designed to make Marius die a shameful and dishonourable death.

13. As soon as he had accomplished this, Lucullus hastened in pursuit of Mithridates : for he expected still to find him about Bithynia, and watched by Voconius, whom he had sent with ships to Nicomedia to follow up the pursuit. But Voconius lingered in Samothracia, where he was getting initiated into mysteries and celebrating festivals. Mithridates, who had set sail with his armament, and was in a hurry to reach Pontus before Lucullus returned, was overtaken by a violent storm, by which some of his ships were shattered and others

were sunk ; and all the coast for many days was filled with the wrecks that were cast up by the waves. The merchant vessel in which Mithridates was embarked could not easily be brought to land by those who had the management of it, by reason of its magnitude, in the agitated state of the water and the great swell, and it was already too heavy to hold out against the sea, and was waterlogged ; accordingly the king got out of the vessel into a piratical ship, and, intrusting his person to pirates, contrary to expectation and after great hazard, he arrived at Heraclea in Pontus. Now it happened that the proud boast of Lucullus to the Senate brought on him no divine retribution. The Senate was voting a sum of three thousand talents to equip a navy for the war, but Lucullus stopped the measure by sending a letter, couched in vaunting terms, in which he said, that without cost and so much preparation, he would with the ships of the allies drive Mithridates from the sea. And he did this with the aid of the deity ; for it is said that it was owing to the anger of Artemis Priapine that the storm fell on the Pontic soldiers, who had plundered her temple and carried off the wooden statue.

14. Though many advised Lucullus to suspend the war, he paid no heed to them ; but, passing through Bithynia and Galatia, he invaded the country of the king. At first he wanted provisions, so that thirty thousand Galatians followed him, each carrying on his shoulders a medimnus of wheat ; but as he advanced and reduced all into his power, he got into such abundance of every thing that an ox was sold in the camp for a drachma, and a slave for four drachmæ ; and, as to the rest of the booty, it was valued so little that some left it behind, and others

destroyed it; for there were no means of disposing of anything to anybody when all had abundance. The Roman army had advanced with their cavalry and carried their incursions as far as Themiseyra and the plains on the Thermodon, without doing more than wasting and ravaging the country, when the men began to blame Lucullus for peaceably gaining over all the cities, and they complained that he had not taken a single city by storm, nor given them an opportunity of enriching themselves by plunder. "Nay, even now," they said, "we are quitting Amisus, a prosperous and wealthy city, which it would be no great matter to take, if any one would press the siege, and the general is leading us to fight with Mithridates in the wilds of the Tibareni and Chaldæans." Now, if Lucullus had supposed that these notions would have led the soldiers to such madness as they afterwards shewed, he would not have overlooked or neglected these matters, nor have apologised instead to those men who were blaming his tardiness for thus lingering in the neighbourhood of insignificant villages for a long time, and allowing Mithridates to increase his strength. "This is the very thing," he said, "that I wish, and I am sitting here with the design of allowing the man again to become powerful, and to get together a sufficient force to meet us, that he may stay, and not fly from us when we advance. Do you not see that a huge and boundless wilderness is in his rear, and the Caucasus is near, and many mountains which are full of deep valleys, sufficient to hide ten thousand kings who decline a battle, and to protect them? and it is only a few days' march from Cabira into Armenia, and above the plains of Armenia Tigranes the King of Kings has his residence, with a force which enables

him to cut the Parthian off from Asia, and he removes the inhabitants of the Greek cities up into Media, and he is master of Syria and Palestine, and the kings, the descendants of Seleucus, he puts to death, and carries off their daughters and wives captives. Tigranes is the kinsman and son-in-law of Mithridates. Indeed he will not quietly submit to receive Mithridates as a suppliant: but he will war against us, and, if we strive to eject Mithridates from his kingdom, we shall run the risk of drawing upon us Tigranes, who has long been seeking for a pretext against us, and he could not have a more specious pretext than to be compelled to aid a man who is his kinsman and a king. Why, then, should we bring this about, and show Mithridates, who does not know it, with whose aid he ought to carry on the war against us? and why should we drive him against his wish, and ingloriously, into the arms of Tigranes, instead of giving him time to collect a force out of his own resources and to recover his courage, and so fight with the Colchi, and Tibareni, and Cappadocians, whom we have often defeated, rather than fight with the Medes and Armenians?"

15. Upon such considerations as these, Lucullus protracted the time before Amisus without pushing the siege; and, when the winter was over, leaving Murena to blockade the city, he advanced against Mithridates, who was posted at Cabira, and intending to oppose the Romans, as he had got together a force of forty thousand infantry, and four thousand horse on whom he relied most. Crossing the river Lycus into the plain, Mithridates offered the Romans battle. A contest between the cavalry ensued, in which the Romans fled, and Pomponius, a man of some note, being wounded, was taken prisoner, and

brought to Mithridates while he was suffering from his wounds. The king asked him if he would become his friend if his life were spared, to which Pomponius replied, "Yes, if you come to terms with the Romans; if not, I shall be your enemy." Mithridates admired the answer, and did him no harm. Now Lucullus was afraid to keep the plain country, as the enemy were masters of it with their cavalry, and he was unwilling to advance into the hilly region, which was of great extent, and wooded and difficult of access; but it happened that some Greeks were taken prisoners, who had fled into a cave, and the eldest of them, Artemidorus, promised Lucullus to be his guide, and to put him in a position which would be secure for his army, and also contained a fort that commanded Cabira. Lucullus trusting the man, set out at nightfall after lighting numerous fires, and getting through the defiles in safety, he gained possession of the position; and, when the day dawned, he was seen above the enemy posting his soldiers in a place which gave him the opportunity of making an attack if he chose to fight, and secured him against any assault if he chose to remain quiet. At present neither general had any intention of hazarding a battle; but, it is said, that while some of the king's men were pursuing a deer, the Romans met them and attempted to cut off their retreat, and this led to a skirmish, in which fresh men kept continually coming up on both sides. At last the king's men had the better, and the Romans, who from the ramparts saw their comrades flying, were in a rage, and crowded about Lucullus praying him to lead them on, and calling for the signal for battle. But Lucullus, wishing

them to learn the value of the presence and sight of a prudent general in a struggle with an enemy and in the midst of danger, told them to keep quiet ; and, going down into the plain and meeting the first of the fugitives, he ordered them to stand, and to turn round and face the enemy with him. The men obeyed, and the rest also facing about and forming in order of battle, easily put the enemy to flight, and pursued them to their camp. Lucullus, after retiring to his position, imposed on the fugitives the usual mark of disgrace, by ordering them to dig a trench of twelve feet in their loose jackets, while the rest of the soldiers were standing by and looking on.

16. Now there was in the army of Mithridates a prince of the Dandarii, named Olthacus (the Dandarii are one of the tribes of barbarians that live about the Mæotis), a man distinguished in all military matters where strength and daring are required, and also in ability equal to the best, and moreover a man who knew how to ingratiate himself with persons, and of insinuating address. Olthacus, who was always engaged in a kind of rivalry for distinction with one of the princes of the kindred tribes, and was jealous of him, undertook a great exploit for Mithridates, which was to kill Lucullus. The king approved of his design, and purposely showed him some indignities, at which, pretending to be in a rage, Olthacus rode off to Lucullus who gladly received him, for there was a great report of him in the Roman army ; and Lucullus, after some acquaintance with him, was soon pleased with his acuteness and his zeal, and at last admitted him to his table and made him a member of his council. Now when the Dandarian thought that he had a fit



opportunity, he ordered the slaves to take his horse without the ramparts, and, as it was noontide and the soldiers were lying in the open air and taking their rest, he went to the general's tent, expecting that nobody would prevent him from entering, as he was on terms of intimacy with Lucullus, and said that he was the bearer of some important news. And he would have entered the tent without any suspicion, if sleep, that has been the cause of the death of many generals, had not saved Lucullus; for he happened to be asleep, and Menedemus, one of his chamber-attendants, who was standing by the door, said that Olthacus had not come at a fit time, for Lucullus had just gone to rest himself after long wakefulness and many toils. As Olthacus did not go away when he was told, but said that he would go in, even should Menedemus attempt to prevent him, because he wished to communicate with Lucullus about a matter of urgency and importance, Menedemus began to get in a passion, and, saying that nothing was more urgent than the health of Lucullus, he shoved the man away with both his hands. Olthacus being alarmed stole out of the camp, and, mounting his horse, rode off to the army of Mithridates, without effecting his purpose. Thus, it appears, it is with actions just as it is with medicines,—time and circumstance give to the scales that slight turn, which saves alive as well as that which kills.

17. After this Sornatius with ten cohorts was sent to get supplies of corn. Being pursued by Menander, one of the generals of Mithridates, Sornatius faced about and engaged the enemy, of whom he killed great numbers and put the rest to flight. Again, upon Adrianus being sent with a

force for the purpose of getting an abundant supply of corn for the army, Mithridates did not neglect the opportunity, but sent Menemachus and Myron at the head of a large body of cavalry and infantry. All this force, as it is said, was cut to pieces by the Romans, with the exception of two men. Mithridates concealed the loss, and pretended it was not so great as it really was, but a trifling loss owing to the unskilfulness of the commanders. However Adrianus triumphantly passed by the camp of the enemy with many waggons loaded with corn and booty, which dispirited Mithridates, and caused irremediable confusion and alarm among his soldiers. Accordingly it was resolved not to stay there any longer; but, while the king's servants were quietly sending away their own property first, and endeavouring to hinder the rest, the soldiers growing infuriated, pushed towards the passages that led out of the camp, and, attacking the king's servants, began to seize the luggage and massacre the men. In this confusion Dorylaus the general, who had nothing else about him but his purple dress, lost his life by reason of it, and Hermæus, the sacrificing priest, was trampled to death at the gates. The king himself, without attendant or groom to accompany him, fled from the camp mingled with the rest, and was not able to get even one of the royal horses, till at last the eunuch Ptolemæus, who was mounted, spied him as he was hurried along in the stream of fugitives, and leaping down from his horse gave it to the king. The Romans, who were following in pursuit, were now close upon the king, and so far as it was a matter of speed they were under no difficulty about taking him, and

they came very near it ; but greediness and mercenary motives snatched from the Romans the prey which they had so long followed up in many battles and great dangers, and robbed Lucullus of the crowning triumph to his victory ; for the horse which was carrying Mithridates was just within reach of his pursuers, when it happened that one of the mules which was conveying the king's gold either fell into the hands of the enemy accidentally, or was purposely thrown in their way by the king's orders, and while the soldiers were plundering it and getting together the gold, and fighting with one another, they were left behind. And this was not the only loss that Lucullus sustained from their greediness : he had given his men orders to bring to him Callistratus, who had the charge of all the king's secrets ; but those who were taking him to Lucullus, finding that he had five hundred gold pieces in his girdle, put him to death. However, Lucullus allowed his men to plunder the camp.

18. After taking Cabira and most of the other forts Lucullus found in them great treasures, and also places of confinement, in which many Greeks and many kinsmen of the king were shut up ; and, as they had long considered themselves as dead, they were indebted to the kindness of Lucullus, not for their rescue, but for restoration to life and a kind of second birth. A sister also of Mithridates, Nyssa, was captured, and so saved her life ; but the women who were supposed to be the farthest from danger, and to be securely lodged at Pher-nacia, the sisters and wives of Mithridates, came to a sad end, pursuant to the order of Mithridates, which he sent Bacchides, a eunuch, to execute, when he was compelled to take to flight. Among

many other women there were two sisters of the king, Roxana and Statira, each about forty years of age and unmarried; and two of his wives, Ionian women, one of them named Berenice from Chios, and the other Monime a Milesian. Monime was much talked of among the Greeks, and there was a story to this effect, that though the king tempted her with an offer of fifteen thousand gold pieces, she held out until a marriage contract was made, and he sent her a diadem with the title of queen. Now Monime hitherto was very unhappy, and bewailed that beauty which had given her a master instead of a husband, and a set of barbarians to watch over her instead of marriage and a family; and she lamented that she was removed from her native country, enjoying her anticipated happiness only in imagination, while she was deprived of all those real pleasures which she might have had at home. When Bacchides arrived, and told the women to die in such manner as they might judge easiest and least painful, Monime pulled the diadem from her head, and, fastening it round her neck, hung herself. As the diadem soon broke, "Cursed rag!" she exclaimed, "you won't even do me this service;" and, spitting on it, she tossed it from her, and presented her throat to Bacchides. Berenice took a cup of poison, and gave a part of it to her mother, who was present, at her own request. Together they drank it up; and the strength of the poison was sufficient for the weaker of the two, but it did not carry off Berenice, who had not drunk enough, and, as she was long in dying, she was strangled with the assistance of Bacchides. Of the two unmarried sisters of Mithridates, it is said, that one of them, after uttering many imprecations on her brother and

much abuse, drank up the poison. Statira did not utter a word of complaint, or anything unworthy of her noble birth; but she commended her brother for that he had not neglected them at a time when his own life was in danger, and had provided that they should die free and be secure against insult. All this gave pain to Lucullus, who was naturally of a mild and humane temper.

19. Lucullus advanced as far as Talaurea, whence four days before Mithridates had fled into Armenia to Tigranes. From Talaurea Lucullus took a different direction, and after subduing the Chahlaei and Tibareni, and taking possession of the Less Armenia, and reducing forts and cities, he sent Appianus to Tigranes to demand Mithridates; but he went himself to Amisus, which was still holding out against the siege. This was owing to Callimachus the commander, who, by his skill in mechanical contrivances, and his ingenuity in devising every resource which is available in a siege, gave the Romans great annoyance, for which he afterwards paid the penalty. Now, however, he was out-generalled by Lucullus, who, by making a sudden attack, just at that time of the day when he was used to lead his soldiers off and to give them rest, got possession of a small part of the wall, upon which Callimachus quitted the city, having first set fire to it, either because he was unwilling that the Romans should get any advantage from their conquest, or with the view of facilitating his own escape. For no one paid any attention to those who were sailing out; but when the flame had sprung up with violence, and got hold of the walls, the soldiers were making ready to plunder. Lucullus, lamenting the danger in which the city was

of being destroyed, attempted from the outside to help the citizens against the fire, and ordered it to be put out; yet nobody attended to him, and the soldiers called out for booty, and shouted, and struck their armour, till at last Lucullus was compelled to let them have their way, expecting that he should thus save the city at least from the fire. But the soldiers did just the contrary; for, as they rummaged every place by the aid of torches, and carried about lights in all directions, they destroyed most of the houses themselves, so that Lucullus, who entered the city at daybreak, said to his friends with tears in his eyes, that he had often considered Sulla a fortunate man, but on this day of all others he admired the man's good fortune, in that when he chose to save Athens he had also the power; "but upon me," he said, "who have been emulous to imitate his example, the dæmon has instead brought the reputation of Mummius." However, as far as present circumstances allowed, he endeavoured to restore the city. The fire indeed was quenched by the rains that chanced to fall, as the Deity would have it, at the time of the capture, and the greatest part of what had been destroyed Lucullus rebuilt while he stayed at Amisus; and he received into the city such of the Amisenes as had fled, and settled there any other Greeks who were willing to settle, and added to the limits of the territory a tract of one hundred and twenty stadia. Amisus was a colony of the Athenians, planted, as one might suppose, at that period in which their power was at its height and had the command of the sea. And this was the reason why many who wished to escape from the tyranny of Aristion sailed to the Euxine and settled at

Amisus, where they became citizens; but it happened that by flying from misfortune at home they came in for a share of the misfortunes of others. Lucullus however clothed all of them who survived the capture of the city, and, after giving each two hundred drachmæ besides, he sent them back to their home. On this occasion, Tyrannio the grammarian was taken prisoner. Murena asked him for himself, and on getting Tyrannio set him free, wherein he made an illiberal use of the favour that he had received; for Lucullus did not think it fitting that a man who was esteemed for his learning should be made a slave first and then a freedman; for the giving him an apparent freedom was equivalent to the depriving him of his real freedom. But it was not in this instance only that Murena showed himself far inferior to his general in honourable feeling and conduct.

20. Lucullus now turned to the cities of Asia, in order that while he had leisure from military operations he might pay some attention to justice and the law, which the province had now felt the want of for a long time, and the people had endured unspeakable and incredible calamities, being plundered and reduced to slavery by the Publicani and the money-lenders, so that individuals were compelled to sell their handsome sons and virgin daughters; and the cities to sell their sacred offerings, pictures, and statues. The lot of the citizens was at last to be condemned to slavery themselves, but the sufferings which preceded were still worse—the fixing of ropes and barriers, and horses, and standing under the open sky, during the heat in the sun, and during the cold when they were forced into the mud or the ice; so that slavery was considered a relief from

the burden of debt, and a blessing. Such evils as these Lucullus discovered in the cities, and in a short time he relieved the sufferers from all of them. In the first place, he declared that the rate of interest should be reckoned at the hundredth part, and no more; in the second, he cut off all the interest which exceeded the capital; thirdly, what was most important of all, he declared that the lender should receive the fourth part of the income of the debtor; but any lender who had tacked the interest to the principal was deprived of the whole: thus, in less than four years all the debts were paid, and their property was given back to them free from all encumbrance. Now the common debt originated in the twenty thousand talents which Sulla had laid on Asia as a contribution, and twice this amount was repaid to the lenders, though they had indeed now brought the debt up to the amount of one hundred and twenty thousand talents by means of the interest. The lenders, however, considered themselves very ill used, and they raised a great outcry against Lucullus at Rome, and they endeavoured to bribe some of the demagogues to attack him; for the lenders had great influence, and had among their debtors many of the men who were engaged in public life. But Lucullus gained the affection of the cities which had been favoured by him, and the other provinces also longed to see such a man over them, and felicitated those who had the good luck to have such a governor.

21. Appius Clodius, who was sent to Tigranes (now Clodius was the brother of the then wife of Lucullus), was at first conducted by the king's guides through the upper part of the country, by a route unnecessarily circuitous and roundabout, and



one that required many days' journeying; but, as soon as the straight road was indicated to him by a freedman, a Syrian by nation, he quitted that tedious and tricky road, and, bidding his barbarian guides farewell, he crossed the Euphrates in a few days, and arrived at Antiocheia, near Daphne. There he waited for Tigranes, pursuant to the king's orders (for Tigranes was absent, and still engaged in reducing some of the Phœnician cities), and in the mean time he gained over many of the princes who paid the Armenian a hollow obedience, among whom was Zarbienus, King of Gordyene, and he promised aid from Lucullus to many of the enslaved cities, which secretly sent to him, bidding them, however, keep quiet for the present. Now the rule of the Armenians was not tolerable to the Greeks, but was harsh; and, what was worse, the king's temper had become violent and exceedingly haughty in his great prosperity; for he had not only every thing about him which the many covet and admire, but he seemed to think that everything was made for him. Beginning with expectations which were slight and contemptible, he had subdued many nations, and humbled the power of the Parthians as no man before him had done; and he filled Mesopotamia with Greeks, many from Cilicia and many from Cappadocia, whom he removed and settled. He also removed from their abodes the Scenite Arabians, and settled them near him, that he might with their aid have the benefit of commerce. Many were the kings who were in attendance on him; but there were four who were always about him, like attendants or guards, and when he mounted his horse they ran by his side in jackets; and when he was seated and transacting business, they stood by

with their hands clasped together, which was considered to be of all attitudes the most expressive of servitude, as if they had sold their freedom, and were presenting their bodies to their master, in a posture indicating readiness to suffer rather than to act. Appius, however, was not alarmed or startled at the tragedy show; but, as soon as he had an opportunity of addressing the king, he told him plainly that he was come to take back Mithridates, as one who belonged to the triumphs of Lucullus, or to denounce war against Tigranes. Though the king made an effort to preserve a tranquil mien, and affected a smile while he was listening to the address, he could not conceal from the bystanders that he was disconcerted by the bold speech of the youth, he who had not for near five-and-twenty years heard the voice of a free man; for so many years had he been king, or rather tyrant. However, he replied to Appius that he would not give up Mithridates, and that he would resist the Romans if they attacked him. He was angry with Lucullus because he addressed him in his letter by the title of King only, and not King of Kings, and, accordingly in his reply, Tigranes did not address Lucullus by the title of Emperor. But he sent splendid presents to Appius, and when they were refused he sent still more. Appius, not wishing to appear to reject the king's presents from any hostile feeling, selected from among them a goblet, and sent the rest back; and then with all speed set off to join the Emperor.

22. Now, up to this time, Tigranes had not deigned to see Mithridates, nor to speak to him, though Mithridates was allied to him by marriage, and had been ejected from so great a kingdom; but,

in a degrading and insulting manner, he had allowed Mithridates to be far removed from him, and, in a manner, kept a prisoner in his abode, which was a marshy and unhealthy place. However he now sent for him with demonstrations of respect and friendship. In a secret conference which took place in the palace, they endeavoured to allay their mutual suspicions, by turning the blame on their friends, to their ruin. One of them was Metrodorus of Scepsis, an agreeable speaker, and a man of great acquirements, who enjoyed so high a degree of favour with Mithridates that he got the name of the king's father. Metrodorus, as it seems, had once been sent on an embassy from Mithridates to Tigranes, to pray for aid against the Romans, on which occasion Tigranes asked him, "But you, Metrodorus, what do you advise me in this matter?" Metrodorus, either consulting the interests of Tigranes, or not wishing Mithridates to be maintained in his kingdom, replied, that, as ambassador, he requested him to send aid, but, in the capacity of adviser, he told him not to send any. Tigranes reported this to Mithridates, to whom he gave the information not expecting that he would inflict any extreme punishment on Metrodorus. But Metrodorus was forthwith put to death, and Tigranes was sorry for what he had done, though he was not altogether the cause of the misfortune of Metrodorus : indeed what he had said merely served to turn the balance in the dislike of Mithridates towards Metrodorus ; for Mithridates had for a long time disliked Metrodorus, and this was discovered from his private papers, that fell into the hands of the Romans, in which there were orders to put Metrodorus to death. Now, Tigranes interred the body with great pomp, sparing

no expense on the man, when dead, whom he had betrayed when living. Amphicrates the rhetorician also lost his life at the court of Tigranes, if he too deserves mention for the sake of Athens. It is said that he fled to Seleuceia, on the Tigris, and that when the citizens there asked him to give lectures on his art, he treated them with contempt, saying, in an arrogant way, that a dish would not hold a dolphin. Removing himself from Seleuceia, he betook himself to Cleopatra, who was the daughter of Mithridates, and the wife of Tigranes ; but he soon fell under suspicion, and, being excluded from all communion with Greeks, he starved himself to death. Amphicrates also received an honourable interment from Cleopatra, and his body lies at Sapha, a place in those parts so called.

23. After conferring on Asia the fulness of good administration and of peace, Lucullus did not neglect such things as would gratify the people and gain their favour ; but during his stay at Ephesus he gained popularity in the Asiatic cities by processions and public festivals in commemoration of his victories, and by contests of athletes and gladiators. The cities on their side made a return by celebrating festivals, called after the name of Lucullus, to do honour to the man ; and they manifested towards him what is more pleasing than demonstrations of respect, real affection. Now, when Appius had returned, and it appeared that there was to be war with Tigranes, Lucullus again advanced into Pontus, and, getting his troops together, he besieged Sinope, or rather the Cilicians of the king's party, who were in possession of the city ; but the Cilicians made their escape by night, after massacring many of the Sinopians, and firing the city. Lucullus,

who saw what was going on, made his way into the city, and slaughtered eight thousand of the Cilicians, who were left there ; but he restored to the rest of the inhabitants their property, and provided for the interests of Sinope, mainly by reason of a vision of this sort : he dreamed that a man stood by him in his sleep, and said, “ Advance a little, Lucullus ; for Autolyceus is come, and wishes to meet with you.” On waking, Lucullus could not conjecture what was the meaning of the vision ; but he took the city on that day, and, while pursuing the Cilicians, who were escaping in their ships, he saw a statue lying on the beach, which the Cilicians had not had time to put on board ; and the statue was the work of Sthenis, one of his good performances. Now, somebody told Lucullus that it was the statue of Autolyceus, the founder of Sinope. Autolyceus is said to have been one of those who joined Hercules from Thessalia, in his expedition against the Amazons, and a son of Deimachus. In his voyage home, in company with Demoleon and Phlogius, he lost his ship, which was wrecked at the place called Pedafium, in the Chersonesus ; but he escaped with his arms and companions to Sinope, which he took from the Syrians : for Sinope was in possession of the Syrians, who were descended from Syrus, the son of Apollo, according to the story, and Sinope, the daughter of Asopus. On hearing this, Lucullus called to mind the advice of Sulla, who in his ‘ Memoirs’ advised to consider nothing so trustworthy and safe as that which is signified in dreams. Lucullus was now apprised that Mithridates and Tigranes were on the point of entering Lycaonia and Cilicia, with the intention of anticipating hostilities by an invasion of Asia, and he was surprised that the Armenian,

if he really intended to attack the Romans, did not avail himself of the aid of Mithridates in the war when he was at the height of his power, nor join his forces to those of Mithridates when he was strong, but allowed him to be undone and crushed; and now began a war that offered only cold hopes, and thus threw himself on the ground to join those who were already there, and unable to rise.

