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JUSTIN,

CORNELIUS NEPOS,

AND

EUTROPIUS,

LITERALLY TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES AND A GENERAL INDEX.

BY THE

REV. JOHN SELBY WATSON, M.A.,

HEAD MASTER OF THE PROPRIETARY GRAMMAR SCHOOL, STOCKWELL

LONDON: GEORGE BELL AND SONS, YORK STREET,
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PREFACE.

This volume contains Versions of Justin, Cornelius Nepos, and Eutropius.

Justin has been translated from the text of Wetzel; Cornelius Nepos from that of Bos, as re-edited by Fischer; and Eutropius from that of Tzschucke.

Each of the authors has been rendered in a style as easy as was consistent with a faithful adherence to the sense.

Notes on points of history, and on peculiarities in the text, have been given wherever they seemed to be required. Remarks on the authors are prefixed, and a copious Index added

J. S. W.

NOTICE OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

JUSTIN.

As Justin is not properly an author, but an abridger, we shall first give our attention to the writer whom he abridged.

All that is certainly known of the personal history of Trogus Pompeius is, that he was a Roman by birth;* that his ancestors were of the Vocontii, a people of Italy; that his grandfather, Trogus Pompeius, was presented with the right of citizenship by Pompey during the war with Sertorius; that his uncle was an officer of cavalry under Pompey, in the war with Mithridates; and that his father served in the army under Julius Cæsar, and was afterwards his private secretary.† Trogus himself must, therefore, have flourished under Augustus. The last event that he appears to have recorded is the restoration of the Roman standards by the Parthians.

He wrote a history in forty-four books, which he entitled *Historiæ Philippicæ*, because, as is supposed, his chief design in writing it was to relate the origin, progress, decline, and extinction of the Macedonian monarchy, and especially the achievements of Philip and his son. But he allowed himself, like Herodotus and other historians, to indulge in such large digressions and excursions, that it was regarded by many as a Universal History, and is represented, in some manuscripts,

* Just. xliii. 1. † Just. xliii. *fin.*

as containing *totius mundi origines et terræ situs*, a character to which it had no right.

The first six books comprised the period antecedent to Philip, in which an account was given of the Assyrians, Persians, Egyptians, Scythians, Athenians, and Lacedæmonians; the history of Macedonia was commenced in the seventh book, and continued, in combination with other matters, to the overthrow of Andriscus, the Pseudo-Philippus, in the thirty-third. The *prologi*, or arguments, which we have of all the books, similar to the epitomes of the lost books of Livy, were first published by Bongarsius.

He seems to have taken his materials from the Greek historians.* His title appears to have been suggested by the *Philippica* of Theopompus, a voluminous work, of which Stephanus *de Urbibus*† cites the fifty-seventh book.

Whatever speeches he inserted were in the oblique form, for he blamed Livy and Sallust for giving long direct speeches in their histories.‡ He is praised by Justin for his eloquence; *vir priscæ eloquentiæ;*§ and Vopiscus‖ ranks his style with those of Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus.

A treatise of Trogus, *de Animalibus*, is mentioned by Charisius,¶ and Trogus is quoted as an authority by Pliny in several passages of his Natural History; and this Trogus is generally supposed to be the same as Trogus the historian.

A writer named Trogus is also twice cited by Priscian, in his fifth and sixth books, but whether he is the Trogus of Justin, is uncertain.

* See Heeren de Trog. Pomp. Fontibus et Auctoritate, prefixed to Frotscher's edition.

† In Μεσσαπία.

‡ Just. xxviii. 3.

§ Just. Pref.

‖ Life of Probus.

¶ I. p. 79.

The epitome that Justin made of the large work of Trogus, has often been supposed the cause that the original was lost.

Who or what JUSTIN was, we are left in ignorance; we know not even what name he had besides Justinus, for though one manuscript entitles him Justinus Frontinus, and another M. Junianus Justinus, the other manuscripts give him only one name.

From the words *Imperator Antonine*, which occur in the preface in the editions of Aldus and others, he has been often said to have lived in the reign of that emperor; but those words are now generally thought to have been interpolated by some, who, like Isidore and Jornandes, confounded him with Justin Martyr.* From an expression in the eighth book, where Greece is said to be *etiam nunc et viribus et dignitate orbis terrarum princeps*, it has been conjectured that he flourished under the Eastern emperors; but such conjecture is groundless, for the words merely refer to the period of which the author is writing, and may be, indeed, not Justin's, but Trogus's.

His style, however, in which occur the words *adunare*, *impossibilis*, *præsumtio*, *opinio* for "report," and other words and phrases of inferior Latinity, show that he must have lived some considerable time after the Augustan age. Such phraseology could not have been found in the pages of Trogus. But Justin could not have been later than the beginning of the fifth century, as he is mentioned by St. Jerome.†

That he was not a Christian, is proved, as Vossius remarks, by the ignorance which he manifests of the Jewish Scriptures;‡ for he could not, assuredly, have copied Trogus's vagaries without bestowing some correction upon them. He has been censured for not making a more regular abridgment

* See the note on that passage of the Preface.

† Procem. in Daniel.

‡ Just. xxxvi. 1, 2.

of his author's work, but without justice; for he intended only to extract or abbreviate such portions as