24. Now, when Machares also, the son of Mithridates, who held the Bosphorus, sent to Lucullus a crown worth one thousand gold pieces, and prayed to be acknowledged a friend and ally of the Romans, Lucullus, considering that the former war was at an end, left Sornatius in those parts to watch over the affairs of Pontus with six thousand soldiers. He set out himself with twelve thousand foot soldiers, and not quite three thousand horse, to commence a second campaign, wherein he seemed to be making a hazardous move, and one not resting on any safe calculation; for he was going to throw himself among warlike nations and many thousands of horsemen, and to enter a boundless tract, surrounded by deep rivers and by mountains covered with perpetual snow; so that his soldiers, who were generally not very obedient to discipline, followed unwillingly and made opposition: and at Rome the popular leaders raised a cry against him, and accused him of seeking one war after another, though the State required no wars, that he might never lay down his arms so long as he had the command, and never stop making his private profit out of the public danger; and in course of time the demagogues at Rome accomplished their purpose. Lucullus, advancing by hard marches to the Euphrates, found the stream swollen and muddy owing to the winter

season; and he was vexed on considering that it would cause loss of time and some trouble if he had to get together boats to take his army across and to build rafts. However, in the evening the water began to subside, and it went on falling all through the night, and at daybreak the bed of the river was empty. The natives observing that some small islands in the river had become visible, and that the stream near them was still, made their obeisance to Lucullus; for this had very seldom happened before, and they considered it a token that the river had purposely made itself tame and gentle for Lucullus, and was offering him an easy and ready passage. Accordingly, Lucullus took advantage of the opportunity, and carried his troops over; and a favourable sign accompanied the passage of the army. Cows feed in that neighbourhood, which are sacred to Persia Artemis, a deity whom the barbarians on the further side of the Euphrates venerate above all others; they use the cows only for sacrifice, which at other times ramble at liberty about the country, with a brand upon them, in the form of the torch of the goddess, and it is not very easy, nor without much trouble, that they can catch the cows when they want them. After the army had crossed the Euphrates one of these cows came to a rock, which is considered sacred to the goddess, and stood upon it, and there laying down its head, just as a cow does when it is held down tight by a rope, it offered itself to Lucullus to be sacrificed. Lucullus also sacrificed a bull to the Euphrates, as an acknowledgment for his passage over the river. He encamped there for that day, and on the next and the following days he advanced through Sophene without doing any harm to the people, who joined him

and gladly received the soldiers; and when the soldiers were expressing a wish to take possession of a fortress, which was supposed to contain much wealth, "That is the fortress," said Lucullus, "which we must take first," pointing to the Taurus in the distance; "but this is reserved for the victors." He now continued his route by hard marches, and, crossing the Tigris, entered Armenia.

25. Now, as the first person who reported to Tigranes that Lucullus was in the country got nothing for his pains, but had his head cut off, nobody else would tell him, and Tigranes was sitting in ignorance while the fires of war were burning around him, and listening to flattering words, That Lucullus would be a great general if he should venture to stand against Tigranes at Ephesus, and should not flee forthwith from Asia, at the sight of so many tens of thousands. So true it is, that it is not every man who can bear much wine, nor is it any ordinary understanding that in great prosperity does not lose all sound judgment. The first of his friends who ventured to tell him the truth was Mithrobarzanes; and he, too, got no great reward for his boldness in speaking; for he was sent forthwith against Lucullus, with three thousand horsemen and a very large body of infantry, with orders to bring the general alive, and to trample down his men. Now, part of the army of Lucullus was preparing to halt, and the rest was still advancing. When the scouts reported that the barbarian was coming upon them, Lucullus was afraid that the enemy would fall upon his troops while they were divided and not in battle order, and so put them into confusion. Lucullus himself set to work to superintend the encampment, and he sent Sextilius, one of his legati, with sixteen hundred



horsemen, and hoplitæ and light-armed troops, a few more in number, with orders to approach close to the enemy, and wait till he should hear that the soldiers who were with him had made their encampment. Sextilius wished to follow his orders; but he was compelled to engage by Mithrobarzanes, who was confidently advancing against him. A battle ensued, in which Mithrobarzanes fell fighting; and the rest, taking to flight, were all cut to pieces with the exception of a few. Upon this Tigranes left Tigranocerta, a large city which he had founded, and retreated to the Taurus, and there began to get together his forces from all parts: but Lucullus allowing him no time for preparation, sent Murena to harass and cut off those who were collecting to join Tigranes, and Sextilius on the other side to check a large body of Arabs, who were approaching to the king. It happened just at the same time that Sextilius fell on the Arabs as they were encamping, and killed most of them, and Murena, following Tigranes, took the opportunity of attacking him as he was passing through a rough and narrow defile with his army in a long line. Tigranes fled, and left behind him all his baggage; and many of the Armenians were killed, and still more taken prisoners.

26. After this success Lucullus broke up his camp and marched against Tigranocerta, which he surrounded with his lines, and began to besiege. There were in the city many Greeks, a part of those who had been removed from Cilicia, and many barbarians who had fared the same way with the Greeks, Adiabeni and Assyrians, and Gordyeni and Cappadocians, whose native cities Tigranes had digged down, and had removed the inhabitants and settled them there. The city was also filled with wealth

and sacred offerings; for every private individual and prince, in order to please the king, contributed to the increase and ornament of the city. For this reason Lucullus pressed the siege, thinking that Tigranes would not endure this, but, even contrary to his judgment, would come down in passion and fight a battle; and he was not mistaken. Now, Mithridates, both by messengers and letters, strongly advised Tigranes not to fight a battle, but to cut off the enemy's supplies by means of his cavalry; and Taxiles also, who had come from Mithridates to join Tigranes, earnestly entreated the king to keep on the defensive, and to avoid the arms of the Romans, as being invincible. Tigranes at first readily listened to this advice; but when the Armenians and Gordyeni had joined him with all their forces, and the kings were come, bringing with them all the power of the Medes and Adiabeni, and many Arabs had arrived from the sea that borders on Babylonia, and many Albanians from the Caspian, and Iberians, who are neighbours of the Albanians; and not a few of the tribes about the Araxes, who are not governed by kings, had come to join him, induced by solicitation and presents, and the banquets of the king were filled with hopes and confidence and barbaric threats, and his councils also,—Taxiles narrowly escaped death for opposing the design of fighting, and it was believed that Mithridates wished to divert Tigranes from obtaining a great victory, merely from envy. Accordingly, Tigranes would not even wait for Mithridates, for fear he should share in the glory; but he advanced with all his force, and greatly complained to his friends, it is said, that he would have to encounter Lucullus alone, and not all the Roman generals at once. And his confidence was not

altogether madness nor without good grounds, when he looked upon so many nations and kings following him, and bodies of *hoplitæ*, and tens of thousands of horsemen; for he was at the head of twenty thousand bowmen and slingers and fifty-five thousand horsemen, of whom seventeen thousand were clothed in armour of mail, as Lucullus said in his letter to the senate; and one hundred and fifty thousand *hoplitæ*, some of whom were drawn up in cohorts and others in phalanx; and of road-makers, bridge-makers, clearers of rivers, timber-cutters, and labourers for other necessary purposes, there were thirty-five thousand, who, being placed behind the fighting men, added to the imposing appearance and the strength of the army.

27. When Tigranes had crossed the Taurus, and, showing himself with all his forces, looked down on the Roman army, which was encamped before Tigranocerta, the barbarians in the city hailed his appearance with shouts and clapping of hands, and from their walls with threats pointed to the Armenians. As Lucullus was considering about the battle, some advised him to give up the siege, and march against Tigranes; others urged him not to leave so many enemies in his rear, nor to give up the siege. Lucullus replied, that singly they did not advise well, but that taken both together the counsel was good; on which he divided his army. He left Murena with six thousand foot to maintain the siege; and himself taking twenty-four cohorts, among which there were not above ten thousand *hoplitæ*, with all his cavalry and slingers and bowmen, to the number of about one thousand, advanced against the enemy. Lucullus, encamping in a large plain by the bank of the river,

appeared contemptible to Tigranes, and furnished matter for amusement to the king's flatterers. Some scoffed at him, and others, by way of amusement, cast lots for the spoil, and all the generals and kings severally applied to the king, and begged the matter might be intrusted to each of them singly, and that Tigranes would sit still as a spectator. Tigranes also attempted to be witty, and, in a scoffing manner, he uttered the well-known saying, "If they have come as ambassadors, there are too many of them; if as soldiers, too few." Thus they amused themselves with sarcastic sayings and jokes. At day-break Lucullus led out his troops under arms. Now the barbarian army was on the east side of the river; but, as the river makes a bend towards the west, at a part where it was easiest to ford, Lucullus led his troops out, and hurried in that direction, which led Tigranes to think that he was retreating; and calling Taxiles to him, he said, with a laugh, "Don't you see that these invincible Roman warriors are flying?" Taxiles replied: "I should be pleased, O king, at any strange thing happening which should be lucky to you; but the Roman soldiers do not put on their splendid attire when they are on a march; nor have they then their shields cleaned, and their helmets bare, as they now have, by reason of having taken off the leathern coverings; but this brightness of their armour is a sign they are going to fight, and are now marching against their enemies." While Taxiles was still speaking the first eagle came in sight; for Lucullus had now faced about, and the cohorts were seen taking their position in manipuli for the purpose of crossing the river: on which Tigranes, as if he were hardly recovering from a drunken bout, called out two or three times,

“What, are they coming against us?” and so, with much confusion, the enemy’s soldiers set about getting into order, the king taking his position in the centre, and giving the left wing to the King of the Adiabeni, and the right to the Mede, on which wing also were the greater part of the soldiers, clad in mail, occupying the first ranks. As Lucullus was going to cross the river, some of the officers bade him beware of the day, which was one of the unlucky days which the Romans call black days; for on that day Cæpio and his army were destroyed in a battle with the Cimbri. Lucullus replied in these memorable words: “Well, I will make it a lucky day for the Romans.” The day was the sixth of October.

28. Saying this, and bidding his men be of good cheer, Lucullus began to cross the river, and advanced against the enemy at the head of his soldiers, with a breastplate of glittering scaly steel, and a cloak with a fringed border, and he just let it be seen that his sword was already bare, thereby indicating that they must forthwith come to close quarters with the enemy, who fought with missiles, and by the rapidity of the attack cut off the intervening space, within which the barbarians could use their bows. Observing that the mailed cavalry, which had a great reputation, were stationed under an eminence, crowned by a broad level space, and that the approach to it was only a distance of four stadia, and neither difficult nor rough, he ordered the Thracian cavalry and the Gauls, who were in the army, to fall on them in the flank, and to beat aside their long spears with their swords. Now the mailed horsemen rely solely on their long spears, and they can do nothing else, either in their own defence or against the enemy, owing to the weight and rigidity

of their armour, and they look like men who are walled up in it. Lucullus himself, with two cohorts, pushed on vigorously to the hill, followed by his men, who were encouraged by seeing him in his armour, enduring all the fatigue on foot, and pressing forwards. On reaching the summit, Lucullus stood on a conspicuous spot, and called out aloud: "We have got the victory! fellow soldiers, we have got the victory!" With these words he led his men against the mailed horsemen, and ordered them not to use their javelins yet, but every man to hold them in both hands, and to thrust against the enemy's legs and thighs, which are the only parts of these mailed men that are bare. However, there was no occasion for this mode of fighting; for the enemy did not stand the attack of the Romans, but, setting up a shout and flying most disgracefully, they threw themselves and their horses, with all their weight, upon their own infantry, before the infantry had begun the battle, so that so many tens of thousands were defeated before a wound was felt or blood was drawn. Now the great slaughter began when the army turned to flight, or rather attempted to fly, for they could not really fly, owing to the closeness and depth of their ranks, which made them in the way of one another. Tigranes, riding off at the front, fled with a few attendants, and, seeing that his son was a partner in his misfortune, he took off the diadem from his head, and, with tears, presented it to him, at the same time telling him to save himself, as he best could, by taking some other direction. The youth would not venture to put the diadem on his head, but gave it to the most faithful of his slaves to keep. This slave, happening to be taken,

was carried to Lucullus, and thus the diadem of Tigranes, with other booty, fell into the hands of the Romans. It is said that above one hundred thousand of the infantry perished, and very few of the cavalry escaped. On the side of the Romans, a hundred were wounded, and five killed. Antiochus the philosopher, who mentions this battle in his 'Treatise on the Gods,' says that the sun never saw a battle like it. Strabo, another philosopher, in his 'Historical Memoirs,' says that the Romans were ashamed, and laughed at one another, for requiring arms against such a set of slaves. And Livius observed, that the Romans never engaged with an enemy with such inferiority of numbers on their side, for the victors were hardly the twentieth part of the defeated enemy, but somewhat less. The most skilful of the Roman generals, and those who had most military experience, commended Lucullus chiefly for this, that he had out-generalled the two most distinguished and powerful kings by two most opposite manœuvres, speed and slowness; for he wore out Mithridates, at the height of his power, by time and protracting the war; but he crushed Tigranes by his activity: and he was one of the very few commanders who ever employed delay when he was engaged in active operations, and bold measures when his safety was at stake.

29. Mithridates made no haste to be present at the battle, because he supposed that Lucullus would carry on the campaign with his usual caution and delay; but he was advancing leisurely to join Tigranes. At first he fell in with a few Armenians on the road, who were retreating in great alarm and consternation, and he conjectured what had happened; but, as he soon heard of the defeat from a larger number whom he met, who had lost their

arms and were wounded, he set out to seek Tigranes. Though he found Tigranes destitute of everything, and humbled, Mithridates did not retaliate for his former haughty behaviour, but he got down from his horse, and lamented with Tigranes their common misfortunes ; he also gave Tigranes a royal train that was attending on him, and encouraged him to hope for the future. Accordingly the two kings began to collect fresh forces. Now, in the city of Tigranocerta the Greeks had fallen to quarrelling with the barbarians, and were preparing to surrender the place to Lucullus, on which he assaulted and took it. Lucullus appropriated to himself the treasures in the city, but he gave up the city to be plundered by the soldiers, which contained eight thousand talents of coined money, with other valuable booty. Besides this, Lucullus gave to each man eight hundred drachmæ out of the produce of the spoils. Hearing that many actors had been taken in the city, whom Tigranes had collected from all quarters, with the view of opening the theatre which he had constructed, Lucullus employed them for the games and shows in celebration of the victory. The Greeks he sent to their homes, and supplied them with means for the journey, and in like manner those barbarians who had been compelled to settle there ; the result of which was that the dissolution of one city was followed by the restoration of many others, which thus recovered their citizens, by whom Lucullus was beloved as a benefactor and a founder. Everything else also went on successfully and conformably to the merits of the general, who sought for the praise that is due to justice and humanity, and not the praise that follows success in war ; for the success in war was due in



no small degree, to the army and to fortune, but his justice and humanity proved that he had a mild and well-regulated temper ; and it was by these means that Lucullus now subdued the barbarians without resorting to arms ; for the kings of the Arabs came to him to surrender all that they had, and the Sopheni also came over to him. He also gained the affection of the Gordyeni so completely that they were ready to leave their cities, and to follow him, as volunteers, with their children and wives, the reason of which was as follows :—Zarbienus, the King of the Gordyeni, as it has been already told, secretly communicated, through Appius, with Lucullus about an alliance, being oppressed by the tyranny of Tigranes ; but his design was reported to Tigranes, and he was put to death, and his children and wife perished with him ; before the Romans invaded Armenia. Lucullus did not forget all this ; and, on entering Gordyene, he made a funeral for Zarbienus, and, ornamenting the pile with vests, and the king's gold, and the spoils got from Tigranes, he set fire to it himself, and poured libations on the pile, with the friends and kinsmen of the king, and gave him the name of friend and ally of the Roman people. He also ordered a monument to be erected to him at great cost ; for a large quantity of gold and silver was found in the palace of Zarbienus, and there were stored up three million medimni of wheat, so that the soldiers were well supplied, and Lucullus was admired, that without receiving a drachma from the treasury, he made the war support itself.

30. While Lucullus was here, there came an embassy from the King of the Parthians also, who invited him to friendship and an alliance. This proposal was agreeable to Lucullus, and in return

he sent ambassadors to the Parthian, who discovered that he was playing double and secretly asking Mesopotamia from Tigranes as the price of his alliance. On hearing this Lucullus determined to pass by Tigranes and Mithridates as exhausted antagonists, and to try the strength of the Parthians, and to march against them, thinking it a glorious thing, in one uninterrupted campaign, like an athlete, to give three kings in succession the throw, and to have made his way through three empires, the most powerful under the sun, unvanquished and victorious. Accordingly he sent orders to Sornatius and the other commanders in Pontus to conduct the army there to him, as he was intending to advance from Gordyene further into Asia. These generals had already found that the soldiers were difficult to manage and mutinous; but now they made the ungovernable temper of the soldiers quite apparent, being unable by any means of persuasion or compulsion to move the soldiers, who, with solemn asseverations, declared aloud that they would not stay even where they were, but would go and leave Pontus undefended. Report of this being carried to the army of Lucullus effected the corruption of his soldiers also, who had been made inert towards military service by the wealth they had acquired and their luxurious living, and they wanted rest; and, when they heard of the bold words of the soldiers in Pontus, they said they were men, and their example ought to be followed, for they had done enough to entitle them to be released from military service, and to enjoy repose.

31. Lucullus, becoming acquainted with these and other still more mutinous expressions, gave up the expedition against the Parthians, and marched

a second time against Tigranes. It was now the height of summer; and Lucullus was dispirited, after crossing the Taurus, to see that the fields were still green, so much later are the seasons, owing to the coldness of the air. However, he descended from the Taurus, and, after defeating the Armenians, who twice or thrice ventured to attack him, he plundered the villages without any fear; and, by seizing the corn which had been stored up by Tigranes, he reduced the enemy to the straits which he was apprehending himself. Lucullus challenged the Armenians to battle by surrounding their camp with his lines and ravaging the country before their eyes; but, as this did not make them move after their various defeats, he broke up and advanced against Artaxata, the royal residence of Tigranes, where his young children and wives were, thinking that Tigranes would not give them up without a battle. It is said that Hannibal the Carthaginian, after the defeat of Antiochus by the Romans, went to Artaxas the Armenian, to whose notice he introduced many useful things; and, observing a position which possessed great natural advantages and was very pleasant, though at that time unoccupied and neglected, he made the plan of a city on the ground, and taking Artaxas there showed it to him, and urged him to build up the place. The king, it is said, was pleased and asked Hannibal to superintend the work; and thereupon a large and beautiful city sprung up, and, being named after the king, was declared to be the capital of Armenia. Tigranes did not let Lucullus quietly march against Artaxata, but, moving with his forces on the fourth day, he encamped opposite to the Romans, placing the river Arsanias between

him and the enemy, which river the Romans must of necessity cross on their route to Artaxata. After sacrificing to the Gods, Lucullus, considering that he had the victory in his hands, began to lead his army across the river, with twelve cohorts in the van, and the rest placed as a reserve to prevent the enemy from attacking his flank. There was a large body of picked cavalry opposed to the Romans, and in front of them Mardi mounted archers, and Iberians armed with spears, on whom Tigranes relied more than any of his mercenaries, as being the most warlike of all. However, they showed no gallant spirit; but, after a slight skirmish with the Roman cavalry, they did not venture to stand the attack of the infantry, and separating and taking to flight on both sides they drew after them the cavalry in the pursuit. At the moment when this part of the enemy was dispersed, the cavalry, which was about Tigranes, rode forward, and Lucullus was alarmed when he saw their brave appearance and numbers. He recalled the cavalry from the pursuit, and himself was the first to meet the Satriapeni, who were posted opposite to him with the king's chief officers; but before they came to close quarters, the enemy was panic-struck and turned to flight. Of three kings at the same time opposed to the Romans, Mithridates of Pontus appears to have fled most disgracefully; for he did not stay to hear even the shouts of the Romans. The pursuit was continued for a great distance and all night long, and the Romans were wearied with killing and taking prisoners, and getting valuables and booty. Livius says that in the former battle a greater number of the enemy, but in this more men of rank fell and were taken prisoners.

32. Elated and encouraged by this victory, Lucullus was intending to advance further into the country, and to subdue the barbarian ; but, contrary to what one would have expected at the season of the autumnal equinox, they were assailed by heavy storms, generally snow-storms ; and, when the sky was clear, there was hoar frost and ice, owing to which the horses could not well drink of the rivers, by reason of the excessive cold ; and they were difficult to ford, because the ice broke, and the rough edges cut the horses' sinews. And as the greater part of the country was shaded and full of defiles and wooded, the soldiers were kept continually wet, being loaded with snow while they were marching, and spending the night uncomfortably in damp places. Accordingly they had not followed Lucullus for many days after the battle when they began to offer resistance, at first making entreaties and also sending the tribunes to him, and then collecting in a tumultuous manner, with loud shouts in their tents by night, which is considered to be an indication that an army is in a state of mutiny. Yet Lucullus urged them strongly, and called on them to put endurance in their souls till they had taken and destroyed the Armenian Carthage, the work of their greatest enemy, meaning Hannibal. Not being able to prevail on them, he led them back by a different pass over the Taurus, and descended into the country called Mygdonice, which is fertile and warm, and contains a large and populous city, which the barbarians called Nisibis, but the Greeks Antiochia Mygdonice. The city was defended in name by Gouras, a brother of Tigranes, but in fact by the experience and mechanical skill of Callimachus, who had given Lu-

cullus great trouble in the siege of Amisus also. Lucullus seated himself before the city, and, by availing himself of every mode of pressing a siege, in a short time he took the city by storm. Gouras, who surrendered himself to Lucullus, was treated kindly; but he would not listen to Callimachus, though he promised to discover concealed treasures of great value; and he ordered him to be brought in chains to be punished for the conflagration by which he destroyed Amisus and deprived Lucullus of the object of his ambition, and an opportunity of displaying his friendly disposition to the Greeks.

33. So far one may say that fortune accompanied Lucullus and shared his campaigns: but from this time, just as if a wind had failed him, trying to force everything and always meeting with obstacles, he displayed indeed the courage and endurance of a good commander, but his undertakings produced him neither fame nor good opinion, and even the reputation that he had he came very near losing by his want of success and his fruitless disputes. Lucullus himself was in no small degree the cause of all this; for he was not a man who tried to gain the affection of the soldiery, and he considered everything that was done to please the men as a disparagement to the general's power, and as tending to destroy it. But, what was worst of all, he was not affable to the chief officers and those of the same rank as himself; he despised everybody, and thought no man had any merit compared with his own. These bad qualities, it is said, that Lucullus had, though he possessed many merits. He was tall and handsome, a powerful speaker, and equally prudent in the Forum and the Camp. Now Sallustius says, that the soldiers were ill-disposed towards him at

the very commencement of the war before Cyzicus, and again at Amisus, because they were compelled to spend two winters in succession in camp. They were also vexed about the other winters, for they either spent them in a hostile country, or encamped among the allies under the bare sky; for Lucullus never once entered a Greek and friendly city with his army. While the soldiers were in this humour, they received encouragement from the demagogues at Rome, who envied Lucullus, and charged him with protracting the war through love of power and avarice. They said that he all but held at once Cilicia, Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, Armenia, and the parts as far as the Phasis, and that at last he had plundered even the palace of Tigranes, as if he had been sent to strip kings and not to conquer them. This, it is said, was urged by one of the prætors, Lucius Quintus, by whom they were mainly persuaded to pass a decree to send persons to supersede Lucullus in his province. They also decreed that many of the soldiers under Lucullus should be released from service.

34. To these causes, in themselves so weighty, there was added another that, most of all, ruined the measures of Lucullus; and this was Publius Clodius, a violent man, and full of arrogance and audacity. He was the brother of the wife of Lucullus, a woman of most dissolute habits, whom he was also accused of debauching. At this time he was serving with Lucullus, and he did not get all the distinction to which he thought himself entitled. In fact he aspired to the first rank, and, as there were many preferred before him, in consequence of his character, he secretly endeavoured to win the favour of Fimbria's army, and to excite the soldiers against

Lucullus, by circulating among them words well suited to those who were ready to hear them, and were not unaccustomed to be courted. These were the men whom Fimbria had persuaded to kill the consul Flaccus, and to choose himself for their general. Accordingly, they gladly listened to Clodius, and called him the soldier's friend, for he pretended to feel indignant at their treatment; "Was there never to be an end," he would say, "to so many wars and dangers, and were they to wear out their lives in fighting with every nation, and wandering over every country, and getting no equivalent for so much service, but, instead thereof, were they to convoy waggons and camels of Lucullus, loaded with cups of gold, set with precious stones, while the soldiers of Pompeius were now living as citizens, and with their wives and children were sitting quiet in the enjoyment of fertile lands and cities, though they had not driven Mithridates and Tigranes into uninhabited wildernesses, nor pulled down the palaces of Asia, but had fought with exiles in Iberia, and runaway slaves in Italy? Why, then, if there is never to be an end of our service, do we not reserve what remains of our bodies and our lives for a general who considers the wealth of the soldiers his chief glory?" By such causes as these the army of Lucullus was corrupted, and his soldiers refused to follow him either against Tigranes, or against Mithridates who immediately made an irruption from Armenia into Pontus, and endeavoured to recover his power; but alleging the winter as an excuse, the soldiers lingered in Gordyene, expecting every moment that Pompeius, or some other commander, would arrive to supersede Lucullus.



35. But when news came that Mithridates had defeated Fabius, and was marching against Sornatius and Triarius, through very shame the soldiers followed Lucullus. Triarius, being ambitious to snatch the victory, which he thought was in his grasp, before Lucullus, who was near, should arrive, was defeated in a great battle. It is said that above seven thousand Romans fell, among whom were a hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes; and Mithridates took the camp. Lucullus arrived a few days after, and secreted from the soldiers Triarius, whom in their passion they were looking for; and, as Mithridates was not willing to fight, but was waiting for Tigranes, who was already coming down with a large force, Lucullus determined to march back, and to fight with Tigranes before he and Mithridates could unite. As he was on his march the soldiers of Fimbria mutinied, and left their ranks, considering that they were released from service by the decree of the Senate, and that Lucullus had no longer any right to the command, now that the provinces were assigned to others. Upon this there was nothing, however inconsistent with his dignity, which Lucullus did not submit to do—supplicating the soldiers individually, and going about from tent to tent in humble manner, and with tears in his eyes, and sometimes even taking the soldiers by the hand. But they rejected his proffered hand, and threw down before him their empty purses, and told him to fight with the enemy himself, for he was the only person who knew how to get rich from them. However, at the request of the rest of the army, the soldiers of Fimbria were constrained, and agreed to stay to the end of summer, and if, in the mean time, no enemy should come

down to fight them, they were then to be released. Lucullus was of necessity obliged to acquiesce in this, or else to be left alone, and give up the country to the barbarians. He therefore kept the soldiers together, without making any further attempt to force them, or lead them out to battle, for he was well content if they would stay with him, and he allowed Cappadocia to be ravaged by Tigranes, and Mithridates to resume his arrogance, as to whom he had written to the senate, to inform them that he was completely subdued; and the commissioners were now with him who had been sent to settle the affairs of Pontus, on the supposition that the country was completely in the power of the Romans. Indeed, the commissioners were now witnesses that Lucullus was not his own master, but was treated with contumely and insult by the soldiers, who carried their audacity towards their commander so far, that, at the close of the summer, they put on their armour, and drawing their swords, challenged to battle the enemy who were no longer there, but had already moved off. After uttering the war shout, and flourishing their swords in the air, they left the camp, declaring that the time was up which they had agreed to stay with Lucullus. The rest of the soldiers were summoned by Pompeius by letter, for he had been appointed to the command in the war against Mithridates and Tigranes, by the favour of the people, and through the influence of the demagogues; though the senate and the nobles thought that Lucullus was wronged, inasmuch as he was not superseded in a war, but in a triumph; and it was not the command, but the honours of the command that he was compelled to divest himself of, and to surrender to others.

36. But it appeared a still greater wrong to those who were with Lucullus in Asia, that Lucullus had not the power either to reward or punish for any thing that was done in the war ; nor did Pompeius allow any person to go to him, nor to pay any attention to the orders and regulations that he was making in concert with the ten commissioners, but he obstructed him by publishing counter edicts, and by the fear which he inspired from having a larger force. However, their friends agreed to bring them together, and they met in a village of Galatia, where they saluted one another in a friendly manner, and each congratulated the other on his victories. Lucullus was the elder, but Pompeius had the greater reputation, because he had oftener had the command, and enjoyed two triumphs. Fasces, wreathed with bay, were carried before both generals in token of their victories. But, as Pompeius had made a long march through a country without water and arid, the bays upon his fasces were withered, which the lictors of Lucullus observing, in a friendly manner gave them bays out of their own, which were fresh and green. And this the friends of Pompeius interpreted as a good omen ; for, in fact, the exploits of Lucullus served to set off the command of Pompeius. But the conference resulted in no amicable arrangement, and they separated with increased aversion towards each other. Pompeius also annulled the regulations of Lucullus, and he took off with him all the soldiers with the exception of sixteen hundred, whom he left to Lucullus for his triumph ; and even these did not follow him very willingly : so ill suited was the temper of Lucullus, or so unlucky was he in securing that which, of all things, is the chief and greatest in a general ; for,

if he had possessed this quality, with the other many and great virtues that he had, courage, activity, judgment, and justice, the Roman empire would not have had the Euphrates for its limit, but the remotest parts of Asia, and the Hyrcanian sea; for all the other nations had already been defeated by Tigranes, and the Parthian power was not such as it afterwards showed itself to be in the campaign of Crassus, nor so well combined, but, owing to intestine and neighbouring wars, was not even strong enough to repel the attacks of the Armenians. But it seems to me that the services of Lucullus to his country were less than the harm he did it in other things; for his trophies in Armenia, which were erected on the borders of Parthia, and Tigranocerta, and Nisibis, and the great wealth that was brought from these cities to Rome, and the display of the diadem of Tigranes in his triumph, urged Crassus to attack Asia, and to think that the barbarians were only spoil and booty, and nothing else. But Crassus soon felt the Parthian arrows, and so proved that Lucullus had got the advantage over the enemy, not through their want of skill or cowardice, but by his own courage and ability. This, however, happened afterwards.

37. When Lucullus returned to Rome, first of all he found that his brother Marcus was under prosecution by Caius Memmius, for what he had done in his quæstorship at the command of Sulla. Upon Marcus being acquitted, Memmius transferred his attack to Lucullus himself, and endeavoured to excite the people against him, and persuaded them not to give him a triumph, on the ground that he had appropriated to himself much of the spoils, and had prolonged the war. Now that Lucullus was

involved in a great struggle, the first and most powerful men mingling themselves among the tribes, by much entreaty and exertion with difficulty persuaded the people to allow Lucullus to have a triumph; not, however, like some, a triumph which was striking and bustling, from the length of the procession, and the quantity of things that were displayed, but he decorated the circus of Flaminius with the arms of the enemy, of which he had a great quantity, and with the royal engines of war; and it was a spectacle in itself far from being contemptible. In the procession a few of the mailed horsemen, and ten of the scythe-bearing chariots moved along, with sixty of the kings' friends and generals, and a hundred and ten brazen-beaked ships of war also were carried in the procession, and a gold statue of Mithridates six feet high, and a shield ornamented with precious stones, and twenty litters loaded with silver vessels, and two-and-thirty loaded with golden cups, armour, and money. All this was carried on men's shoulders; but there were eight mules that bore golden couches, and fifty-six carried silver in bars, and a hundred and seven others carried silver coin to the amount of near two million seven hundred thousand pieces. There were also tablets, on which was written the amount of money that Lucullus had supplied Pompeius with for the pirates' war, and the amount that he had paid to those who had the care of the *ærarium*; and, besides this, it was added that every soldier received nine hundred and fifty drachmæ. After this Lucullus feasted all the city in a splendid style, and the surrounding villages which the Romans call *Vici*.

38. After Lucullus had divorced Clodia, who was a loose and unprincipled woman, he married

Servilia, the sister of Cato, but neither was this a happy marriage; for he thus escaped only one of the misfortunes that resulted from his union with Clodia, the scandal about her brothers: in every other respect Servilia was as abominable as Clodia and a licentious woman, and yet Lucullus was obliged to bear with her from regard to Cato; but at last he put her away. Lucullus had raised the highest expectations in the Senate, who hoped to find in him a counterpoise to the overbearing conduct of Pompeius and a defender of the aristocracy, inasmuch as he had the advantage of great reputation and influence; but he disappointed these hopes and gave up political affairs, either because he saw that they were already in a difficult position and not in a healthy state, or, as some say, because he was satisfied with glory, and wished to fall back to an easy and luxurious life, after his many contests and dangers, which had not been followed by the most fortunate of results. Some commend him for making such a change, whereby he avoided what had befallen Marius, who, after his Cimbrian victories and that great and glorious success, did not choose to dedicate himself to honor so great and to be an object of admiration, but through insatiate desire of glory and power, though an old man, entered into political warfare with young men, and so ended his career in acts dreadful, and in sufferings more dreadful than acts; and they say that Cicero also would have had a better old age if he had withdrawn from public life after the affair of Catiline, and Scipio after he had added the conquest of Numantia to that of Carthage, if he had then stopped; for there is a close to a political period also, and political contests as well as those of

athletes are censured when a man's vigour and prime have failed him. But Crassus and Pompeius sneered at Lucullus for giving himself up to pleasure and extravagant living, as if a luxurious life was not more unsuitable to persons of his age than affairs of State and military command.

39. Now in the life of Lucullus, as in an ancient comedy, we may read, in the first part, of political measures and military command, and, in the last part, of drinking, and feasts, and hardly any thing but revels, and torches, and all kinds of amusement; for I reckon among amusements, expensive buildings, and construction of ambulatories and baths, and still more paintings and statues, and eagerness about works of this kind, all which he got together at great cost, and to this end spent profusely the wealth which he had accumulated to a large and splendid amount in his military command; for, even now, when luxury of this kind has increased, the gardens of Lucullus are reckoned among the most sumptuous of the imperial gardens. But with respect to his works on the sea-coast and in the neighbourhood of Neapolis, where he suspended as it were hills by digging great tunnels, and threw around his dwelling-places circular pieces of sea water and channels for the breeding of fish, and built houses in the sea, Tubero the Stoic, on seeing them, called him Xerxes in a toga. He had also country residences in the neighbourhood of Tusculum, and towers commanding prospects, and open apartments and ambulatories, which Pompeius on visiting found fault with Lucullus, that he had arranged his house in the best way for summer, but had made it unfit to live in during the winter. On which Lucullus said, with a smile,

“ You think, then, I have less sense than the cranes and storks, and do not change my residence according to the seasons.” On one occasion, when a prætor was ambitious to signalize himself in the matter of a public spectacle, and asked of Lucullus some purple cloaks for the dress of a chorus, Lucullus replied, that he would see if he had any and would give them to him; and the day after he asked the prætor how many he wanted. The prætor said that a hundred would be enough, on which Lucullus told him to take twice as many; in allusion to which the poet Flaccus has remarked, that he does not consider a man to be rich, if the property that he cares not for and knows nothing about is not more than that which he sees.

40. The daily meals of Lucullus were accompanied with all the extravagance of newly acquired wealth; for it was not only by dyed coverlets for his couches, and cups set with precious stones, and chorusses and dramatic entertainments, but by abundance of all kinds of food and dainty dishes, curiously prepared, that he made himself an object of admiration to the uninstructed. Now Pompeius gained a good reputation in an illness that he had; for the physician had ordered him to eat a thrush, and, on his domestics telling him that a thrush could not be found in the summer season except at the house of Lucullus, where they were fed, Pompeius would not consent to have one got from there; but remarking to his physician, “ What, if Lucullus were not so luxurious, could not Pompeius live?” bade them get for him something else that could be easily procured. Cato, who was his friend and connected with him by marriage, was so much annoyed at his life and habits that, on one occasion,



when a young man had delivered in the senate a tedious and lengthy discourse, quite out of season, on frugality and temperance, Cato got up and said, "Won't you stop, you who are as rich as Crassus, and live like Lucullus, and speak like Cato?" Some say that a remark to this effect was made, but that it was not by Cato.

41. That Lucullus was not merely pleased with this mode of living, but prided himself upon it, appears from the anecdotes that are recorded. It is said, that he feasted for many days some Greeks who visited Rome, and that they, feeling as Greeks would do on the occasion, began to be ashamed and to decline the invitation, on the ground that he was daily incurring so much expense on their account; but Lucullus said to them with a smile, "It is true, Greeks, that this is partly done on your account, but mainly on the account of Lucullus." One day, when he was supping alone, a single course and a moderate repast had been prepared for him, at which he was angry, and called for the slave whose business it was to look after such matters. The slave said, that he did not suppose that he would want anything costly, as no guest was invited. "What sayest thou?" said Lucullus, "didst thou not know that to-day Lucullus sups with Lucullus?" Now, this matter being much talked of in the city, as one might expect, there came up to Lucullus, as he was idling in the forum, Cicero and Pompeius, of whom Cicero was among his most intimate friends; but between Lucullus and Pompeius there was some difference, arising out of the affair of the command in the Mithridatic war, and yet they were accustomed to associate and talk together frequently in a friendly manner. Accord-

ingly Cicero saluted him, and asked him how he was disposed to receive visitors, to which Lucullus replied, "Exceedingly well," and invited them to pay him a visit. "We wish," said Cicero, "to sup with you to-day, just in the same way as if preparation were made for yourself only." Lucullus began to make some difficulty, and to ask them to allow him to name another day; but they said they would not, nor would they let him speak to his servants, that he might not have the opportunity of ordering anything more than what was preparing for himself. However, at his request, they allowed him just to tell one of his slaves in their presence, that he would sup on that day in the Apollo; for this was the name of one of his costly apartments. This trick of Lucullus was not understood by his guests; for, it is said that to every banqueting-room there was assigned the cost of the feast there, and every room had its peculiar style of preparation and entertainment, so that when the slaves heard in what room their master intended to sup, they also knew what was to be the cost of the supper and the kind of decoration and arrangement. Now Lucullus was accustomed to sup in the Apollo at the cost of fifty thousand drachmæ, and this being the cost of the entertainment on the present occasion, Pompeius and Cicero were surprised at the rapidity with which the banquet had been got ready and the costliness of the entertainment. In this way, then, Lucullus used his wealth, capriciously, just as if it were a captive slave and a barbarian.

42. What he did, as to his collection of books, is worth notice and mention. He got together a great number of books which were well transcribed,

and the mode in which they were used was more honourable to him than the acquisition of them ; for the libraries were open to all, and the walking-places which surrounded them and the reading-rooms were accessible to the Greeks without any restriction, and they went there as to an abode of the Muses, and spent the day there in company with one another, gladly betaking themselves to the libraries from their other occupations. Lucullus himself often spent some time there with the visitors, walking about in the ambulatories, and he used to talk there with men engaged in public affairs on such matters as they might choose ; and altogether his house was a home and a Greek prytaneum to those who came to Rome. He was fond of philosophy generally, and well disposed to every sect, and friendly to them all ; but from the first he particularly admired and loved the Academy, not that which is called the New Academy, though the sect was then flourishing by the propagation of the doctrines of Carneades by Philo, but the Old Academy, which at that time had for its head a persuasive man and a powerful speaker, Antiochus of Ascalon, whom Lucullus eagerly sought for his friend and companion, and opposed to the followers of Philo, of whom Cicero also was one. Cicero wrote an excellent treatise upon the doctrines of this sect, in which he made Lucullus the speaker in favour of the doctrine of comprehension, and himself the speaker on the opposite side. The book is entitled ' Lucullus.' Lucullus and Cicero were, as I have said, great friends, and associated in their political views, for Lucullus had not entirely withdrawn from public affairs, though he had immediately on his return to Rome surrendered to Crassus and Cato

the ambition and the struggle to be the first man in the State and have the greatest power, considering that the struggle was not free from danger and great mortification; for those who looked with jealousy on the power of Pompeius put Crassus and Cato at the head of their party in the senate, when Lucullus declined to take the lead, but Lucullus used to go to the forum to support his friends, and to the senate whenever it was necessary to put a check on any attempt or ambitious design of Pompeius. The arrangements which Pompeius made after his conquest of the kings, Lucullus contrived to nullify, and, when Pompeius proposed a distribution of lands, Lucullus with the assistance of Cato prevented it from being made, which drew Pompeius to seek the friendship of Crassus and Cæsar, or rather to enter into a combination with them, and by filling the city with arms and soldiers he got his measures ratified, after driving out of the Forum the partisans of Cato and Lucullus. The nobles being indignant at these proceedings, the party of Pompeius produced one Vettius, whom, as they said, they had detected in a design on the life of Pompeius. When Vettius was examined before the Senate, he accused others, and before the popular assembly he named Lucullus as the person by whom he had been suborned to murder Pompeius. But nobody believed him, and it soon became clear that the man had been brought forward by the partisans of Pompeius to fabricate a false charge, and to criminate others, and the fraud was made still more apparent, when a few days after the dead body of Vettius was thrown out of the prison; for, though it was given out that he died a natural death, there were marks of strangu-

lation and violence on the body, and it was the opinion that he had been put to death by those who suborned him.

43. This induced Lucullus still more to withdraw from public affairs; and, when Cicero was banished from Rome, and Cato was sent to Cyprus, he retired altogether. Before he died, it is said that his understanding was disordered and gradually failed. Cornelius Nepos says that Lucullus did not die of old age nor of disease, but that his health was destroyed by potions given him by Callisthenes, one of his freedmen, and that the potions were given by Callisthenes with the view of increasing his master's affection for him, a power which the potions were supposed to have, but they so far disturbed and destroyed his reason, that during his lifetime his brother managed his affairs. However, when Lucullus died, the people grieved just as much as if he had died at the height of his military distinction and his political career, and they flocked together and had his body carried to the forum by the young men of the highest rank, and were proceeding forcibly to have it interred in the Campus Martius where Sulla was interred; but, as nobody had expected this, and it was not easy to make the requisite preparations, the brother of Lucullus prayed and prevailed on the people to allow the funeral ceremony to take place on the estate at Tusculum, where preparations for it had been made. Nor did he long survive; but, as in age and reputation he came a little after Lucullus, so he died shortly after him, a most affectionate brother.

## CRASSUS.

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

2. Now, the Romans say that the many good qualities of Crassus were obscured by one vice, avarice ; but the fact appears to be that one vice, which was more predominant in his character than

all the rest hid his other vices. They allege, as the chief proof of his avarice, the mode in which he got his money and the amount of his property. Though he did not at first possess above three hundred talents, and during his first consulship he dedicated the tenth part of his property to Hercules, and feasted the people, and gave every Roman out of his own means enough to maintain him for three months; yet, before the Parthian expedition, upon making an estimate of his property, he found it amount to seven thousand one hundred talents. The greatest part of this, if one must tell the truth, though it be a scandalous story, he got together out of the fire and the war, making the public misfortunes the source of his wealth; for, when Sulla took the city, and sold the property of those whom he put to death, considering it and calling it spoil, and wishing to attach the infamy of the deed to as many of the most powerful men as he could, Crassus was never tired of receiving or buying. Besides this, observing the accidents that were indigenous and familiar at Rome, conflagrations, and tumbling down of houses owing to their weight and crowded state, he bought slaves, who were architects and builders. Having got these slaves to the number of more than five hundred, it was his practice to buy up houses on fire, and the houses which were adjoining to those on fire; for the owners, owing to fear and uncertainty, would sell them at a low price; and thus the greatest part of Rome fell into the hands of Crassus: but, though he had so many artisans, he built no house except his own; for he used to say that those who were fond of building were ruined by themselves, without the aid of any opponent. Though he had many silver

mines, and much valuable land, and many labourers on it, still one would suppose that all this was of little value, compared with the value of his slaves : so many excellent slaves he possessed,—readers, clerks, assayers of silver, house-managers, and table-servants ; and he himself superintended their education, and paid attention to it and taught them, and, in short, he considered that a master was mainly concerned in looking after his slaves, who were the living implements of domestic economy. And here Crassus was right, if, as he used to say, it was his opinion that he ought to effect everything by the instrumentality of slaves, and that he himself should direct the slaves ; for, we observe, that what is economical with respect to things lifeless is political with respect to men. But he was not right in thinking and saying that nobody was rich who could not maintain an army out of his substance ; for war feeds not by a fixed allowance, according to Archidamus ; and, consequently, the wealth that is required for war is unlimited : and this opinion of Crassus was very different from the opinion of Marius ; for when Marius, after giving to each man fourteen jugera of land, found that they wanted more, he said, “ May there never be a Roman who thinks that too little which is enough to maintain him.”

3. Besides this, Crassus was hospitable to strangers, for his house was open to all, and he used to lend money to his friends without interest ; but he would demand it back immediately on the expiration of the time from the borrower, which made the gratuitous loan more burdensome than heavy interest. In his entertainments the invitation was usually to persons of the plebeian class, and general : and the frugality of the banquet, which was accom-



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

4. When Marius and Cinna had got the upper

hand, and it was soon apparent that they would reinstate themselves in Rome, not for the benefit of their country, but plainly for the destruction and ruin of the nobles, those who were caught in the city were put to death : among whom were the father and brother of Crassus. Crassus, being very young, escaped immediate danger ; but, seeing that he was hemmed in on all sides, and hunted by the tyrants, he took with him three friends and ten slaves ; and, using wonderful expedition, made his escape to Iberia, having been there before, when his father was Prætor, and having made himself friends. Finding all in great alarm and trembling at the cruelty of Marius, as if he were close at hand, he did not venture to make himself known, but sought refuge in a tract bordering on the sea, belonging to Vibius Pacianus, where he hid himself in a large cave. He sent a slave to Vibius to sound his disposition ; for the provisions that Crassus brought with him were now exhausted. On hearing the news, Vibius was pleased that Crassus had escaped ; and inquiring about the number of persons with him, and where the place was, he did not go himself to see them, but he took his villicus near the spot, and ordered him to have food daily prepared, and to carry it and place it near the rock, and to go away without speaking a word, and not to be curious about the matter, or make any inquiries ; and he gave him notice, that if he did meddle at all he should be put to death, but if he faithfully helped in the matter he should have his freedom. The cave is not far from the sea, and the precipices which shut it in leave a small and hardly perceptible path which leads into the cave ; but when you have entered, it opens to a wonderful height,

and spreads out wide, with recesses which open into one another, and are of a large circuit. It is also neither without water nor light ; for a spring of the purest water oozes out at the base of the precipice ; and there are natural clefts about that part where the rock closes, by which the external light is admitted, and in the daytime the spot is fully illuminated. The air within is free from all moisture caused by dropping, and is quite pure, owing to the compactness of the rock ; which diverts all the wet and droppings to the spring.

5. While Crassus stayed in the cave, the slave came daily to bring provisions ; but he did not see the persons, who were concealed, or know who they were ; though he was seen by them, inasmuch as they knew, and watched the times of his coming. Now, the provision that was made for their meals was ample enough even for luxury, and not merely sufficient for their necessities. But Vibius determined to show Crassus every kind of friendly attention ; and it occurred to him to consider the youth of Crassus, that he was a very young man, and that provision should be made in some degree also for the pleasures suitable to his age, and that merely to supply his wants would argue that he was serving Crassus as little as he could, rather than with hearty zeal ; accordingly, he took with him two handsome female slaves, and went down to the sea-coast. When he came to the place he pointed to the road that led up to it, and told them to go in boldly. Crassus, seeing them approach, was afraid that the spot was known, and had been discovered ; and, accordingly, he asked them what they wanted, and who they were. The women replied, as they had been instructed, that they were looking for their

master, who was concealed there ; on which Crassus perceived the joke which Vibius was playing off upon him, and his kind attentions, and received the women ; and they stayed with him for the rest of the time, telling and reporting to Vibius what he requested them. Fenestella says, that he saw one of these slaves when she was an old woman, and that he had often heard her mention this, and tell the story with pleasure.

6. In this way Crassus spent eight months in concealment ; but, as soon as he heard of Cinna's end, he showed himself, and out of the numbers that flocked to him he selected two thousand five hundred, with whom he went round to the cities ; and one city, Malaca, he plundered, according to the testimony of many authors, though they say that he denied the fact, and contradicted those who affirmed it. After this he got together some vessels, and crossed over to Libya, to Metellus Pius, a man of reputation, who had collected a force by no means contemptible. But he stayed no long time there ; for he quarrelled with Metellus, and then set out to join Sulla, by whom he was treated with particular respect. When Sulla had passed over the sea to Italy, he wished all the young men who were with him to aid him actively, and he appointed them to different duties. Crassus, on being sent into the country of the Marsi to raise troops, asked for a guard, because the road lay through a tract which was occupied by the enemy ; Sulla replied to him in passion and with vehemence, " I give thee as guards thy father, thy brother, thy friends, thy kinsmen, who were cut off illegally and wrongfully, and whose murderers I am now pursuing." Stung by these words, and pricked on to the undertaking,

Crassus immediately set out, and, vigorously making his way through the enemy, he got together a strong force, and showed himself active in the battles of Sulla. The events of that war, it is said, first excited him to rivalry and competition with Pompeius for distinction. Pompeius was younger than Crassus, and his father had a bad repute at Rome, and had been bitterly hated by the citizens; but still Pompeius shone conspicuous in the events of that period, and proved himself to be a great man, so that Sulla showed him marks of respect which he did not very often show to others of more advanced years and of his own rank, by rising from his seat when Pompeius approached, and uncovering his head, and addressing him by the title of Imperator. All this set Crassus in a flame, and goaded him, inasmuch as he was thus slighted in comparison with Pompeius; and with good reason; Crassus was deficient in experience, and the credit that he got by his military exploits was lost by his innate vices,—love of gain and meanness; for, upon taking Tuder, a city of the Umbri, it was suspected that he appropriated to himself most of the spoil, and this was made a matter of charge against him to Sulla. However, in the battle near Rome, which was the greatest in all the war, and the last, Sulla was defeated, the soldiers under his command being put to flight, and some of them trampled down in the pursuit: Crassus, who commanded the right wing, was victorious, and, after continuing the pursuit till nightfall, he sent to Sulla to ask for something for his soldiers to eat, and to report his success. But, during the proscriptions and confiscations, on the other hand, he got a bad name, by buying at low prices large properties, and asking for grants.

It is said that, in the country of the Bruttii, he also proscribed a person, not pursuant to Sulla's orders, but merely to enrich himself thereby, and that, on this account, Sulla, who disapproved of his conduct, never employed him again in any public business. However, Crassus was most expert in gaining over everybody by flattery; and, on the other hand, he was easily taken in by flattery from any person. It is further mentioned as a peculiarity in his character, that, though very greedy of gain, he hated and abused those most who were like himself.

7. But Crassus was most annoyed at the military success of Pompeius, and his enjoying a triumph before he became a senator, and being called by the citizens *Magnus*, which means Great. On one occasion, when somebody observed that Pompeius the Great was approaching, Crassus smiled, and asked, How great he was? But, as Crassus despaired of equalling Pompeius in military reputation, he entered upon a political career, and, by his activity, by pleading in the courts, and lending money, and by canvassing for candidates, and subjecting himself to all kinds of scrutiny in conjunction with those who wanted anything of the people, he acquired a power and reputation equal to what Pompeius had got by his many and great military services. And the result to each of them was something unusual; for, when Pompeius was absent from Rome, his name and his influence in the State, by reason of his military exploits, was superior to that of Crassus; but when Pompeius was at Rome, he often fell short of Crassus in influence, for his haughty temper and habitual pride made him avoid crowds and retire from the Forum, and seldom give his aid to those who sought it, and then not readily; his object being to

keep his power at a higher pitch, by exercising it only on his own behalf. But Crassus was always ready to make himself useful, and he did not keep himself retired, nor was he difficult of access, but he was always busy in everything that was going on, and by the general kindness of his behaviour he got the advantage over the proud bearing of Pompeius. In personal dignity, in persuasive speech, and attractive expression of countenance it is said they were both equally fortunate. However, this rivalry did not hurry Crassus into any personal enmity or ill-will, and though he was annoyed at Pompeius and Cæsar receiving greater honour than himself, he never allowed this jealous feeling to be associated with any hostility or ill disposition. It is true that when Cæsar was taken and detained by the pirates, he cried out, "What pleasure you will have, Crassus, when you hear of my capture!" But afterwards at least they were on friendly terms, and, when Cæsar was going to Iberia, as prætor, and had no money in consequence of his creditors having come upon him and seizing all his outfit, Crassus did not leave him in this difficulty, but got him released, by becoming security for him to the amount of eight hundred and thirty talents. When all Rome became divided into three parties,—that of Pompeius, Cæsar, and Crassus,—(for Cato had more reputation than power, and was more admired than followed), the sober and conservative part of the citizens adhered to Pompeius; the violent and those who were lightly moved, were led by the hopes that they had from Cæsar; Crassus, by keeping a middle position used both parties for his purposes, and, as he very often changed in his political views, he was neither a firm friend nor an irreconcilable enemy, but he would

readily give up either his friendship or his enmity on calculation of interest; so that, within a short interval, he often came forward to speak both for and against the same men and the same measures. He had also great influence, both because he was liked and feared, but mainly because he was feared. Accordingly Sicinius, who was the most violent in his attacks on the magistrates and popular leaders of the day, in reply to one who asked, Why Crassus was the only person whom he did not worry, and why he let him alone, said, That he had hay on his horn: now, the Romans were accustomed to tie some hay round the horn of an ox that butted, as a warning to those who might meet it.

8. The insurrection of the gladiators, and their devastation of Italy, which is generally called the war of Spartacus, originated as follows:—One Lentulus Batiates kept gladiators in Capua, of whom the majority, who were Gauls and Thracians, had been closely confined, not for any misbehaviour on their part, but through the villany of their purchaser, for the purpose of fighting in the games. Two hundred of these resolved to make their escape; but their design being betrayed, those who had notice of the discovery, and succeeded in getting away, to the number of seventy-eight, took knives and spits out of a cook's shop, and sallied out. Meeting on the way with some waggons that were conveying gladiators' arms to another city, they plundered the waggons, and armed themselves. Seizing on a strong position, they chose three leaders, of whom the first was Spartacus, a Thracian of nomadic race, a man not only of great courage and strength, but, in judgment and mildness of character, superior to his condition, and more like a Greek than one would



expect from his nation. They say that when Spartacus was first taken to Rome to be sold, a snake was seen folded over his face while he was sleeping, and a woman, of the same tribe with Spartacus, who was skilled in divination, and possessed by the mysterious rites of Dionysus, declared that this was a sign of a great and formidable power which would attend him to a happy termination. This woman was at that time cohabiting with Spartacus, and she made her escape with him.

9. The gladiators began by repelling those who came against them from Capua and getting a stock of military weapons, for which they gladly exchanged their gladiators' arms, which they threw away as a badge of dishonour, and as barbaric. Clodius the prætor was next sent against them from Rome, with three thousand men, and he blockaded them on a mountain which had only one ascent, and that was difficult and narrow, and Clodius had possession of it; on all other sides there were steep, smooth-faced precipices. On the top of the hill there grew a great quantity of wild vines, and the men of Spartacus cutting off all the shoots that were adapted to their purpose, and, intertwining them, made strong and long ladders, so that when fastened above, they reached along the face of the precipice to the level ground, and they all safely descended by them except one man, who stayed to take care of the arms; and, when all the rest had descended, he let the arms down, and, having done this, he got down safe himself. The Romans did not know what was going on; and accordingly, when the gladiators surrounded them, they were put in alarm by the surprise, and fled, on which the enemy took their camp. Many of the herds-

men and shepherds in those parts also joined the gladiators, men ever ready for a quarrel, and light of foot, some of whom the gladiators armed, and others they employed as scouts and light troops. Publius Barinus the prætor was next sent against them, whose legatus, one Furius, at the head of two thousand soldiers, the gladiators engaged and put to flight. Cossinius was then dispatched, with a large force, to advise with Barinus, and to be associated in the command; but Spartacus, watching his opportunity, while Cossinius was bathing at Salenæ, was very near seizing him. Cossinius made his escape with great difficulty, and Spartacus, seizing the baggage, closely followed up the pursuit, with great slaughter of the Romans, and he took the camp. Cossinius also fell. Spartacus, after defeating the prætor himself in many other battles, and at last seizing his lictors and his horse, now became great and formidable: but still he formed a just judgment of the state of affairs, and, not expecting to get the advantage over the power of the Romans, he designed to lead his forces to the Alps; thinking that it was advisable for them to cross the mountains and to go to their several homes, some to Thrace and some to Gaul. But the gladiators being strong in numbers, and confident, would not listen to him, and they went about ravaging Italy. The Senate were now no longer troubled merely at the humiliation and disgrace that they suffered by the revolt; but, moved by fear and the danger, they sent out both the consuls, as to a war of the utmost difficulty and importance. Gellius suddenly falling on the Germans, who, by reason of their arrogance and self-confidence, had separated from the troops of Spartacus, destroyed

the whole body ; and after Lentulus had hemmed in Spartacus with large armies, Spartacus, rushing upon them and joining battle, defeated the legates, and got all the baggage. Spartacus now attempted to force his way towards the Alps ; and Cassius, who was the governor of Gaul upon the Padus, met him with ten thousand men, and a battle was fought, in which Cassius was defeated with great loss, and with difficulty made his escape.

10. The senate, on receiving this news, angrily bade the consuls keep quiet, and they appointed Crassus to the command of the war, whose reputation and popularity induced many of the nobles to serve under him. Crassus took his station on the frontiers of Picenum, with the view of waiting for Spartacus, who was moving in that direction ; and he sent Mummius, his legatus, at the head of two legions, to make a circuit, and with orders to follow the enemy, but not to engage with them, nor come to close quarters. But Mummius, as soon as he got what he thought a favourable opportunity, fought a battle, and was defeated ; many of his men fell, and many, flying without their arms, made their escape. Crassus received Mummius himself roughly, and arming the soldiers again, he required of them security for their arms, that they would keep them ; and five hundred, who had been the first to run, and had shown most cowardice, he distributed into fifty decades, and out of each decade he took one man, by lot, and put him to death ; thus inflicting on the soldiers this ancient mode of punishment which had long fallen into disuse ; for disgrace also is added to the manner of death, and many things horrible and dreadful to see accompany the punishment, in the presence of all the spectators.

After inflicting this punishment, he made his men again face about and march against the enemy. Spartacus, however, avoided Crassus, and made his way through Lucania to the sea, and, falling in with some Cilician piratical vessels, in the Straits, he formed a design to seize Sicily, and, by throwing two thousand men into the island, to kindle again the servile war there, the flames of which had not long since been quenched, and required only a few sparks to set it again in a blaze. The Cilicians came to terms with Spartacus, and received his presents; but they deceived him, and sailed off. Under these circumstances, he marched back from the coast, and fixed his army in the peninsula of the Rhegine territory. Crassus now came up, and, observing that the nature of the ground suggested what was to be done, he resolved to build a wall across the isthmus, for the purpose of keeping his soldiers employed, and cutting off the supplies of the enemy. Though the undertaking was great and difficult, he accomplished it, and completed the work, contrary to all expectation, in a short time, by digging a ditch from sea to sea, through the neck of land, three hundred stadia in length, fifteen feet deep, and as many wide; and above the ditch he raised a rampart of surprising height and strength. At first, Spartacus paid no attention to what was going on, and treated it with contempt; but when forage began to fail, and he wanted to advance further into the interior, he discovered the lines of Crassus; and, as there was nothing to be got in the peninsula, taking advantage of a night when there was a fall of snow and a wintry storm, he filled up a small part of the ditch with earth, and wood, and the branches of trees, and so carried over a third part of his army.

11. Now Crassus was afraid that Spartacus might form a design to march against Rome; but he was encouraged by many of the followers of Spartacus quitting their leader, in consequence of some disputes, and encamping by themselves upon the banks of the lake Lucanis, which they say is subject to changes, at certain intervals becoming sweet, and then again salt, and not potable. Crassus coming upon this band, drove them from the lake; but he was prevented from cutting them to pieces and pursuing them, by the sudden appearance of Spartacus, who checked the flight. Crassus had, before this, written to the senate, to say that they ought to summon Lucullus from Thrace, and Pompeius from Iberia; but he now changed his mind, and made every effort to put an end to the war before they arrived, knowing that the success would be attributed to him who came last, and brought help, and not to himself. Accordingly, he determined to attack first those who had separated from the main body, and were carrying on the campaign by themselves, under the command of Caius Caninius, and Castus; and he despatched six thousand men, with orders to occupy a certain hill, and keep themselves concealed. The men of Crassus endeavoured to escape notice by covering their helmets; but, being seen by two women, who were sacrificing for the enemy, they would have been in danger, if Crassus had not quickly appeared, and fought a battle, the most severely contested of all in this war, in which he destroyed twelve thousand three hundred men, of whom he found only two wounded in the back: all the rest died in the ranks, fighting against the Romans. After the defeat of this body, Spartacus retired to the

mountains of Petilia, followed by Quintius, one of the generals of Crassus, and Scrofas, his quæstor, who hung close on his rear. But, upon Spartacus facing about, the Romans were thrown into disorderly flight, and made their escape, after having with difficulty rescued their quæstor, who was wounded. This success was the ruin of Spartacus, in consequence of the self-confidence which it infused into the slaves: they would not now consent to avoid a battle, nor yet would they obey their commanders, whom they surrounded, with arms in their hands, on the march, and compelled to lead them back through Lucania against the Romans, wherein they did the very thing that Crassus desired; for it was reported that Pompeius was now approaching, and there were not a few who openly said that the victory in this war belonged to him; for he would fight as soon as he arrived, and put an end to the campaign. While Crassus, therefore, who was eager to decide the affair by a battle, and to fix his camp near the enemy, was engaged in digging his trenches, the slaves came up to them and attacked the men who were at work. As fresh men from both sides kept coming up to help their comrades, Spartacus, seeing that he must fight, arranged all his army in order of battle. When his horse was brought to him, he drew his sword, and said, that if he won the battle he should have plenty of fine horses from the enemy, and if he was defeated he should not want one; upon which he killed his horse, and then he made his way towards Crassus himself, through many men, and inflicting many wounds; but he did not succeed in reaching Crassus, though he engaged with and killed two centurions. At last, after those

about him had fled, he kept his ground, and, being surrounded by a great number, he fought till he was cut down. But, though Crassus had been successful, and had displayed the skill of a great general, and had exposed his person to danger, yet the credit of the victory did not escape being appropriated to Pompeius; for those who fled from the battle were destroyed by him, and Pompeius wrote to the senate that Crassus had defeated the slaves in the open field, but he had cut up the war by the roots. Now Pompeius had a splendid triumph for his victory over Sertorius and his exploits in Iberia; but Crassus did not venture to ask for the greater triumph; and even as to the foot triumph, called the ovation, which he did enjoy, it was considered but a mean thing, and below his dignity that he had a triumph for a servile war. But how the ovation differs from the other triumph, and about the name, I have spoken in the 'Life of Marcellus.'

12. After these events, Pompeius was forthwith invited to the consulship, and, though Crassus had hopes of becoming his colleague, still he did not hesitate to solicit the assistance of Pompeius. Pompeius gladly listened to his proposal, for he was desirous in any way always to have Crassus his debtor for some obligation, and he actively exerted himself on behalf of Crassus; and finally he said, in his address to the public assembly, that he should feel no less grateful for the return of Crassus as his colleague than for his own election. They did not, however, continue in this harmony after entering on their office, but they differed on almost every subject, and quarrelled about everything, and by their disputes rendered their consulship unfruitful in all political measures, and ineffectual; however,

Crassus made a great festival in honour of Hercules, and feasted the people at ten thousand tables, and gave them an allowance of corn for three months. It was at the close of their consulship, when Pompeius and Crassus happened to be addressing the public assembly, that a man, not of any distinction, a Roman eques, a rustic in his mode of life, and one who did not meddle with public affairs, Onatius Aurelius, got up on the rostra, and, coming forward, told a dream which he had had. "Jupiter," he said, "appeared to me, and bade me tell the citizens not to let the consuls lay down their office before they have become friends." Upon the man saying this, and the assembly bidding the consuls be reconciled, Pompeius stood silent, but Crassus offering his right hand first, said, "Citizens, I do not consider that I am humbling myself or doing anything unworthy of me when I make the advance towards good-will and friendship to Pompeius, to whom you gave the name of Magnus before he had a beard, and voted a triumph before he was a senator."

13. These were the things worthy of commemoration in the consulship of Crassus. But his censorship passed over altogether without results, and without any active measures; for he neither revised the senate, nor inspected the equites, nor made a census of the citizens, though he had for his colleague Lutatius Catulus the mildest of the Romans. But it is said that Crassus designed a shameful and violent measure, to make Egypt tributary to the Romans, and that Catulus opposed him vigorously, on which a difference arising between them, they voluntarily laid down their office. In the affair of Catiline, which was a serious matter, and one that came near overthrowing Rome, some suspicion, it



is true, attached to Crassus, and a man came forward to name him as implicated in the conspiracy, but nobody believed him. However, Cicero, in one of his orations, evidently imputed to Crassus and Cæsar participation in the plot; but this oration was not published till after the death of both of them. But in the oration on his consulship, Cicero says that Crassus came to him by night and brought a letter which contained information on the affair of Catiline, as if his object was to establish the truth of the conspiracy. Now Crassus always hated Cicero for this, but his son stood in the way of his doing Cicero any open injury. For Publius, who was fond of oratory and of improving himself, was much attached to Cicero, and went so far as to change his dress when Cicero did at the time of his trial, and he induced the other young men to do the same. At last he prevailed upon his father, and reconciled him to Cicero.

14. When Cæsar returned from his province, he made preparations to be a candidate for the consulship; but, observing that Crassus and Pompeius were again at enmity, he did not choose by applying to one of them for his help to have the other for his enemy, and he did not think that he could succeed if neither of them assisted him. Accordingly, he set about reconciling them, by continually urging upon them, and showing that by their attempts to ruin one another they would increase the power of the Ciceros, and Catuli, and Catos, who would lose all their influence if they would unite their friends and adherents, and so direct the administration with combined strength, and one purpose. By persuasion and effecting a reconciliation, he brought them together, and he formed out of the union of all three

an irresistible power by which he put down the Roman senate and the people, though he did not make Pompeius and Crassus more powerful, one through the other, but by means of the two he made himself most powerful; for immediately on being supported by Pompeius and Crassus, he was elected consul by a great majority. While Cæsar was ably discharging the business of the consulship, Crassus and Pompeius, by procuring for him the command of armies, and by delivering Gaul into his hands, fixed him in a kind of acropolis, thinking that they should administer the rest of the State as they mutually agreed, after securing to Cæsar the authority which the lot had given him. Now Pompeius did all this through unbounded love of power; but to the old vice of Crassus, his avarice, there was now added a new passion, ambition for trophies and triumphs excited by the great exploits of Cæsar, since it was in this alone that he was Cæsar's inferior; for he had the superiority in everything else; and his passion remitted not nor diminished till it resulted in an inglorious death and public misfortunes. Cæsar had come down from Gaul to the city of Luca, and many of the Romans went to him there, and Pompeius and Crassus had private conferences with him, in which they agreed to take affairs in hand more vigorously, and to hold the whole power of the State at their disposal, to which end Cæsar was to remain in his military command, and Pompeius and Crassus were to have other provinces and armies. To this object there was only one road, which was to ask for a second consulship, and Cæsar was to assist them in their canvass by writing to his friends and sending many of his soldiers to support them at the comitia.

15. As soon as Crassus and Pompeius returned to Rome, suspicion was excited, and there was much talk through the whole city that their meeting had been held for no good. In the Senate Marcellinus and Domitius asked Pompeius if he intended to be a candidate for the consulship, to which Pompeius replied that perhaps he should, and perhaps he should not; being asked again, he said that he was a candidate for the votes of the good citizens, but not a candidate for the votes of the bad. It was considered that Pompeius had made a haughty and arrogant answer; but Crassus said, in a more modest tone, that he would be a candidate, if it was for the interest of the State; if it was not, he would decline. This encouraged certain persons to become candidates, among whom was Domitius. However, when Pompeius and Crassus had openly declared themselves candidates, the rest were afraid and withdrew, but Domitius was encouraged by Cato, who was his kinsman and friend, and stimulated and urged him to stick to his hopes, with the view of defending the common liberties: he said "it was not the consulship that Pompeius and Crassus wanted, but a tyranny; that their conduct showed they were not asking for the consulship, but aiming to seize on the provinces and the armies." By such arguments, which were also his real opinions, Cato, all but by force, brought Domitius to the Forum, and many sided with them. And those who were surprised at the canvassing of Pompeius and Crassus were no small number. "Why then do they want a second consulship? And why do they wish to be colleagues again? And why will they not have the consulship with other colleagues? There are many men

among us who are surely not unworthy to be colleagues with Crassus and Pompeius." This alarmed the partisans of Pompeius, who now abstained from no proceeding, however disorderly and violent; but, in addition to all the rest, they placed a body of men to lie in wait and attack Domitius as he was going down to the forum, while it was still dark, with his partisans, and they killed the man that held the light, and wounded many, among whom was Cato. After putting the party of Domitius to flight, and driving them back to the house, Pompeius and Crassus were proclaimed consuls. Shortly after they again surrounded the Senate-house with armed men, and, after driving Cato out of the forum, and killing some persons who opposed them, they procured another five years of administration to be added to Cæsar's term, and the two provinces of Syria and Iberia to be given to them. When the lots were cast, Crassus got Syria, and Pompeius had Iberia.

16. The result of the lot was not universally disliked; for the majority wished Pompeius not to be far from the city, and Pompeius, who was much attached to his wife, intended to spend his time chiefly in Rome. Crassus showed by his joy, immediately on the falling out of the lot, that he considered no greater good fortune had ever befallen him, and he could scarcely keep quiet before strangers and in public; to his friends he uttered many foolish and puerile expressions quite inconsistent with his years and temper, for he had never before shown himself in the least degree a braggart or arrogant. But now, being mightily elated, and his head completely turned, he was not for making Syria or Palestine the limit of his victories; but, designing to make the exploits of Lucullus against Tigranes, and

those of Pompeius against Mithridates appear mere child's play, he extended his hopes as far as to the Bactrians, and the Indians, and the external sea. And yet there was no mention of a Parthian war in the law that was drawn up on this occasion. But every body knew that Crassus was passionately bent on a Parthian war, and Cæsar wrote to him from Gaul, approving of his design, and urging him to it. When it was known that Ateius, the tribune, intended to offer some opposition to his leaving the city, and many persons joined him who complained that Crassus was going to make war upon a people who were doing the Romans no wrong, and had a treaty with them, Crassus in alarm prayed Pompeius to accompany him, and escort him out of the city. Now, the reputation of Pompeius with the multitude was great, and, by showing himself in front of Crassus, with cheerful looks and countenance, he tranquillized a numerous body of people who were prepared to obstruct Crassus, and to raise a shout against him, so that they made way and let him pass through them quietly. But Ateius met Crassus, and, first of all, endeavoured to stop him by words, and he protested against his marching out: in the next place, he ordered his attendant to lay hold of Crassus, and to detain him; but, as the rest of the tribunes would not allow this, the attendant quitted his hold of Crassus, and Ateius running to the gate placed there a burning brazier, and, as soon as Crassus arrived, he threw incense and poured libations upon it, and, at the same time, he denounced against Crassus curses, in themselves dreadful and terrific, and, in addition thereto, he uttered the names of certain awful and inauspicious deities. The Romans say that these mysterious and

ancient curses have great efficacy, that no man can escape upon whom they are laid, and that he who utters them also has an unlucky end, and, accordingly, they are not denounced either on ordinary occasions, or by many persons. Ateius was blamed for letting loose such imprecations and religious fears upon a State, on behalf of which he was hostile to Crassus.

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

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

18. While Crassus was getting together his forces,

out of the winter quarter, there came ambassadors from Arsaces with a short message. They said, if the army was sent by the Romans, there was nothing but war without truce, and without any terms; but, if Crassus, contrary to the wish of his country, as they heard, had brought arms against the Parthians and occupied territory for his private profit, Arsaces would act with moderation, and would take pity on the old age of Crassus, and give up to the Romans the men whom he had in his power, and who were rather under guard themselves than keeping guard over others. Crassus haughtily replied, that he would give an answer in Seleuceia; on which Vagises, the oldest of the ambassadors, smiled, and, showing the palm of his hand, said, "From here, Crassus, hair will grow before you see Seleuceia." The ambassadors now returned to Hyrodes, to inform him that he must be ready for war. From the cities of Mesopotamia, in which there were Roman garrisons, some soldiers who made their escape at great hazard, brought reports that caused much anxiety, having been eye-witnesses of the numbers of the enemy, and of their mode of attacking the cities; and, as is usual, they magnified everything which they reported. "When the enemy pursued," they said, "no man could escape from them, and when they fled, they could not be overtaken; that strange missiles preceded the appearance of the enemy, and before one could see who sent them, they pierced through every thing that they struck; and, as to the arms of the mailed soldiers, some were made to push through every obstacle, and others to give way to nothing." When the soldiers heard this, their courage sank; for they had been led to believe that the Parthians did not differ at all from the



Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus plundered and robbed till he was weary, and they thought that the hardest part of the war would be a long march, and the pursuit of men who would not come to close quarters; but now, contrary to their hopes, they were in expectation of a contest and great danger, so that some of the officers thought that Crassus ought to stop, and again submit to their deliberation the general state of affairs. Among these was Cassius the quæstor. The seers, also, in gentle terms showed that bad and unfavourable signs were always prognosticated to Crassus by the victims. But Crassus paid no attention to them, nor to those who advised anything else except to move on.

19. But Crassus was in no small degree encouraged by Artabazes the king of the Armenians, who came to the camp with six thousand horsemen. These were said to be the guards and attendants of the king; and he promised ten thousand men clothed in mail and thirty thousand infantry, who were to be maintained at his own cost. He attempted to persuade Crassus to invade Parthia through Armenia; for, he said, the army would not only have abundance of provision in its march through the country, by reason of him supplying them, but would also advance safely, having in their front many mountains and continuous hills, and ground unfavourable for cavalry, in which alone lay the strength of the Parthians. Crassus was well enough satisfied with the zeal of the king and the splendour of the proffered aid; but he said he would march through Mesopotamia, where he had left many brave Romans; upon this the Armenian went away. As Crassus was taking his army over at the Zeugma, many extraordinary claps of thunder broke

around, and many flashes of lightning came right in front of the army ; and a wind, mingled with cloud and hurricane, falling on the raft, broke up and crushed to pieces a large part of it. The spot also, on which Crassus intended to encamp, was struck with two thunderbolts. A horse, belonging to the general, which was caparisoned in splendid style, violently dragged along the man who held the reins, and, plunging into the stream, disappeared. It is said also, that the first eagle which was raised, turned round spontaneously. Added to this, it happened that, as they were giving out the rations to the soldiers, after crossing the river, lentiles and salt were given first, which the Romans consider to be symbols of lamentation, and are accustomed to place before the dead ; and, as Crassus was haranguing the soldiers, an expression escaped him which greatly alarmed the army. He said he would destroy the raft over the river, that no one among them might return ; and, though he ought, upon seeing the imprudence of his words, to have recalled what he had said and explained it to the soldiers, he neglected to do so, through his arrogant temper. Finally, when he was offering the usual expiatory sacrifice, and the priest had put the viscera into his hands, he threw them away, on which, observing that the standers-by were greatly disturbed, he said, with a smile, "Such is old age ; but no arms at least shall drop from its hands."

20. After this he advanced along the river, with seven legions and nearly four thousand horsemen, and almost as many light-armed troops as horsemen. Some of the scouts now returned, from their exploration, and reported that the country was clear of men, and that they had fallen in with the tracks

of many horses, which indicated that they had turned about and were retreating. This gave Crassus still better hopes, and made the soldiers completely despise the Parthians, who, as they supposed, would not come to close quarters. However, Cassius again had some conversation with Crassus, and advised him at least to give his troops rest in some of the garrisoned cities, till he should get some certain information about the enemy; but if he would not do this, to advance towards Seleuceia along the river. He urged that the boats which carried the provisions would furnish them with supplies by stopping at the places of encampment, and that, by having the river as a protection against being hemmed in by the enemy, they would always be able to fight them on fair terms.

21. While Crassus was considering and reflecting on these matters, there comes an Arab chieftain, Ariamnes by name, a cunning and faithless man, and of all the misfortunes that were by chance combined to ruin the Romans the chief and crowning mischief. Some of them who had served with Pompeius knew him as one who had received favours from Pompeius, and was supposed to be a friend to the Romans; but he now came to Crassus with a treacherous intent, and with the privity of the royal generals, to try if he could draw him far away from the river and the foot of the hills, into a boundless plain, where he might be surrounded by the enemy; for nothing was further from the intentions of the Parthians than to attack the Romans right in front. Accordingly, the barbarian coming to Crassus (and he was a plausible talker), spake in high terms of Pompeius as his benefactor, and praised the force of Crassus; but he blamed

him for his tardiness, inasmuch as he was delaying and making preparation, as if he would have occasion to employ arms instead of hands and the most active feet, against an enemy who had long been trying to get together, as quick as they could, their most valuable property and their best slaves, and to move off to the Scythians or Hyrcanians. "And yet," he said, "if you intend to fight, you ought to press on before the king recovers his courage and all his forces are concentrated; for now Surena and Sillaces have been thrown in your way to stand the attack, and the king is no where to be seen." But all this was false. For Hyrodes had at first divided his forces into two parts, and he was himself ravaging Armenia to take vengeance on Artavasdes; but he sent Surena against the Romans, not because he despised them, as some say, for it was not consistent for him to disdain Crassus as an antagonist, the first of the Romans, and to war against Artavasdes, and take the villages of Armenia; but it seems that he really feared the danger, and that he was on the watch to await the result, and that he put Surena in the front to try the fortune of a battle, and so to divert the enemy. For Surena was no person of mean estate: in wealth, birth, and consideration, he was next to the king; but, in courage and ability, the first of the Parthians of his time; and, besides all this, in stature and beauty of person he had no equal. He used always to travel, when he was on his own business, with a thousand camels to carry his baggage, and he had following him two hundred carriages for concubines; and a thousand mailed horsemen, with a larger number of light cavalry, escorted him; and he had, in all, horsemen, clients, and slaves, no less than ten thousand.

Now by hereditary right he had the privilege of first placing the diadem on the head of him who became king of the Parthians; and this very Hyrodes, who had been driven out, he restored to the Parthian empire, and took for him Seleuceia the Great, being the first to mount the wall and to put to flight with his own hand those who opposed him. Though he was not yet thirty years of age at that time, he had the first reputation for prudent counsel and judgment, by which qualities particularly he caused the ruin of Crassus, who, through his confidence and pride in the first place, and next through his fears and his misfortunes, became a most easy victim to fraud.

22. The barbarian, after persuading Crassus, drew him away from the river, and led him through the plains by a track at first convenient and easy, but which soon became toilsome; for it was succeeded by deep sand, and plains treeless and waterless, not bounded in any direction by any object that the eye could reach, so that, not only through thirst and the difficulty of the march, was the army exhausted, but even the aspect of all around caused the soldiers to despond past all comfort, seeing neither plant, nor stream, nor top of sloping hill, nor blade of grass sprouting or rising through the earth, but a bare sea-like wave of desert heaps of sand environing the army. Now this of itself made the Romans suspect treachery. Messengers also came from Artavasdes the Armenian, with a message that he was engaged in a heavy struggle since Hyrodes had fallen upon him, and that he could not send Crassus aid; but he advised Crassus above all things to change his route immediately, and, by joining the Armenians, to bring the contest

with Hyrodes to a close ; but, if he would not do this, he recommended him to advance, and always to avoid encamping in such places as were adapted for the movements of cavalry, and to keep close to the mountainous parts : to all which Crassus sent no written answer, but, under the influence of passion and perverse disposition, he answered, that he had no leisure at present to deal with the Armenians, but he would come at another time to punish Artavasdes for his treachery. Cassius was again much dissatisfied ; but he gave over advising Crassus, who was out of humour with him, though Cassius himself abused the barbarian. “ What evil dæmon,” he said, “ vilest of men, brought you to us, and by what drugs and witchcraft have you persuaded Crassus to plunge his army into a boundless wilderness and an abyss, and to pursue a path more fit for a nomadic chief of robbers than for a Roman Emperor ? ” But the barbarian, who was a cunning fellow, with abject servility, prayed him to endure a little longer ; and, while running along with the soldiers and giving them his help, he would jeer at them in a laughing mood, and say, “ I suppose you think that you are marching through Campania, and you long for the fountains, and streams, and shades, and baths, and taverns ? Have you forgotten that you are crossing the confines of the Arabs and Assyrians ? ” Thus the barbarian amused the Romans, and before his treachery was discovered he rode off, not, however without the knowledge of Crassus, after making him believe that he would serve the Roman army, and put the affairs of the enemy in confusion.

23. It is said that on that day Crassus did not appear, as is the custom of Roman generals, in a purple dress, but in black, which he immediately

changed on observing what he had done ; and it is also said that the men who carried the standards had much difficulty in raising some of them up, for they stuck in the ground as if they were firmly rooted there. Crassus ridiculed all these omens, and quickened his march, urging the infantry to follow after the cavalry, till at last a few of those who had been sent forward as scouts, came up, and reported that the rest of them had been cut off by the enemy, and they had escaped with difficulty, and that the Parthians were advancing with a large force, and full of confidence. This threw all the army into confusion, and Crassus was completely confounded, and began to put his men in order hastily, and with no great presence of mind : at first, as Cassius recommended, he extended the line of the legionary soldiers as far as possible in the plain, and making it of small depth, in order to prevent the enemy from attacking them on the flank, he distributed the cavalry on the wings ; but he changed his plan, and, drawing his men together, formed them into a deep square of four fronts, with twelve cohorts on each side. By the side of each cohort he placed a body of horse, in order that no part of the army might be without the aid of the cavalry, but might make the attack equally protected on all sides. He gave one of the wings to Cassius, and the other to young Crassus ; he himself took his station in the centre. Thus advancing, they came to a stream called Balissus, which was neither large nor copious ; but it was a joyful sight to the soldiers in the midst of the drought and heat, and by comparison with the rest of their laborious march through a country without water. Now most of the commanders thought that they ought to encamp and spend the

night there, and learn what was the number of the enemy, and the nature and disposition of their force, and so advance against them at daybreak; but Crassus, being prevailed upon by the importunity of his son, and the cavalry with him, to advance immediately, and engage with the enemy, gave orders for the men who required it to eat and drink in their ranks. And before this could be well accomplished all through the ranks, he led on his men, not slowly, nor halting at intervals, as is usual when men are marching to battle, but he kept them up to a quick, unbroken pace, until the enemy were in sight, who, contrary to expectation, did not appear to the Romans to be either numerous or formidable; for Surena disguised his numbers by placing the mass of his force behind the front ranks, and he prevented their bright armour from being seen by ordering his men to cover themselves with cloaks and skins. But when they were near the Romans, and the standard was raised by the general, first of all they filled the plain with a deep sound and a terrific noise; for the Parthians do not excite themselves to battle with horns or trumpets, but they have hollow instruments, made of skin, and furnished with brass bells, on which they strike at the same time in various parts; and these instruments produce a kind of deep and dismal sound, compounded of the roaring of wild beasts, and the harsh crash of thunder; for the Parthians rightly judge that of all the senses the hearing is that which causes the greatest alarm in the mind, and that, when this sense is affected, there is the speediest and greatest disturbance in the judgment.

24. The Romans were startled at the noise, when all of a sudden throwing off the covering of their



armour the Parthians appeared, with their helmets and breastplates flashing like flame, the Margian steel glittering sharp and bright, and the horses equipped in mail of brass and iron; but Surena was most conspicuous of all, being the tallest and handsomest man among them, though his personal appearance, owing to his feminine beauty, did not correspond to his reputation for courage, for he was dressed more in the Median fashion, with his face painted and his hair parted, while the rest of the Parthians, still keeping to the Scythian fashion, wore their hair long and bushy to make themselves more formidable. At first the Parthians intended to fall upon them with their long spears, and to drive the front ranks from their ground; but when they saw the depth of their close-locked ranks, and the firmness and stability of the men, they drew back; and while they seemed to be at the same time dispersing themselves and breaking their ranks, they threw themselves around the square before the Romans were aware of it. Crassus ordered the light-armed troops to spring forward; but they had not advanced far before they were met by a shower of arrows, which galled them, and they ran back for shelter among the legionary soldiers, and caused the beginning of disorder and alarm among the Romans, who saw the vigour with which the arrows were discharged and their strength, for they tore the armour and made their way through everything alike, whether hard or soft defence. The Parthians, dispersing themselves at considerable distances from one another, began to discharge their arrows from all points at once, not taking any very exact aim (for the close and compact ranks of the Romans did not give a

man the opportunity of missing if he wished it), but sending their arrows with vigorous and forcible effect from bows which were strong and large, and, owing to their great degree of bending, discharged the missiles with violence. Now the condition of the Romans was pitiable from the beginning; for, if they kept their position, they were exposed to be wounded, and if they attempted to close with the enemy, they were just as far from doing the enemy any harm, and they suffered just as much; for the Parthians while retreating still discharged their arrows, and they do this most effectually next to the Scythians: and it is a most subtle device to make their escape from danger while they are still fighting, and to take away the disgrace of flight.

25. The Romans endured so long as they had hopes that the Parthians would withdraw from the contest when they had discharged their arrows, or would come to close quarters; but when they perceived that there were many camels standing there, loaded with arrows, and that the Parthians who had first shot all their arrows, turned round to the camels for a fresh supply, Crassus, seeing no end to this, began to lose heart, and he sent messengers to his son with orders to force the enemy to engage before he was surrounded, for the Parthians were mainly attacking and surrounding with their cavalry the wing commanded by young Crassus, with the view of getting in his rear. Accordingly, the young man taking thirteen hundred horsemen,—a thousand of whom he had brought from Cæsar, — and five hundred archers, and eight cohorts of the legionary soldiers, who were nearest to him, wheeled about to attack the Parthians. But the Parthians, who were manœuvring about Crassus, either because they fell in

with some marshes, as some say, or because it was their design to attack Crassus when they had drawn him as far as they could from his father, turned round and fled. On this Crassus, calling out that the Parthians did not stand their ground, advanced with Censorinus and Megabacchus, of whom Megabacchus was distinguished for courage and strength, and Censorinus was a senator and a powerful speaker, both of them companions of Crassus, and about the same age. The cavalry pursued the enemy, nor did the infantry allow themselves to be left behind, being full of alacrity and hope of victory; for they thought that they were victorious and in pursuit: but they had not gone far before they perceived the stratagem; for the Parthians, who were supposed to be flying, began to face about, and others, in greater numbers, joined them. Upon this the Romans halted, thinking that the enemy would come to close quarters with them, as they were only few in number. But the Parthians placing their mailed horsemen in the front, to oppose the Romans, rode about them with the rest of the cavalry dispersed, and, by trampling the ground, they raised from the bottom heaps of sand, which threw up such an immense cloud of dust that the Romans could neither see clearly nor speak; and, being driven into a narrow compass, and falling one on another, they were wounded and died not easy nor yet a speedy death, for tortured with violent convulsions and pain, and writhing with the arrows in them they broke them in the wounds, and, by trying to pull out by force the barbed points, which had pierced through their veins and nerves, they increased the evil by breaking the arrows, and thus injured themselves. Many thus fell, and the survivors also were unable to fight; for, when Pub-

lius encouraged them to attack the mailed horsemen, they showed him that their hands were nailed to their shields, and their feet fastened right through to the ground, so that they were unable either to fly or to defend themselves. However, Publius cheering the cavalry, made a vigorous attack with them, and closed with the enemy; but the Romans were under a disadvantage, both as to attack and defence, striking with small and feeble spears against breast-plates of raw hide and iron, and receiving the blows of long spears on the lightly equipped and bare bodies of the Gauls, for Crassus trusted most to them, and with them indeed he did wonderful feats; for the Gauls, laying hold of the long spears, and closing with the Partians, pushed them from their horses, the men, owing to the weight of their armour, being unable to stir themselves; and many of the Gauls, quitting their own horses, and slipping under those of the enemy, wounded them in the belly, and the horses springing up through pain, and, at the same time, trampling on their riders and the enemy, fell dead. The Gauls were most oppressed by the heat and thirst, being unaccustomed to both, and they had lost most of their horses by driving them against the long spears. They were, therefore, compelled to retreat to the legionary soldiers, taking with them Publius who was badly wounded. Seeing a sandy eminence near, they retreated to it, and fastened their horses in the middle, and closing in their front by close-locking their shields, they thought they could thus more easily repel the enemy: but it turned out just the other way; for, while they were on the level ground, the front ranks did, in some sort, give relief to those who were behind; but on this spot, which raised the men one above

another, by reason of the inequality of the ground, and placed every one who was in the rear above the man in front of him, there was no one who could escape, and they were all alike exposed to the missiles, lamenting their inglorious and unresisting death. There were with Publius two Greeks, who belonged to the dwellers in those parts in Carrhæ, Hieronymus and Nicomachus, both of whom attempted to persuade Publius to retire with them, and to make his escape to Ichnæ, a city which had taken the side of the Romans, and was not far off. But he replied that no death was so dreadful as to make Publius, through fear of it, desert those who were losing their lives for his sake, and bade them save themselves, and taking leave of them, he allowed them to go; himself being unable to use his hand effectually, for it was pierced by an arrow, presented his side to his shield-bearer and ordered him to despatch him with his sword. They say that Censorinus perished in the same way, and that Megabacchus killed himself, and all the rest of the most distinguished men. The Parthians, ascending the hill, transfixing with their spears the survivors; and it is said that not more than five hundred were taken prisoners. The Parthians, cutting off the head of Publius, immediately rode off to attack Crassus.

26. With Crassus matters were thus. After ordering his son to make an attack on the Parthians, and receiving intelligence that they were routed to a great distance, and were hotly pursued; seeing also that the enemy in front were no longer pressing on him so much as before, for most of them had crowded to the place where young Crassus was, he recovered his courage a little, and drawing his

forces together, posted them on a sloping ground, being in immediate expectation that his son would return from the pursuit. Of those who were sent by Publius to his father, when he began to be in danger, the first fell into the hands of the enemy and were killed; and the next, after escaping with great difficulty, reported that Publius was lost, if he did not receive speedy and sufficient aid from his father. Now, Crassus was affected by many contending feelings at once, and he no longer viewed anything with sober judgment. Distracted by alarm for the whole army, and love of his son at the same time, he was urged by one motive to go to his aid, and by the other not to go: but finally he began to move in advance. In the mean time the enemy came up, making themselves more formidable by their shouts and pæans, and many of the drums again bellowed around the Romans, who were in expectation of a second attack. The Parthians, carrying the head of Publius fixed on a spear, rode close up to the Romans, and, displaying it insultingly, asked who were his parents and family, for it was not decent to suppose that so noble and brave a youth was the son of so cowardly and mean a man as Crassus. The sight of this broke and unstrung the spirit of the Romans more than all the rest of their dangers; and it did not fill them with a spirit for revenge, as one might have supposed, but with shuddering and trembling. Yet they say that the courage of Crassus on that dreadful occasion shone forth more brightly than ever before; for he went along the ranks, crying out, "Mine alone, Romans, is this misfortune: but the great fortune and glory of Rome abide in you, if your lives are saved, unbroken and unvanquished;

and, if you have any pity on me, who have been deprived of the noblest of sons, show this in your fury against the enemy. Take from them their rejoicing, avenge their cruelty: be not cast down at what has happened, for it is the law that those who aim at great things must also endure. Neither did Lucullus vanquish Tigranes without loss of blood, nor Scipio Antiochus; and our ancestors of old lost a thousand ships on the coast of Sicily, and in Italy many Imperatores and generals, not one of whom, by being first vanquished, prevented them from vanquishing the victors; for it is not by good fortune that the Roman state has advanced to such a height of power, but by the endurance and courage of those who meet danger."

27. Though Crassus used such words to encourage them, he did not see many eager to follow his exhortations; but, by ordering them to shout the battle cry, he discovered the dispirited condition of his men, so weak, and feeble, and irregular a shout they made; while the cries on the side of the enemy were clear and bold. When the Parthians began the attack, their slaves and clients, riding about on the flanks of the Romans, galled them with their arrows: and the horsemen in front, using their long spears, kept driving the Romans into a narrow compass, except those who, to avoid death from the arrows, made a desperate attempt to rush upon the Parthians; wherein they did the enemy little damage, but met with a speedy death by great and mortal wounds; for the Parthians drove their spears, heavy with iron, against the horsemen; and, from the force of the blow, they often went even through two men. After thus fighting, as dark came on the Parthians retired, saying,

that they allowed Crassus a single night to lament his son, unless he should take better counsel for himself, and choose rather to come to King Arsaces than to be taken. The Parthians encamped near the Romans, in high hopes. A painful night followed to the Romans, who neither paid any attention to the interment of the dead, nor care to the wounded, and those who were in the agonies of death; but every man was severally lamenting his own fate; for it appeared that they could not escape, either if they waited there till daybreak, or if they plunged by night into a boundless plain. And the wounded caused a great difficulty; for they would be an obstacle to the quickness of their flight if they attempted to carry them off: and, if they should leave them, their shouts would betray the attempt to escape unobserved. Though they considered Crassus to be the cause of all their sufferings, the soldiers still wished to see him and hear his voice. But Crassus, wrapping himself up in his cloak, lay concealed in the dark, an example to the many of fortune's reverses, and to the wise of want of judgment and of ambition, which made him dissatisfied unless he was the first and greatest among so many thousands, and think that he lacked every thing because he was judged to be inferior to two men only. However, Octavius the legate, and Cassius, endeavoured to rouse and comfort him; but, finding that he had entirely given himself up to despair, they called together the centurions and tribunes, and, after deliberating, they resolved not to stay on the ground, and they made an attempt at first to put the army in motion without the sound of the trumpet, and in silence. But when the soldiers who were disabled, perceived



that they were going to be deserted, terrible disorder and confusion, mingled with groans and shouts, filled the camp; and this was followed by disorder and panic as they began to advance, for they thought that the enemy was coming upon them. After frequently turning from their route, and frequently putting themselves in order of battle, and taking up the wounded who followed, and then laying them down again, they lost much time on the march, with the exception of three hundred horsemen, with Ignatius at their head, who reached Carrhæ about midnight. Ignatius, calling out in the Roman language to the watch upon the walls, and making them hear, told them to tell Coponius, the commander, that there had been a great battle between Crassus and the Parthians; and, without saying more or who he was, he rode off to the Zeugma, and saved all his men; but he got a bad name for deserting his general. However, the information thus conveyed to Coponius was some advantage to Crassus; for Coponius concluded that this hasty and confused message indicated that he who brought it had no good news to report: and, accordingly, he immediately ordered the soldiers to arm; and, as soon as he learned that Crassus was on his march, he went out to meet him, and, taking charge of him and his army, conducted them into the city.

28. Though the Parthians during the night discovered that the Romans were making their escape, they did not pursue, but at daybreak they came upon those who were left in the camp, to the number of four thousand, and massacred them; and they rode about the plain and overtook many who were there rambling about. Four complete cohorts, while it was still dark, under the command of Varguntinus

the legate, got separated from the rest and lost their way, and, being surrounded by the Parthians on an eminence, they fought till they were all killed, with the exception of twenty men. The Parthians, admiring the courage of these twenty men, who were endeavouring to push through them with their bare swords, made way and allowed them a passage through their ranks, and to march slowly to Carrhæ. A false report reached Surena, that Crassus and all the men of rank had made their escape, and that those who had fled to Carrhæ were a mingled rabble not worth notice. Thinking, then, that he had lost the end of his victory, but being still doubtful and wishing to know the truth, in order that he might either stay there and besiege the town, or leave the people of Carrhæ behind and pursue Crassus, he sends one of the men with him, who could speak both languages, with instructions to approach the walls, and in the Roman language to call out for Crassus himself or Cassius, and to say that Surena wished to have a conference with them. The man did as he was ordered; and when it was reported to Crassus, he accepted the invitation, and soon after there came from the barbarians some Arabs who well knew Crassus and Cassius by sight, having been in the camp before the battle. The Arabs, observing Cassius on the wall, said that Surena proposed a truce, and offered, if they would become friends to the king, to let them go safe, if they would leave Mesopotamia; for he considered this proposal advantageous to both sides, rather than to let matters come to extremities. Cassius accepted the proposal, and asked for a place and time to be fixed where Surena and Crassus should meet: the men replied that this should be done, and rode off.

29. Now Surena was delighted at the Romans being besieged, and at day-break he led the Parthians against the city, who, with many insulting expressions, bade the Romans, if they wished to have a truce, deliver up to them Crassus and Cassius in chains. The Romans were vexed at being deceived; and, telling Crassus to give up all hopes of aid from the Armenians as too remote and groundless, they prepared to make their escape by stealth; and none of the people of Carrhæ were to know this before the time came. But Andromachus, that most faithless wretch, heard of it from Crassus, who confided to him the secret, and also the guidance on the route. Accordingly, all was known to the Parthians; for Andromachus reported to them every particular. But as it is not the custom of the Parthians to fight in the dark, and indeed they cannot easily do it, and Crassus had left the city by night, Andromachus contrived that the Parthians should not be far behind in the pursuit, by leading the Romans first by one route and then by another, till at last he brought them out of their course into deep marshes and ground full of ditches, and thus made the march difficult and circuitous to all who followed him; for there were some who suspected that Andromachus had no honest object in turning and twisting about, and therefore did not follow. Cassius, indeed, returned to Carrhæ; and when the guides, who were Arabs, advised him to wait till the moon had passed the Scorpion, he replied, "I fear the Archer more than the Scorpion," and, saying this, he rode off to Syria, with five hundred horsemen. Others, who had faithful guides, got into a mountainous country, called Simaca, and were in a safe position

before day-break : they were about five thousand in number, and were commanded by a brave man, Octavius. But day-break found Crassus exposed to the treachery of Andromachus in the unfavourable ground and the marshes. Crassus had with him four cohorts of the legionary soldiers, and a very few horsemen, and five lictors, with whom he got upon the road with great difficulty just as the enemy was falling upon him ; and now being about twelve stadia short of joining Octavius, he fled to another hill not so difficult for cavalry nor yet so strong, but one that lay below Sinnaca, and was connected with it by a long ridge, which stretched through the middle of the plain. His danger was apparent to Octavius, who ran before any one else with a few men, from the higher ground to aid Crassus, upon which the rest of the men, abusing themselves for cowards, rushed forward, and, falling on the enemy, and repulsing them from the hill, put Crassus in the midst of them, and threw their shields before him, proudly exclaiming that there was no Parthian missile which should strike the Emperor until all of them had fallen in defence of him.

30. Surena observing that the spirit of the Parthians was somewhat dulled towards the contest, and, if the night should come on and the Romans get among the mountains, they could not by any means be overtaken, employed the following stratagem against Crassus. Some of the captives were let loose, who, in the Parthian camp, had heard the barbarians saying to one another, in pursuance of a concerted plan, that the king did not wish the war with the Romans to be carried to extremities, but desired to have their friendship again, by doing

them the favour of treating Crassus kindly. Accordingly the barbarians stopped fighting; and Surena, with his chief officers, riding gently up to the hill, unstrung his bow, and, holding out his right hand, invited Crassus to come to terms, saying, that Crassus had put the king's courage and power to the test, though the king did not wish it, and yet the king of his own free will made the Romans an offer of mercy and friendship by being ready to make a truce with them if they would retire, and by giving them the opportunity of a safe retreat. Upon Surena saying this the Romans eagerly accepted his proposal, and were overjoyed; though Crassus, having been always overreached by their fraud, and considering the suddenness of the change to be inexplicable, would not listen to them, and hesitated. But the soldiers began to call out and urge him to accept the terms, and they fell to abusing and reproaching him, for wishing to expose them to the risk of fighting with those whom he did not venture to go to a conference with, even when they laid aside their arms. Crassus at first attempted to prevail on them by entreaty, and he said that, if they would hold out for the rest of the day, they would be able to march by night through the rough and mountain country, and he pointed out to them the route, and entreated them not to throw away their hopes when safety was so near; but, as the soldiers began to be exasperated and to clatter their arms and threaten him, he was alarmed, and advanced towards Surena, after first turning round and merely saying, "Octavius and Petronius, and you Roman officers who are here, you see that I go under compulsion, and you are witnesses that I am treated in a shameful way and am under con-

strait; but, if you get safe home, tell all the world, that Crassus lost his life through the treachery of the enemy, and was not surrendered by his fellow-citizens."

31. Yet Octavius and those about him did not stay behind, but descended the hill with Crassus. However, Crassus made the lictors who were following him turn back. The first who met them, on the part of the barbarians, were two Greeks of half-breed, who leaping down from their horses, made their obeisance to Crassus, and, addressing him in the Greek language, urged him to send forward some persons, who, as they said, would see that Surena himself and those about him were advancing without armour and without their weapons. Crassus replied, that if he had the least concern about his life, he should not have put himself into their hands; however, he sent two Roscii, brothers, to inquire upon what terms they should meet, and how many of them. Surena immediately seized and detained the two brothers, and he himself advanced on horseback with the chief officers, and said, "What is this? the Roman inperator on foot while we are riding!" and he ordered them to bring a horse to Crassus. Crassus observed that neither himself nor Surena was acting wrong in coming to the conference according to the fashion of their respective countries; on which Surena said that from that moment there was a truce and peace between king Ilyrodes and the Romans; but that it was requisite to advance to the river, and there have the agreement put in writing; "for you Romans," he said, "have not a very good memory about contracts;" and he held out his right hand to Crassus. When Crassus was going

to send for a horse, Surena said there was no occasion; "for the king gives you this." At the same time a horse with golden bits stood close by Crassus, and the groom raised him up and mounted him, and then followed, quickening the horse's pace with blows. Octavius first laid hold of the bridle of the horse, and, after him, Petronius, one of the tribunes, and then the rest got round the horse of Crassus, endeavouring to stop it, and dragging away those who pressed close upon Crassus on each side. This led to a struggle and tumult, and finally to blows; Octavius drew his sword and killed the groom of one of the barbarians, and another struck Octavius from behind and killed him. Petronius had no weapon, and, being struck on the breast-plate, he leapt down from the horse unwounded; and a Parthian, named Pomaxathres, killed Crassus. Some say that it was not Pomaxathres, but another, who killed Crassus, and that Pomaxathres cut off the head and right hand when Crassus was lying on the ground. But these are rather matters of conjecture than of certain knowledge; for of those who were present some fell there fighting about Crassus, and the rest immediately fled back to the hill. Upon this the Parthians came and said, that Crassus had been punished as he deserved, but Surena invited the rest to come down and fear nothing: whereupon, some of the Romans came down and surrendered, and the rest dispersed themselves under cover of night, of whom a very few escaped; the rest the Arabs hunted out, and put to death when they caught them. It is said that twenty thousand perished in all, and ten thousand were taken alive.

32. Surena sent the head and hand of Crassus to

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



Rustius, indeed, merits blame, but the Parthians were shameless in finding fault with the Milesian stories ; for many of the kings who have reigned over them, as Arsacilæ, have been the sons of Milesian and Ionian concubines.

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

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

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

A. Who killed him?

B. Mine is the honour,

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



## NOTES.

## SERTORIUS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

[*Philippus, &c.*] This Philippus was the father of Alexander the Great. He is said to have lost an eye from a wound by an arrow at the siege of Pydna.

Antigonus, one of the generals of Alexander, was named Cyclops, or the one-eyed. He accompanied Alexander in his Asiatic expedition, and in the division of the empire after Alexander's death he obtained a

share, and by his vigour and abilities he made himself the most powerful of the successors of Alexander. It is said that Apelles, who painted the portrait of Antigonus, placed him in profile in order to hide the defect of the one eye. Antigonus closed his long career at the battle of Ipsus B.C. 301, where he was defeated and killed. He was then eighty-one years of age.

*Annibal.*] Plutarch's form is Annibas. I may have sometimes written it Hannibal. Thus we have Anno and Hanno. I don't know which is the true form.

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

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

3. *Cæpio—Cimbri and Teutones.*] The date is B.C. 105. See the Life of Marius, c. 10, and Notes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*New Carthage.*] This town, which the Romans called Nova Carthago, was built by the Carthaginians at the close of the first Punic War B.C. 235, and so long as they kept possession of Spain it was their chief

city. Livius (26. c. 42) describes the situation of New Carthage, now Cartagena, and one of the best harbours in Spain. Its position on the S.E. coast is favourable for communication with Africa.

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

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

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

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

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

*Atlantic Islands.*] The only islands in the Atlantic that correspond to this description are Madeira and Porto Santo, but Porto Santo is forty miles north-east of Madeira. The distance of Madeira from the coast of Africa is about 400 miles or about 4000 stadia. The climate of Madeira is very temperate: the thermometer seldom



sinks below 60°, though it sometimes rises as high as 90° of Fahrenheit. On the high and mountainous parts there are heavy dews, and rain falls at all seasons. Owing to the variety of surface and elevation the island produces both tropical products and those of temperate countries. The fame of this happy region had spread to all parts of the ancient world, though we cannot safely conclude that the islands were known by report to Homer. Horace in his 16th *Epode* is probably alluding to these islands when he is speaking of the Civil Wars and of flying from their horrors in those beautiful lines :

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

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

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

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

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

*Antæus.*] The story of this giant is in the mythographers. Tumuli are found in many parts of the old and new world, and it seems probable that they were all memorials to the dead. The only surprising thing in this story is the size of the body ; which each man may explain in his own way. There are various records in ancient writers of enormous bones being found. Those found at Tegea under a smithy, which were supposed to

be the bones of Orestes, were seven cubits long (Herodotus, i. 68), little more than the ninth part of the dimensions of Antæus: but Antæus was a giant and Orestes was not. See Strabo's remarks on this story (p. 829).

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

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

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

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

12. *Cotta.*] He was of the Aurelia Gens.

*Mellaria.*] Is a small town on the coast east of the mouth of the Bactis (Guadalquivir) and near the Straits of Gibraltar. The channel must be the Straits of Gibraltar.

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

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

The true name of Thoranius is Thorius.

*The other Iberia.*] That is the province which the Romans called Tarraconensis, from the town of Tarraco, Tarragona. The Tarraconensis was the north-eastern part of the Spanish peninsula.

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

*Lucius Manlius.*] Some critics read Lucius Lollius. See the various readings in Sintenis; his name was L. Manilius.

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

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

13. *Theophrastus.*] Probably the philosopher and pupil of Aristotle.

*Langobritae.*] Some writers would connect this name of a people with Langobriga the name of a place. There were two places of the name it is said, and one is placed near the mouth of the Douro. It is useless to attempt to fix the position of the Langobritae from what Plutarch has said.

*Aquinius.*] Or Aquinus or Aquilius. Cornelius Aquinus was his name.

14. *Oscæ.*] Osca was a town in the north-east of Spain, probably Huesca in Aragon. Mannert observes that this school must have greatly contributed to fix the Latin language in Spain. Spain however already contained Roman settlers, and at a later period it contained numerous Roman colonies: in fact the Peninsula was completely Romanized, of which the Spanish language and the establishment of the Roman Law in Spain

are the still existing evidence. The short-lived school of Sertorius could not have done much towards fixing the Latin language in Spain.

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

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

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

16. *Iber River.*] This is the Ebro, which the Romans called *Iberus*, the large river which flows in a south-east direction and enters the Mediterranean.

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

*Two Horses.*] The story is told by Frontinus, *Stratagemata*, i. 10, as Kaltwasser observes, and again in iv. 7, in the very same words. It has been often remarked that Horatius probably alludes to this story (ii. *Epist.* 1, 45).

17. *Charicatanis.*] The *Tagonius* is either the *Tagus* (*Tajo*) or a branch of that large river, on the banks of which the *Carpentani* are placed by geographers, who also

mark Caraca, a position on the Henares, a branch of the Tagus. If Caraca represents the country of the Charicstani, the Tagonius is the Nares or Henares, on which stood Complutum, the modern Alcalà de Henares. But all this is merely conjecture.

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

Pompeius began his Spanish campaign b.c. 76.

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

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

*Pompeius.*] See the *Life of Pompeius*, c. 19; and

Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 110), who states that the battle took place near the town of Sucro (which would be the more correct translation of the text of Plutarch) and that the wing which Perperna commanded was defeated by Metellus.

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

20. *Thalcher.*] Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 110) has the same story about the deer being found.

21. *Seguntum*] or Saguntia, as it is written in Appian (i. 110). It is not certain what place is meant. Some critics would read "in the plains of the Saguntini," by which might be meant the neighbourhood of Saguntum, a town on the east coast between the mouths of the Ebro and the Xucar, which was taken by Hannibal in the second Punic War. (Liv. 21. c. 15.) The maps place a Segontia on the Tagonius, another on the Salo (Xalon) a branch of the Ebro, and a Saguntia in the country of the Vaccaei on a northern branch of the Douro. Pompeius in his letter to the Senate speaks of the capture of the camp of Sertorius near Sucro, his defeat on the Durus, and the capture of Valentia. If the Durus be the Douro, this Segontia may be one of the towns called Segontia in the north-west of Spain. But the Durus may be the Turia, the river of Valentia, and Segontia may be Saguntum. The fact of Pompeius wintering among the Vaccaei is perhaps in favour of a north-west Segontia; but still I think that Saguntum was the battle-field. This battle is mentioned by Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 110), who says that Pompeius lost six thousand men, but that Metellus defeated Perperna who lost above five thousand men.

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

**Pompeius.]** Compare the Life of Lucullus, c. 5, and the *Life* of Crassus, c. 11.

The letter of Pompeius to the Senate is in the third book of the Fragments of the Roman History of Sallustius. The letter concludes with the following words, which Plutarch had apparently read: "Ego non rem familiarem modo, verum etiam fidem consumpsi. Reliqui vos estis, qui nisi subvenitis, invito et prædicente me, exercitus hinc et cum eo omne bellam Hispaniæ in Italiam transgredientur."

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

**Victories.]** Compare the Life of Sulla, c. 11.

**23. *Treaty with Sulla.***] See the Life of Sulla, c. 24.

**24. *Palatium.***] Kaltwasser quotes Reiske, who observes that Plutarch, who wrote under the Empire, expresses himself after the fashion of his age, when the Roman Caesars lived on the Palatine.

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

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

***Publicani.***] Compare the Life of Lucullus, c. 20.

**25. *Oscæ.***] Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 112) does not mention this massacre of the Iberian boys; but he states

that Sertorius had become odious to the Romans whom he now distrusted, and that he employed Iberians instead of the Romans as his body-guard. He also adds that the character of Sertorius was changed, that he gave himself up to wine and women, and was continually sustaining defeats. These circumstances and fear for his own life, according to Appian, led Perperna to conspire against Sertorius (i. 113).

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

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

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

Plutarch's estimate of Sertorius may be a favourable one; yet he does not omit to mention that at his life which was most blamable, the massacre of the youths at Osca. From the slight indications in Frontinus, who found some material for his work on Military Stratagems in the campaigns of Sertorius, and from other passages, we may collect that, however mild the temper of Sertorius was, circumstances must often have compelled him to acts of severity and even cruelty. The difficulties of his position can only be estimated when we reflect on the nature of a campaign in many parts of Spain and the kind



of soldiers he had under him. Promptitude and decision were among his characteristics; and in such a warfare promptitude and decision cannot be exercised at the time when alone they are of any use, if a man is swayed by any other considerations than those of prudence and necessity in the hour of danger. A general who could stab one of his own men in the heat of battle, to prevent him dispiriting the army by news of a loss, proved that his judgment was as clear as his determination was resolved.

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

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

27. Metellus marched to another part of Spain, and left Pompeius to deal with Perperna. According to Appian's narrative the decisive action between Pompeius and Perperna took place "on the tenth day," probably the tenth from the death of Sertorius. Pompeius would not see Perperna after he was taken, and prudently put him to death. "The death of Sertorius," says Appian,

"was the end of the Spanish war, and it is probable that if Sertorius had lived it would not have been terminated so soon or so easily."

## LUCULLUS.

1. The complete name of Lucullus was L. Licinius Lucullus. The Licinii were a Plebeian Gens, to which belonged the Luculli, Crassi, Muraenae, and others. Lucius Licinius Lucullus, the grandfather of Plutarch's Lucullus, was the son of L. Licinius Lucullus, who was Curule Aedile B.C. 202, and the first who gave nobility to his family. This grandfather of Lucullus was consul B.C. 151 with P. Postumius Albinus. He conquered the Vaccaci, Cantabri, and other nations of Spain, hitherto unknown to the Romans. Appian (*Iberica*, c. 52) gives an instance of his cruelty and perfidy in his Spanish wars. L. Licinius Lucullus, the father, was praetor B.C. 103. In B.C. 102 he went to take the command against the slaves who were in rebellion in Sicily under Athenion. He conducted the war ill, and on his return he was prosecuted for peculation and convicted. His punishment was exile. It is not known what the offence was that Servilius was charged with.

*Metellus.*] This Metellus was the conqueror of Jugurtha: he was consul B.C. 109. See the Life of Marius, c. 7. His sister Caecilia was the wife of L. Licinius Lucullus, the father of Plutarch's Lucullus: she was also the mother of Marcus the brother of Lucius Lucullus.

*Sulla—Memoirs.*] See Life of Sulla, c. 6.

*As a struck tunny.*] This line is also quoted by Plutarch in his Treatise 'De Sera Numinis Vindicta,' c. 10.

*Hortensius.*] I should have translated the Greek word (δικολόγος) "orator." Jurist in Plutarch is νομοδείκτης (Plutarch, *Tib. Gracchus*, c. 9) or νομικός. Quintus Hortensius Ortelus, the orator, was a friend and rival of Cicero, who often speaks of him. He began his career as a pleader in the courts at the age of nineteen and

continued his practice for forty-four years. (*Brutus*, c. 64, and the note in H. Meyer's edition.)

*Sisenna.*] L. Cornelius Sisenna, a man of patrician family, was praetor B.C. 119, and in the next year he was governor of Sicily. He and Hortensius defended C. Verres against Cicero. He wrote the history of the Marsic war and of the war of Sulla in Italy, which he continued to the death of Sulla. The historical work of Sallustius began where that of Sisenna ended. Cicero (*De Legg.* i. 2) says that Sisenna was the best historical writer that had then appeared at Rome. He wrote other works also, and he translated into Latin the lewd stories of Aristides the Milesian. (Plutarch, *Crassus*, c. 32; Ovidius, *Tristia*, ii. v. 443.)

See Cicero, *Brutus*, c. 64, and the notes in Meyer's edition; Krause, *Vitae et Frag. Vet. Histor. Roman.* p. 299.

*Marsic War.*] It appears from this that the History of the Marsic war by Lucullus was extant in the time of Plutarch. Cicero (*Ad Attic.* i. 19) mentions this Greek history of Lucullus.

*Marcus.*] This Marcus was adopted by M. Terentius Varro, whence after his adoption he was called Terentius Varro Lucullus. The curule aedileship of the two brothers belongs to the year B.C. 79, and the event is here placed, after Plutarch's fashion, not in the proper place in his biography, but the story is told incidentally as a characteristic of Lucullus. I have expressed myself ambiguously at the end of this chapter. It should be "that Lucullus in his absence was elected aedile with his brother." (Cicero, *Academic. Prior.* ii. 1.)

2. *Sulla—Athens.*] See Life of Sulla, c. 13, &c.

*Cyrene.*] Drumann (*Geschichte Roms*, Licinii Luculli, p. 121, no. 80) observes that this winter expedition of Lucullus was "not after the capture of Athens, as Plutarch, *Lucullus*, c. 2," states, and he refers to Appian (*Mithridat.* c. 33). But Plutarch's account is not what Drumann represents it to be. This expedition was in the winter of B.C. 87 and 86. Aelian (*Var. Hist.* ii. 42) tells a similar story of Plato and the Arcadians, and

Diogenes Laertius (iii. 17) has a like story about Plato and the Arcadians and Thebans.

Plutarch begins his Treatise which is intitled to An Uninstructed Prince with the same story about Plato and the Cyrenaeans (*Moralia*, ed. Wyttēbach, vol. iv.).

*Ptolemaeus.*] This can only be Ptolemæus VIII. sometimes called Soter II. and Lathyrus, who was restored to his kingdom B.C. 89. The difficulty that Kaltwasser raises about Lathyrus being in Cyprus at this time is removed by the fact that he had returned from Cyprus. As to Plutarch calling him a "young man," that is a mistake; or Plutarch may have confounded him with his younger brother Alexander.

*Memphis.*] Plutarch is alluding to the Pyramids, and to the great temples of Memphis.

3. *Pitane.*] Pitane was one of the old Greek towns of Aeolis, situated on the coast at the mouth of the Evenus, and opposite to the island of Lesbos, now Mitilēn.

*Fimbria.*] See the Life of Sulla, c. 12.

*Orchomenus and Chaeronea.*] See Life of Sulla, c. 21.

*Friend and General.*] This was the consul L. Valerius Flaccus. See the Life of Sulla, c. 20.

*Troad.*] Lectum is a promontory of the Troad, which is that district of Asia Minor that took its name from the old town of Troja or Troia, and lay in the angle between the Hellespont, the Dardanelles, and the Aegean or Archipelago. It is fully described by Strabo, lib. xiii.

*To row her stern foremost.*] Kaltwasser has translated this passage differently from his predecessors: "turned his ship aside by a quick movement and made all his men crowd to the stern." But his version is probably wrong. The expression ἐπὶ πρύμναν ὤσασθαι is perhaps equivalent to πρύμνον κρούεσθαι. (Thucydides, i. 50.)

4. *Sulla—contribution.*] See Life of Sulla, c. 24, 25.

*Marius.*] It is conjectured by Leopoldus that there is an error here, and that the name should be Manius, and that Manius Aquilius is meant, whom together with others the Mitylenæans gave up in chains to Mithridates. (Vell. Patere. ii. 18.)

*Elæa.*] This is a place on the coast of the mainland, and east of Pitane.

5. *Consul.*] Lucullus was consul B.C. 74, with M. Aurelius Cotta for his colleague.

*Pompeius—mohey.*] See the Life of Pompeius, c. 20, and the Life of Sertorius, c. 21.

*Cethegus.*] P. Cornelius Cethegus originally belonged to the party of Marius, and he accompanied the younger Marius in his flight to Africa B.C. 88 (Life of Marius, c. 40). He returned to Rome B.C. 87, and in the year B.C. 83 he attached himself to Sulla after his return from Asia and was pardoned. After Sulla's death he had great influence at Rome, though he never was consul. Cicero (*Brutus*, c. 48) speaks of him as thoroughly acquainted with all the public business and as having great weight in the Senate.

*Lucius Quintus.*] He is commemorated by Cicero (*Brutus*, c. 62) as a man well fitted for speaking in noisy assemblies. He was a tribune in the year of the consulship of Lucullus.

6. *Octavius.*] This was L. Octavius who was consul with C. Aurelius Cotta B.C. 75.

*Metellus.*] Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius. See the Life of Sertorius.

*Propontis.*] This is the closed sea that lies between the two channels, by one of which, the Thracian Bosphorus or the channel of Constantinople, it is connected with the Euxine or Black Sea, and by the other, the Hellespontus or Dardanelles, it is connected with the Aegæan Sea or the Archipelago. This is now the Sea of Marmora. Part of the southern and eastern coast belonged to Bithynia. The city of Cyzicus was within the Propontis.

7. *Fimbrig—Sulla.*] See the Life of Sulla, c. 25.

*Sophists.*] The sophists of Plutarch's time were rhetoricians, who affected to declaim on any subject, which they set off with words and phrases and little more. One of the noted masters of this art, Aristides of Bithynia, might have been known to Plutarch, though he was younger than Plutarch. Many of his unsubstantial de-

clamations are extant. Plutarch in his *Life of Lucullus*, c. 22, has mentioned another of this class.

*Money lenders and farmers.*] The Romans carried on a thriving trade in this way in the provinces. In Cicero's period we find that many men of rank did not scruple to enrich themselves in this manner; and they were unsparing creditors.

The word (*τελωναι*) which I have elsewhere translated by the Roman word *Publicani*, means the men who farmed the taxes in the provinces. The *Publicani* at this period belonged to the order of the *Equites*. A number of them associated themselves in a partnership (*societas*) for the farming of the taxes of some particular province. These associations had their agents in the provinces and a chief manager (*magister*) at Rome. The collection of the taxes gave employment to a great number of persons; and thus the *Publicani* had at their disposal numerous places in the provinces, which gave them great influence at Rome. (Cicero, *Pro Cn. Plancio*, c. 19.) The taxes were taken at some sum that was agreed upon; and we find an instance mentioned by Cicero (*Ad Attic.* i. 17) in which their competition or their greediness led them to give too much and to call on the Senate to cancel the bargain. The Romans at this time derived little revenue from Italy, and the large expenditure had to be supplied out of the revenue raised in the provinces and collected by the *Publicani*. The *Publicani* thus represented the monied interest of modern times, and the State sometimes required their assistance to provide the necessary supplies.

It seems probable that the *Publicani* who farmed the taxes of a province, underlet them to others; which would be one cause of oppression. These Collectors (*τελωναι*) are called *Publicans* in the English version of the New Testament, where they are no doubt very justly coupled with sinners.

8. *Chalcedon.*] Appian (*Mithridat. War*, c. 71) states that Mithridates invaded Bithynia, for King Nicomedes had just died childless and left his kingdom to the Romans. Cotta fled before him and took refuge in Chalcedon, a city situated on the Asiatic side of the Thracian

Bosporus, opposite to the site of Constantinople. The consul would not go out to meet the enemy, but his admiral Nudus with some troops occupied the strongest position in the plain. However he was defeated by Mithridates and with difficulty got again into the city. In the confusion about the gates the Romans lost three thousand men. Mithridates also broke through the chain that was thrown across the harbour, and burnt four ships and towed the other sixty off. His whole loss was only twenty men.

*Archelaus.*] See the Life of Sulla, c. 11. Mithridates was much dissatisfied with the terms of the peace that had been brought about by Archelaus, who fearing for his life went over to Murena, who was left by Sulla in the command in Asia. At the instigation of Archelaus, Murena attacked and plundered Comana in Cappadocia, which belonged to Mithridates and contained a temple of great sanctity and wealth. Mithridates in vain complained to Murena, and then sent an embassy to Rome. Appian considers this conduct of Murena as the commencement of the Second Mithridatic War B.C. 83. The Third commenced B.C. 74 with the league of Mithridates and Sertorius. (Appian, *Mithridat.* 64-68; Life of Sertorius, c. 24.)

9. *Cyzicus.*] The ruins of this ancient city, now Bal Kiz, that is Palæa Cyzicus, lie near to the east of the sandy isthmus which now connects the peninsula of Cyzicus with the mainland. Hamilton (*Researches in Asia Minor*, &c., London, 1842, ii. 102), says that "the loose and rubbly character of the buildings of Cyzicus little accords with the celebrity of its architects; and although some appear to have been cased with marble, none of them give an idea of the solid grandeur of the genuine Greek style." Yet Strabo (p. 575) describes this city as among the first of Asia. In his time the present peninsula was an island, which was connected with the mainland by two bridges: the city was near the bridges, and had two harbours that could be closed. Under the Romans in Strabo's time, Cyzicus was a Free City (*Libera Civitas*).

*Adrasteia.*] This range is described by Strabo as on-

posite to Cyzicus, on the mainland. Kaltwasser states that Strabo called the Adrasteia of Plutarch by the name Dindymus; but this is a mistake, in which he is not singular. Dindymus was a solitary hill, and on the peninsula near the town of Cyzicus.

*Dascylitis.*] This is a small lake near the coast of the Propontis, at the back of which and more inland are two larger lakes, called respectively by ancient geographers, Miletopolitis (now Maniyas) and Apollonias (now Abullionte). The lake Dascylitis is not marked in the map which accompanies Hamilton's work.

10. *Persephassa.*] Persephassa, or Persephone, whom the Romans call Proserpina, was the patron goddess of Cyzicus. Compare Appian (*Mithridat. War.* c. 75).

*Town-clerk.*] What he was I don't know. Kaltwasser translates the word (*γραμματιστῆ*) "the public schoolmaster;" but he is inclined to take Reiske's conjecture *γραμματεῖ*, because the *grammateus* was an important functionary in the Greek towns, and a "public schoolmaster" is not mentioned as an ordinary personage at this period. But Kaltwasser has not observed that *γραμματιστής* signifies a clerk or secretary in various passages (Herodotus, iii. 123, 128; vii. 100). If *γραμματιστής* could only signify a schoolmaster, it would be necessary to alter the reading. One cannot suppose that the goddess would reveal herself to a schoolmaster; or that a schoolmaster could venture to announce that he had received the honour of such a communication. When Romulus after his sudden disappearance again appeared to assure the anxious citizens, Julius Proculus was selected by him as the person to whom he showed himself; or Julius Proculus was one of the few who could claim to have the story of such an appearance believed. (Liv. i. 16.)

*Stele.*] I have kept the Greek word (*στήλη*), for no English word exactly expresses the thing. It was a stone placed upright, with an inscription on a flat surface, the summit of which sometimes ended with an ornamental finish. There are several in the British Museum.

12. *Rhyndacus.*] This river enters Lake Apollonias on the south side of the lake, and issues from the north



side of the lake, whence it flows in a general north direction into the Propontis. Apollonia, now commonly called Abullionte, though the Greeks still call it by its ancient name, is situated on a small island which is on the east side of Lake Apollonias, and is now connected with the mainland by a wooden bridge. If the battle was fought on the river, the women must have gone a considerable distance for their plunder. (Hamilton, *Researches*, &c. ii. 88, &c.)

*Camels.*] Kaltwasser remarks that Livius (37. c. 40) mentions Camels as being in the army of Antiochus. The passage of Sallustius must have been in his Roman History.

*Granicus.*] This river is to the west of Cyzicus and enters the Propontis by a general north course. The banks of this river Alexander won his first victory in the Persian Campaign. (Arrian, *Anab.* i. 14.) Appian in his account of the defeat of the army of Mithridates (*Mithridat. War*, c. 76) places it on the Aesepus, a river which lies between Cyzicus and the Granicus, and also flows into the Propontis. He also adds that the Aesepus was then at its greatest flood, which contributed to the loss of Mithridates. But it appears from Appian that the remnant of the army of Mithridates crossed the Granicus also, for they reached Lampsacus.

12. *Troad.*] The Troad is a district, but Plutarch expresses himself as if he meant a town. It appears that Lucullus was near Ilium. The Achæan harbour, or harbour of the Achæans, is near the promontory Sigeium.

*Marius.*] Appian (*Mithridat. War*, c. 77) simply says that Lucullus ordered Varius (the Marius of Plutarch) to be put to death.

13. *Samothracia.*] This island lies in the Archipelago off the coast of Thrace. It was noted for certain religious rites in honour of the gods called Cabiri. (Strabo, p. 472.)

*Nicomedia.*] This town was at the eastern extremity of the long inlet of the Propontis, called the Gulf of Astacus. Mithridates according to Appian (*Mithridat. War*, c. 76) fled in his ships from Cyzicus to Parium,

which is near the western extremity of the Propontis and west of the Granicus. From Parium he sailed to Nicomedia, a fact omitted by Plutarch, which explains the other fact, which he does mention, of Voconius being ordered to Nicomedia to look after the king.

*Heraclea.*] This place was on the coast of Bithynia. Appian (c. 78) says that Mithridates landed at Sinope (Sinab), a large town considerably east of Heraclea, on the coast of the Black Sea; and that from Sinope he went along the coast to Amisus. See c. 23.

*Retribution.*] This notion is common in the Greek writers: the gods brought misfortune on those whose prosperity was excessive, and visited them with punishment for arrogant speaking and boasting. Among instances of those whose prosperity at last brought calamity on them was Polycrates, tyrant of Samos (Herodotus, iii. 125); a notorious instance of the danger of prosperity.

*Priapus.*] Artemis was so called from a town Priapus, which is on the south coast of the Propontis, and is placed in the maps a little west of the outlet of the Granicus. Strabo (p. 587) says that the Granicus flows between the Aesepus and Priapus; and that some say that Priapus was a Milesian colony, others a colony of Cyzicus. It derived its name from the god Priapus, who was in great repute here and in Lampsacus. The soldiers of Mithridates seem to have committed the excesses spoken of by Plutarch in their march through Priapus to Lampsacus.

The word for wooden statue is ξόανον, which is sometimes simply translated statue. I am not aware that it is ever used by Pausanias, who often uses the word, in any other sense than that of a statue of wood.

14. *Themiscyra—Thermodon.*] The Thermodon is a river of Asia Minor which flows through the plain of Themiscyra into the Black Sea. There is now a small town, Thermeh, on the left bank of the river. Plutarch might be supposed to be speaking of a town Themiscyra, and so some persons have understood him; but perhaps incorrectly, for no town Themiscyra is mentioned by any other writer.

*Tibareni—Chaldæans.*] These tribes were in the neighbourhood of the Thermodon. They were encountered by the Ten Thousand in their retreat (*Anab.* v. 5). The Chaldæans, whom Xenophon names Chalybes, were neighbours of the Tibareni; but he also speaks of another tribe of the same name (iv. 5, &c.) who lived on the borders of Armenia.

*Amisus.*] Amisus, now Samsun, is on the coast of the Black Sea, between the Halys, Kizil Ernak, and the Iris, Yechil Ernak. The ruins of the old town, are about a mile and a half N.N.W. of the modern town. "The pier which defended the ancient harbour may be distinctly traced, running out about 300 yards to the S.E., but chiefly under water. It consists of large blocks of a volcanic conglomerate, some of which measure nineteen feet by six or eight, and ten feet in thickness; whilst a little farther north another wall extends E.N.E. to a natural reef of rocks." (*Hamilton, Researches in Asia Minor, &c.* i. 290.)

*Caucasus.*] The great mountain region between the Black Sea and the Caspian.

*Cabira.*] The position of Cabira is uncertain. Strabo (p. 556) says that it is about 150 stadia south of the Paryadres range; but he does not say that it is on the Lycus. It may be collected from the following chapter of Plutarch that it was near the Lycus. Pompeius made Cabira a city and named it Diopolis. A woman named Pythodoris added to it and called it Sebaste, that is in Latin, Augusta, and it was her royal residence at the time when Strabo wrote.

*Tigranes.*] The reign of Tigranes in Armenia began about B.C. 96. Little is known of his early history. He became King of Syria about B.C. 83, and thus he supplanted the kings, the descendants of Seleucus. He lost Syria after his defeat by Lucullus B.C. 69; and he was finally reduced to the limits of his native kingdom by Pompeius B.C. 66. (See the Life of Pompeius, c. 23.)

16. *Dandarii.*] Some writers read Dardarii. The Dandarii are mentioned by Strabo (p. 495) as one of the tribes on the Mæotis or Sea of Azoff. Mithridates held

the parts on the Bosphorus. Appian (*Mithridat. War.* c. 79) has this story of Olthacus, whom he names Olcades, but he calls him a Scythian.

17. The strange panic that seized Mithridates is also described by Appian (*Mithridat. War.* c. 81). He fled to Comana and thence to Tigranes.

18. *Phernacia*] or Pharnacia, as it is generally read, is a town in Pontus on the coast of the Black Sea. It is generally assumed that Pharnacia was the same as Cerasus mentioned by Xenophon in the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, and the place being now called Cerasunt seems to establish this. Arrian in his *Periplus of the Euxine* states that it was originally named Cerasus. A difficulty is raised on this point because Xenophon says that the Greeks reached Cerasus in three days from Trebizond and the country is difficult. Hamilton observes (i. 250) "Considering the distance and the difficult nature of the ground, over a great part of which the army must have marched in single file, Xenophon and his 10,000 men would hardly have arrived there in ten days." But it is more probable that there is an error in the "three" days, either an error of Xenophon or of the MSS., than that the site of Phernacia should have got the name of Cerasunt though Cerasus was not there. "The town of Kerasunt, which represents the Pharnacia of antiquity, is situated on the extremity of a rocky promontory connected with the main by a low wooded isthmus of a pleasing and picturesque appearance.—The Hellenic walls are constructed in the best isodomous style. Commencing near the beach on the west, they continue in an easterly direction over the hill, forming the limits of the present town. Near the gateway they are upwards of twenty feet high, and form the foundation of the Agha's konak; a small mosque has also been raised upon the ruins of a square tower; the blocks of stone, a dark green volcanic breccia, are of gigantic size." (Hamilton, *Researches*, &c. i. p. 262, &c.)

*Bacchides.*] Appian (c. 82) calls him Bacchus: he tells the same story. These Greek women of western Asia were much in request among the Asiatic kings.

(Compare Life of Crassus, c. 32.) Cyrus the younger had two Greek women with him when he fell at Cunaxa, and one of them was a Milesian. (Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 10.)

*Diadem.*] I have kept the Greek word. The description shows what it was. The diadem was a mark of royal rank among the Asiatic nations. Aurelian is said to have been the first Roman Emperor who adopted the diadem, which appears on some of his coins. (Rasche, *Lex. Rei Numariae.*)

19. *Talaura.*] The site of this place is unknown. Mithridates (Appian, *Mithridat. War*, c. 115) kept his valuables here.

*Sulla—Mummius.*] See the Life of Sulla, c. 14. L. Mummius after defeating the army of the Achaean confederation totally destroyed Corinth n.c. 146.

*Amisus—colony.*] Strabo (p. 547) quotes Theopompus, who says that the Milesians were the original founders of Amisus, and that after the Athenian colonization it was called Piræus. King Mithridates Eupator (the opponent of Lucullus) added to the city. It was a flourishing place when Strabo was writing his Geography.

*Aristion.*] See the Life of Sulla, c. 14.

*Tyrannio.*] See the Life of Sulla, c. 26. Tyrannio is often mentioned by Cicero. He arranged Cicero's library (*Ad Attic.* iv. 4 and 8), and he was employed as a teacher in Cicero's house (*Ad Quint. Frat.* ii. 4).

In alluding to Tyrannio being manumitted, Plutarch means to say that by the act of manumission it was declared that Tyrannio had been made a slave, and the act of manumission gave Murena the patronal rights over him. This Murena was the son of the Murena who is mentioned in Plutarch's Life of Sulla (c. 17). Cicero defended him against a charge of Ambitus or bribery at his election for the consulship, and in his oration, which is extant, he speaks highly of him. This Murena was Consul n.c. 62, the year after Cicero was Consul.

20. *Ropes and barriers.*] This passage is very obscure. Some critics think that Plutarch is speaking of torture. But it is more likely that he is speaking of the

debtors being in attendance at the courts and waiting under the open sky at all seasons till the suits about the debts were settled.

*Hundredth part.*] This is the Centesimae usurae of the Romans, which was at this time the usual rate. It was one per cent. per month or twelve per cent. per annum. Caesar (Life of Caesar, c. 12) made a like settlement between debtor and creditor in Spain.

21. *Clodius.*] L. Appius Clodius or Claudius belonged to the Patrician Gens of the Claudii. He was a clever unprincipled fellow, and the bitter enemy of Cicero, whom during his tribunate he caused to be banished. There is more about him in the Life of Caesar, c. 10. He was killed by T. Annius Milo.

This wife of Lucullus, named Clodia, had several sisters of the same name, as usual among the Romans. (Life of Marius, c. 1.) The sister who married Q. Metellus Celer is accused of poisoning him.

*Antiocheia.*] A name formed like Alexandria from Antiochus, the name by which most of the Greek kings of Syria were designated. Antiocheia, now Antakia, was on the Orontes, the chief river of Syria, and near the small place Daphne, which was much resorted to as a place of pleasure by the people of Antiocheia. (Strabo, p. 749.)

*Gordyene.*] This was a country on the upper part of the Tigris. It probably contains the same element as the modern Kurdistan.

*Scenite Arabians.*] The Scenite Arabians are the Nomadic Arabs who live in tents. Strabo (p. 747) speaks of them thus: "The parts of Mesopotamia which are towards the south and at some distance from the mountains, and are waterless and sterile, are occupied by the Scenite Arabs, who are robbers and shepherds, and readily remove to other parts when the pastures fail and booty is scarce," &c.

*Twenty-five years.*] The embassy of Appius to Tigranes was in B.C. 71. See c. 14, Notes.

22. *Mithridates.*] Compare Appian, *Mithridat. War*, c. 82.

*Metrodorus.*] He is often mentioned by Cicero, *De Orat.* ii. 88, 90; and elsewhere. He was celebrated for his powerful memory, and he is said to have perfected a certain artificial system which was begun by Simonides.

*Seleuceia.*] Though Amphicrates intended to say that Seleuceia was small, it was in fact a large city. This Seleuceia on the Tigris was built by Seleucus Nicator. It was about 300 stadia or 36 miles from Babylon, which declined after the foundation of Seleuceia. In Strabo's time Babylon was nearly deserted and Seleuceia was a large city.

23. *Sinope.*] Bacchides, according to Strabo, commanded in the city. Sinope is described by Strabo (p. 545) as one of the chief towns of Asia in his day. It was a Milesian colony. It was the birth-place of this Mithridates, surnamed Eupator, who made it his capital. It was situated on an isthmus which joined the mainland to the Chersonesus (peninsula) which is mentioned by Plutarch in this chapter. There were harbours and stations for ships on each side of the isthmus. The present condition of the town is described by Hamilton (*Researches*, i. 306, &c.) :—“The population and prosperity of Sinope are not such as might be expected in a place affording such a safe harbour between Constantinople and Trebizond. I observed also a general appearance of poverty and privation throughout the peninsula.”

In Strabo's time Sinope had received a Roman colony, and the colonists had part of the city and of the territory. The word Colonia in Greek (*κολωνεια*) appears on a sarcophagus which was seen by Hamilton in a small village near Sinope.

*Sthenis.*] Sthenis was a native of Olynthus and a contemporary of Alexander the Great. He is mentioned by Plinius (34. c. 19) and by Pausanias (vi. 17). Strabo says that Lucullus left everything to the Sinopians except the statue of Autolyces and a sphere, the work of Billarus, which he carried to Rome.

*Chersonesus.*] This is the word which the Greeks use for a Peninsula. Plutarch here means the chersonesus on the isthmus of which Sinope was built. Hamilton says

that "the peninsula extends about five miles from east to west and strictly coincides with the description given of it by Polybius (iv. 56)."

24. *Friend and ally.*] Socius et Amicus: this was the title which the Romans condescended to give to a king who behaved towards them with due respect and submission. (Livius, 31. c. 11.)

*Sophene.*] Lucullus appears to have crossed the Euphrates at a more northern point than Zeugma, where the river was crossed by Crassus. Sophene is a district on the east side of the river between the mountain range called Masius and the range called Antitaurus: the capital or royal residence was Carathiocerta. (Strabo, p. 527.)

*Taurus.*] The great mountain range to which this name was given by the ancient Geographers commences according to Strabo (p. 651) on the south-east coast of Lycia. The name Taurus was not very exactly defined, but it comprehended the mountain region which runs eastward from the point above mentioned in a general parallel direction to the south coast of Asia Minor; and the name was extended to the high lands of Armenia east of the Euphrates. Its eastern limit was very vaguely conceived, as we may collect from Strabo (p. 519).

25. *Hoplitaë.*] This is the Greek word which I have sometimes kept. Plutarch means the soldiers of the Roman legion.

*Tigranocerta.*] This termination Certa or Cirta is common to many Asiatic towns (See chapter 24). It is probably the same termination as in the Persian Parsagarda; and signified town or inclosure. The site of Tigranocerta is not certain. There appears to be no reason for identifying it with Sert except the resemblance of name. St. Martin contends that Amida on the east bank of the Tigris, occupied the site of Tigranocerta. The modern Diyarbeker is on the west bank of the Tigris opposite to Amida. (*London Geog. Journal*, viii. 77.) Appian (*Mithridat. War*, c. 84) speaks of the foundation of Tigranocerta.

26. *Adiabeni.*] The Adiabeni occupied a tract that



was apparently a part of the old Assyria on the east side of the Tigris. The element *diab* perhaps exists in the Zab, one of the rivers which flow into the Tigris.

*Taxiles.*] The same name occurs in the Life of Sulla, c. 15.

*Araxes.*] This is the river now generally called the Aras, which flows into the Caspian on the south-west side. Before it enters the sea, it is joined by the Cyrus, now the Cur.

27. *Caepio.*] See the Life of Sertorius, c. 3. The route of this large army of Tigranes is described by Appian (*Mithridat. War*, c. 85). The day was the 6th of October, and the year was B.C. 69. The loss that is reported in some of these ancient battles seems hardly credible; but it is explained here. There was in fact no battle; the enemy were struck with a panic and fled. An immense multitude if seized with alarm, requires no enemy to kill them. The loss of life that may occur in a frightened crowd is enormous.

*Antiochus.*] See chapter 42.

*Strabo.*] See Life of Sulla, c. 26, Notes.

*Livius.*] This part of Livius is lost; but it belonged to the ninety-eighth book as we see from the Epitome.

29. *Tigranocerta.*] The capture is described by Appian (*Mithridat. War*, c. 86), and by Dion Cassius (35. c. 2).

30. *Parthians.*] Compare Appian, c. 87, and Dion Cassius (35. c. 3). Sallustius in the fourth book of his History has given a long letter, which we may presume to be his own composition, from Mithridates to Arsaces, this Parthian king, in which he urges him to fight against the Romans. (*Fragmenta Hist.* ed. Corte.)

31. *Fields—green.*] Lucullus was marching northward, and he had to ascend from the lower country to the high lands of Armenia, where the seasons are much later than in the lower country. He expected to find the corn ripe. Nothing precise as to his route can be collected from Plutarch. He states that Lucullus came to the Arsánias, a river which he must cross before he could reach Artaxata. Strabo (p. 528) describes Artaxata

as situated on a peninsula formed by the Araxes (Aras) and surrounded by the stream, except at the isthmus which joined it to the mainland: the isthmus was defended by a ditch and rampart. The ruins called Takt Tiridate, the Throne of Tiridates, which have been supposed to represent Artaxata, are twenty miles from the river, and the place where they stand owed its strength solely to the fortifications. Below the junction of the Zengue and Aras, which unite near Erivan, "the river (Aras) winds very much and at least twenty positions nearly surrounded by the river presented themselves." Colonel Monteith who makes this remark (*London Geog. Journal*, iii. 47) found no ruins on the banks of the river which answered to the description of Artaxata; for what he describes as near the remains of a Greek or Roman bridge over the Aras do not correspond to the description of Strabo. The remains of Artaxata, if they exist, must be looked for on some of the numerous positions which are nearly surrounded by the river.

The Arsanas is described by Plinius (*Hist. Nat.* v. 24) as flowing into the Euphrates, and, it appears, into the Murad or eastern branch which rises at no great distance S.W. of Ararat. It is probable that Lucullus entered Armenia by some of the passes west of Lake Van; but his route can hardly be conjectured.

*Mardi—Iberians.*] The Mardi were a nation that lived south of the Caspian and bordered on the Hyrcani. As to the Iberians of Asia, see the Life of Tiberius Gracchus, c. 7, Notes. It is incorrectly stated there that Lucullus invaded the country of the Iberians.

*Satrapeni.*] This word is probably corrupted. See the note of Sintenis. The simplest correction is "Atropateni."

*Livius.*] Appian (*Mithridat. War*, c. 87) gives a very confused account of this campaign. It is briefly described by Dion Cassius (35. c. 5).

32. *Nisibis.*] This is the modern Nisibin in 37° N. lat. on the Jakhjakhah, the ancient Mygdonius. The Mygdonius is a branch of the Chaborras, which flows into the Euphrates. Nisibin is now a small place with

“about a hundred well-built houses, and a dozen shops kept by Christians” (Forbes, *London Geog. Journal*, ix. 241). Two tall columns of marble and the church of St. James, which is built from fragments of Nisibis, are the only remains of a city which is often mentioned in the ancient history of the East.

The town is mentioned by Tacitus (*Annal.* xv. 35) under the name of Nisibis, and he places it thirty-nine Roman miles from Tigranocerta. Nisibis is also the name in Ammianus Marcellinus. Dion Cassius (36. c. 6, 7) describes the siege and capture of Nisibis. This event belongs to the year B.C. 68.

33. Compare Dion Cassius (36. c. 16) as to the behaviour of Lucullus. He was too strict a disciplinarian for soldiers who were accustomed to licence; and he did not even attempt to win the love of his men by kindness. The mutinous army that he could not control was quiet and obedient to Pompeius.

[*Lucius Quintus.*] This is the same person who is mentioned in c. 5. The Roman name is *Quintus*, which is corrupted in the MSS. of Plutarch. This Lucius was tribune of the Plebs B.C. 74, the year of the consulship of Lucullus. In this chapter Plutarch calls him one of the Praetors (ἐνα τῶν στρατηγῶν), which Kaltwasser has translated “one of the tribunes of the people.”

34. [*Living as citizens.*] This, I think, is the sense of the passage, to which Reiske gives a very different meaning. I have given the same meaning that Kaltwasser and Coraes have. See the note in Schaefer's edition.

[*Pompeius or some other commander.*] Manius Acilius Glabrio, consul B.C. 67, was first appointed to succeed Lucullus; but Pompeius contrived to get the command given to himself B.C. 66. “Plutarch, who refers elsewhere to the appointment of Glabrio (*Pomp.* c. 30) has not here (c. 33, 34) sufficiently distinguished it from that of Pompey, which he has anticipated. For Pompey was not appointed till the following year” (Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.*).

35. *Fabius*, &c.] Compare Dion Cassius, 35. c. 10, &c.; and Appian, c. 88, &c.

*Commissioners*.] When a country was conquered and it was intended to make of it a Roman Province, commissioners were sent out, usually Senators, to assist the general in organizing the provincial government. Compare Livius, 45. c. 17.

*Pompeius—command*.] Pompeius was appointed by a Lex Manilia in favour of which Cicero spoke in an oration, which is still extant, *Pro Lege Manilia*. See the Life of Pompeius, c. 30.

36. *Bay*.] This is the Greek *δάφνη*, and the Roman *Laurus*, which is incorrectly translated "laurel."

*Conference*.] Compare Life of Pompeius, c. 31, Dion Cassius, 36. c. 29, and Velleius Paterculus, ii. 33.

*Hyrcanian Sea*.] The Caspian Lake was sometimes so called from the Hyrcani, who occupied the country on the south-east side of this great Lake.

*Crassus*.] See the Life of Crassus.

37. *Caius Memmius*.] This Caius Memmius was tribune of the Plebs in the year B.C. 66, in which year Lucullus returned to Rome. Memmius was not satisfied with prosecuting M. Lucullus: he revenged himself for his failure by debauching his wife, to which Cicero alludes in the following passage (*Ad Attic.* i. 18): "C. Memmius has initiated the wife of M. Lucullus in his own sacred rites. Menelaus (M. Lucullus) did not like this, and has divorced his wife. Though that shepherd of Ida insulted Menelaus only; this Paris of ours has not considered either that Menelaus or Agamemnon should be free." Cicero is here alluding to the opposition which Memmius made to the triumph of L. Lucullus. Memmius was a man of ability, but of dissolute habits. He was accused of bribery at the consular election, and being convicted retired to Athens. Several letters of Cicero to him are still extant. Lucretius dedicated his poem to Memmius. See the Note of Manutius on Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, xiii. 1.

Orelli (*Onomastic*. C. Memmius Gemillus) refers to

Cicero, *Pro Balbo*, c. 2, to show that this Memmius was quaestor under Pompeius in his Spanish campaign. But according to Plutarch, a Memmius fell in battle in this war (*Life of Sertorius*, c. 21).

*Triumph.*] Lucullus triumphed B.C. 63 in the consulship of Cicero. (Cicero, *Academ. Prior.* ii. 1.)

38. *Servilia.*] Servilia was the half sister of M. Porcius Cato the younger. Livia the daughter of M. Livius Drusus who was consul B.C. 112 and the sister of the Tribune M. Livius Drusus B.C. 91, was married to M. Porcius Cato, by whom she became the mother of M. Porcius Cato the younger or of Utica. She was divorced from Cato and then married Q. Servilius Caepio the brother of the Caepio who was defeated by the Scythians. Some critics make Caepio her first husband. She had by Caepio a daughter Servilia, who married L. Lucullus, and another Servilia who married M. Junius Brutus and was the mother of M. Junius Brutus one of the assassins of C. Julius Cæsar. Plutarch in various passages clearly distinguishes these two women, though some critics think there was only one Servilia. Cæsar was a lover of the mother of Brutus, and he gave her an estate at Naples. (Cicero, *Ad Attic.* xiv. 21.)

*Aristocracy.*] This is the word of Plutarch (τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας), which he seems to use here like the Roman "Nobilitas" to express the body of the Nobiles or Optimates, as they were called by a term which resembled the Greek ἀριστοί. (See Tiberius Gracchus, c. 10, notes.)

*Crassus and Pompeius sneered, &c.*] The original is made somewhat obscure by the words ὤσπερ οὐ, which introduce the concluding sentence; it is not always easy to see in such cases whose is the opinion that is expressed. Plutarch means to say that Lucullus thought that luxury was more suitable to his years than war or affairs of state, and that Pompeius and Crassus differed from him on this point. Compare the *Life of Pompeius*, c. 48.

39. *Imperial gardens.*] These gardens in the reign of Claudius belonged to Valerius Asiaticus. Messalina

the wife of Claudius, coveted the gardens, and Valerius after being charged with various offences was graciously allowed by the emperor to choose his own way of dying. In these same gardens Messalina was put to death. (Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 1. 37.)

*Tunnels.*] There is the tunnel near Naples, called Posilipo, which is a Roman work, and is described by Strabo (p. 246); but its date is unknown.

*Tubero.*] Tubero the Stoic was Q. Aelius Tubero, who was Tribune of the Plebs B.C. 133 and opposed Tiberius Gracchus. He was also an opponent of Caius (Cicero, *Brutus*, c. 31, and Meyer's notes). But this cannot be the contemporary of Lucullus, and Plutarch either means Q. Aelius Tubero the historian, or he has mistaken the period of Tubero the Stoic. Ruhnkens proposes to read in the text of Plutarch "historian" for "stoic," but it is better to suppose that Plutarch was mistaken about the age of the Stoic. The ownership of good sayings is seldom undisputed. Velleius Paterculus (ii. 33) attributes this to Pompeius Magnus. The allusion is to Xerxes the Persian, who dug a canal through the flat Isthmus which connects the rocky peninsula of Athos with the mainland (Herodotus, vii. 22), which still exists.

*Towers commanding prospects.*] There is some corruption in the text: but the general meaning is clear enough.

*Flaccus.*] This is the story which Q. Horatius Flaccus tells in his *Epistolæ*, Lib. i. Ep. 6.

41. *As Greeks would do.*] This is one of many like indications in Plutarch of his good opinion of his countrymen. Compare the Life of Crassus, c. 8, where he is speaking of Spartacus.

*Prytaneum.*] Plutarch's allusion would be intelligible to a Greek, but hardly so to a Roman, unless he was an educated man. A Prytaneum in a Greek city was a building belonging to the community, on the altar of which was kept the ever-burning fire. In the Prytaneum of Athens entertainments were given both to foreign ambassadors and to citizens who had merited the distinction

of dining in the prytaneum, a privilege that was given sometimes for life and sometimes for a limited period. As the town-hall of any community is in a manner the common home of the citizens, so Plutarch compares the house of Lucullus, which was open to all strangers, with the public hall of a man's own city.

42. *Academy.*] Plato established his school in the Academia, a grove near Athens; whence the name of the place, Academia, was used to signify the opinions of the school of Plato and of those schools which were derived from his. Speusippus, the nephew of Plato, was his successor in the Academy, and he was followed by Xenocrates, and other teachers who belong to the Old Academy, as it is called, among whom were Polemo, Crates and Crantor. The New Academy, that is, the philosophical sect so called, was established by Arcesilaus; who was succeeded by several teachers of little note. Carneades a native of Cyrene, the man mentioned by Plutarch, was he who gave to the New Academy its chief repute. Philo was not the immediate pupil of Carneades. He was a native of Larissa, and during the war with Mithridates he came to Rome, where he delivered lectures. Cicero was one of his hearers, and often mentions him. Philo according to Cicero (*Academ.* i. 4) denies that there were two Academies. Antiochus of Ascalon was a pupil of Philo, but after he had founded a school of his own he attempted to reconcile the doctrines of the Old Academy with those of the Peripatetics and Stoics; and he became an opponent of the New Academy. Antiochus was with Lucullus in Egypt. (Cicero, *Academ. Prior.* ii, c. 4.) The usual division of the Academy is into the Old and New; but other divisions also were made. The first and oldest was the school of Plato, the second or middle was that of Arcesilaus, and the third was that of Carneades and Clitomachus. Some make a fourth, the school of Philo and Charmidas; and a fifth, which was that of Antiochus. (Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrrh. Hypot.* i. 220.)

*Lucullus.*] This is the Second Book of the *Academica*

Priora, in which Lucullus, Catulus, Cicero, and Hortensius are represented as discussing the doctrines of the Academy in the villa of Hortensius at Bauli.

*Comprehension.*] Plutarch's word is κατάληψις, the word that was used by the Academics. Cicero translates κατάληψις by the Latin word Cōprehensio. The doctrine which Lucullus maintains is that the sensuous perception is true. "If all perceptions are such, as the New Academy maintained them to be, that they may be false or cannot be distinguished from what are true, how, it is asked, can we say of any one that he has come to a conclusion or discovered anything?" (*Academ. Prior.* ii. c. 9). The doctrine as to the impossibility of knowing any thing, as taught by Carneades, is explained by Sextus Empiricus (*Advers. Mathematicos*, vii. 159). The doctrine of the incomprehensible nature of things, that there is nothing certain to be collected either from the sense or the understanding, that there is no κατάληψις (comprehensio), comprehension, may be collected from the passages given in Ritter and Preller, *Historia Philosophiæ Graeco-Romanae*, p. 396, *Academici Novi*.

*Distribution of lands.*] Dion Cassius (37. c. 49) states that during the consulship of Lucius Afranius and Q. Metellus Celer n.c. 60, Pompeius, who had brought about their election, attempted to carry a law for the distribution of lands among his soldiers and the ratification of all his acts during his command. This is the Agrarian Law which was proposed by the tribune Flavius, but opposed by the Senate. (Cicero, *Ad Attic.* i. 19.) Afranius was, if we may trust Cicero, a contemptible fellow; and Metellus now quarrelled with Pompeius, because Pompeius had divorced Mucia, the sister of Metellus, as Dion calls her, for incontinence during his absence. Cicero says that the divorce was much approved. Mucia was not the sister of Metellus; but she was probably a kinswoman. The divorce however could only have been considered a slight affair; for Mucia was incontinent, and divorces were no rare things at Rome. The real ground of the opposition of



Metellus to Pompeius was fear of his assumption of still further power. From this time Horatius (*Carm.* ii. 1, "Motum ex Metello Consule civicum") dates the beginning of the Civil Wars of his period. See Life of Pompeius, c. 46, and of Cato the Younger, c. 31.

*Vettius.*] It is Brettius in the text of Plutarch, which is evidently a mistake for Bettius, that is, Vettius. This affair of Vettius cannot be cleared up. He had been an informer in the matter of Catiline's conspiracy and he had attempted to implicate C. Julius Caesar in it: which of the two parties caused him to be assassinated is doubtful. This affair of Vettius is spoken of by Cicero, *Ad Attic.* ii. 24, Dion Cassius, 38. c. 9, Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 12. The history of this affair of Vettius is given by Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, ii. 234, P. Clodius.

*A natural death.*] Kaltwasser translates it "he put himself to death:" perhaps the words may have either meaning.

43. *Cicero—Cato.*] See the Life of Cicero, c. 31, and Life of Cato, c. 34.

Cicero was banished B.C. 58, and Cato was sent to Cyprus in the same year. Lucullus probably did not survive beyond the year B.C. 56. He was older than Cn. Pompeius Magnus, who was born B.C. 106.

The character of Lucullus may be collected from Plutarch. He was a man of talent and of taste, a brave soldier, a skilful general and a man of letters. Cicero in the first chapter of the second book of the *Academica Priora* has passed a high eulogium on him. He was fond of wealth and luxury, but humane and of a mild temper. He was no match for the cunning of Pompeius, or the daring temper of Caesar; and he was not cruel enough to have acted with the decision which the troublesome times required that he just lived to see. The loss of his *History of the Marsic War* is much to be lamented. It is singular that Sulla's *Memoirs* which he revised, and his own work, have not been preserved, for we must suppose that copies of them were abundant; and they were extant in Plutarch's time.

The history of the campaigns of Lucullus in Asia would have been interesting. It is worth recording that we are indebted to him for the cherry, which he brought from Cerasus (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xv. 30) into Europe: the name of the fruit still records the place from which it was brought. As a collector of books, a lover of ornamental gardening and parks stocked with animals, and a friend to all the arts and sciences, Lucullus was of all the luxurious Romans the most magnificent and the most refined. He left a son by Servilia, whose name was probably Lucius. This son joined the party of Cato and M. Brutus. After the battle of Philippi B.C. 42, he was overtaken in the pursuit and put to death at the command of M. Antonius. No children of this son are mentioned.

Marcus, the brother of Plutarch's Lucius Licinius, was Consul B.C. 73. It is not known how long he survived his brother, but he died before the commencement of the second Civil War (Vell. Patere. ii. 49), that which broke out between Caesar and Pompeius B.C. 50.

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## CRASSUS.

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

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

*Widow.*] Kaltwasser makes this passage mean that Crassus merely took his brother's wife and her children to live with him: which is contrary to the usual sense of

the Greek words and renders the following sentence unmeaning.

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

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

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

2. *Hercules.*] See the Life of Crassus, c. 12; and the Life of Sulla, c. 35.

*Assayers of silver.*] This may hardly be a correct translation of ἀργυρογναμόνας: but it is something like the meaning.

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

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

*Salute.*] A Roman who aspired to the highest offices of the State; prepared his way by the magnificence of his public entertainments during his curule aedileship, and by his affable manners. An humble individual is always gratified when a great man addresses him by name, and a

shake of the hand secures his devotion. Ovidius (*Ars Amat.* ii. 253) alludes to this way of winning popular favour, and judiciously observes that it costs nothing, which would certainly recommend it to Crassus. If a man's memory was not so good as that of Crassus, he had only to buy a slave, as Horatius (1 *Epist.* i. 50) recommends, who could tell him the name of every man whom he met. Such a slave was called Nomenclator. If the nomenclator's memory ever failed him, he would not let his master know it: he gave a person any name that came into his head.

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

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

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

Drumann correctly remarks that Plutarch and other Greek writers often use the word *στρατηγός* simply to signify one who has command, and that *στρατηγός* is incorrectly rendered 'Praetor' by those who write in Latin, when they make use of the Greek historians of Rome. But Plutarch's *στρατηγός* sometimes means Praetor, and it is the word by which he denotes that office; he probably does sometimes mean to say 'Praetor,' when the man of whom he speaks was not Praetor. Whether *στρατηγός* in Plutarch is always translated Praetor or always Commander, there will be error. To translate it correctly in all cases, a man must know whether the person spoken of was Praetor or not; and that cannot always be ascertained. But besides this, the word 'Com-

mander' will not do, for Plutarch sometimes calls a Proconsul *στρατηγός*, and a Proconsul had not merely a command: he had a government also.

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

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

*Path.*] The MSS. have *αἶθραν*, 'breeze,' which Coraes ingeniously corrected to *λάφραν*, 'path,' which is undoubtedly right.

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

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

*Metellus Pius.*] The son of Metellus Numidicus. See the Lives of Marius and Sertorius. Sulla landed in Italy B.C. 83. See the Life of Sulla, c. 27.

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

*Battle near Rome.*] See the Life of Sulla, c. 29.

*Greedy of gain.*] There is nothing peculiar in this. It is common enough for a man to blame in others the faults that he has himself.

7. *Pirates—praetor.*] See the Life of Caesar, c. F. 2. and 11.

*Cato.*] M. Porcius Cato, whose Life Plutarch has written.

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

“Foenum habet in cornu, longe fuge.”

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

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

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

*Salenæ.*] The place is unknown. Probably the true reading is Salinæ; and the place may be the Salinæ Herculeae, in the neighbourhood of Herculaneum. But this is only a guess.

*Consuls.*] The consuls were L. Gellius Publicola and Cn. Lentulus Clodianus B.C. 72.

*Cassius.*] This was C. Cassius Longinus Verus, proconsul of Gaul upon the Po (See c. 8). Plutarch calls

him στρατηγός. Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 117) says that one of the consuls defeated Crixus, who was at the head of 30,000 men, near Garganus, that Spartacus afterwards defeated both the consuls, and meditated advancing upon Rome with 120,000 foot soldiers. Spartacus sacrificed three hundred Roman captives to the manes of Crixus, who had fallen in the battle in which he was defeated; twenty thousand of his men had perished with Crixus.

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

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

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

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

11. *Lucanis.*] This lake, or as Plutarch writes it, Leucanis, is placed by Kaltwasser in the vicinity of Paestum or Posidonia, but on what grounds I do not know. Strabo indeed (p. 251) states that the river makes marshes there, but that will not enable us to identify them. Cramer (*Ancient Italy*, ii. 366) places here the Stagnum Lucanum, where Plutarch "mentions that Crassus defeated a considerable body of rebels under the command of Spartacus (Plut. vit. Crass.)": but nothing is given to prove the assertion. He adds "In this district we must also place the Mons Calamatius and Mons Cathena of which Frontinus speaks in reference to the same event (*Stratagem*. ii. 4); they

are the mountains of Capaccio." This is founded on Cluverius, but Cluverius concludes that the Calamatus of Frontinus (ii. 4, 7), or Calamarcus as the MSS. seem to have it, is the same as the Cathena of Frontinus (ii. 5, 34); for in fact Frontinus tells the same story twice, as he sometimes does. It is a mistake to say that Frontinus is speaking 'of the same event,' that is, the defeat of the gladiators on the lake. He is speaking of another event, which is described farther on in this chapter, when Crassus attacks Cannicius and Crixus, and "sent" as Frontinus says (ii. 4, 7) "twelve cohorts round behind a mountain."

*Lucullus.*] This was Marcus Lucullus, the brother of Lucius.

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

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

*Roots.*] The same thing is told in the Life of Pompeius, c. 21.

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

12. *Consulship.*] The first consulship of M. Licinius Crassus and Cn. Pompeius Magnus belongs to B.C. 70.

*Onatius Aurelius.*] The story is told again in the



Life of Pompeius, c. 23, where Aurelius is called Caius Aurelius, which is probably the true name.

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

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

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

*A letter, &c.*] The text is corrupt, though the general meaning is plain. See the note of Sintenis.

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

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

15. The second consulship of Pompeius and Crassus

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

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

In place of *οἶκημα* some critics have read *βῆμα*, the Rostra.

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

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

16. *Wife.*] This wife was Caesar's daughter Julia, whom Pompeius married in Caesar's consulship (Vell. Pat. ii. 44). She was nearly twenty-three years younger than Pompeius. Julia died B.C. 54, after giving

birth to a son, who died soon after her. She possessed beauty and a good disposition. The people with whom she was a favourite had her buried in the Field of Mars. See the Lives of Pompeius and Caesar.

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

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

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

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

*Son—from Caesar in Gaul.*] This was his son Publius who is often mentioned in Caesar's Gallic War.

*Seleuceia.*] See Life of Lucullus, c. 22.

*Hierapolis.*] Hierapolis or the 'Holy City' was also called Bambyce and Edessa. Strabo places it four schoeni from the west bank of the Euphrates. The goddess who was worshipped here was called Atargatis

or Astarte. Lucian speaks of the goddess and her temple and ceremonial in his treatise *On the Syrian Goddess* (iii. p. 451, ed. Hemsterhuis). Lucian had visited the place. Josephus adds (*Jewish Antiq.* xiv. 7) that Crassus stripped the temple of Jerusalem of all its valuables to the amount of ten thousand talents. The winter occupation of the Roman general was more profitable than his campaign the following year turned out.

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

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

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

*Cassius.*] C. Cassius Longinus, the friend of M.

Junius Brutus, and afterwards one of the assassins of the Dictator Caesar.

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

*Zeugma.*] Zeugma means the Bridge. Seleucus Nicator is said to have established a bridge of boats here, in order to connect the opposite bank with Apameia, a city which he built on the east side of the Euphrates (Plinius, *Hist. Nat.* v. 24). Zeugma afterwards was a usual place for crossing the river; but a bridge of boats could hardly be permanently kept there, and it appears that Crassus had to construct a raft. Zeugma is either upon or near the site of Bir, which is in about 37° N. lat.

*Hurricane.*] Probably these great hurricanes are not uncommon on the Euphrates. In the year 1831 a gale sent Colonel Chesney's "little vessel to the bottom of the river;" but a still greater calamity befel the Tigris steamer in the Euphrates expedition which was under the command of Colonel Chesney, in May 1836. A little after one P.M. a storm appeared bringing with it clouds of sand from the west-north-west. The two steam-boats the Tigris and Euphrates were then passing over the rocks of Es-Geria, which were deeply covered with water. The Euphrates was safely secured; but the Tigris, being directed against the bank, struck with great violence; the wind suddenly veered round and drove her bow off; "this rendered it quite impossible to secure the vessel to the bank along which she was blown rapidly by the heavy gusts; her head falling off into the stream as she passed close to the Euphrates, which vessel had been backed opportunely to avoid the concussion." The Tigris perished in this violent hurricane and twenty men were lost in her. The storm lasted about eight minutes. Colonel Chesney escaped by swimming to the shore just before the vessel went down: he was fortunate "to take a direction which brought him to the land,

without having seen anything whatever to guide him through the darkness worse than that of night."—"For an instant," says Colonel Chesney after getting to land "I saw the keel of the Tigris uppermost (near the stern); she went down bow foremost, and having struck the bottom in that position, she probably turned round on the bow as a pivot, and thus showed part of her keel for an instant at the other extremity; but her paddle beams, floats, and parts of the sides were already broken up, and actually floated ashore, so speedy and terrific had been the work of destruction." (Letter from Colonel Chesney to Sir J. Hobhouse, 28th May, 1836; Euphrates Expedition Papers printed by order of the House of Commons, 17th July, 1837.)

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

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

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

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

(See the note of Reimarus on Dion Cassius, 40. c. 18.)  
21. *Ariannes.*] Dion Cassius (40. c. 20), who tells

the story, names the man Augarus. See the note of *Beimarus*.

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

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

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

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

24. *Margian steel.*] Margiana was a country east

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

*Face painted.*] So Xenophon (*Cyropaedia*, i. 3. 2) represents King Astyages. The king also wore a wig or false locks.

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

Fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis.

Virgil, *Georgic* iii. 31.

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

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

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

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

*Carrhae.*] Carrhae was a Mesopotamian town, south



of Orfa or Edessa, and about 37° N. lat. It is supposed to be the Haran of Genesis (xi. 31).

*Ichnae.*] Ichnae was a town on the Bilecha, south of Carrhae. Dion Cassius (40. c. 12) calls it Ichnaë, and adds that Crassus before taking Nicephorium had been defeated by Talymenus, Eilaces. Eilaces is probably a blunder in the copies of Dion; and it is conjectured that he is the Sillaces mentioned by Plutarch (c. 21), Appian, and Orosius (vi. 3).

*Shield-bearer.*] The death of young Crassus, and the subsequent misfortunes of the Romans, are described by Dion Cassius, 40. c. 21, &c.

27. *Ignatius.*] Or Egnatius. He is called Gnatius by Appian.

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

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

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

31. *The river.*] 'The river' is the Euphrates.

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

32. *Head.*] The story of molten gold being poured into the mouth of the head of Crassus is given by Dion Cassius as a report. Florus (iii. 11) has the same story; and he says that it was the right hand of Crassus which

was sent to the king, as we might conjecture it would be, if only one was sent.

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

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

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

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

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

Peras imposuit Iuppiter nobis duas:  
Propriis repletam vitiis post tergum dedit,  
Alienis ante pectus suspendit gravem.  
Hac re videre nostra mala non possumus:  
• Alii simul delinquant, censores sumus.

Two wallets Juppiter has placed upon us:  
Our own faults fill the bag we bear behind,  
Our neighbour's heavy wallet hangs in front.  
And so we cannot see our own ill deeds;  
But if another trips, forthwith we censure.

*Scytale.*] This word means a thick stick ; and a snake of like form.

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

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

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

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

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

*Phraates.*] He began his reign under the name of Arsaces XV. Phraates IV., according to some authorities, B.C. 37. He was not satisfied with murdering his

father: he murdered his brothers, and many distinguished Parthians. His name occurs again in Plutarch's *Life of Antonius*. Phraates delivered up to Augustus, B.C. 90, the Roman soldiers, eagles, and standards which had been taken by Crassus; an event which is commemorated by extant medals, and was recorded by Augustus among his other exploits in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*.

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

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

THE END.













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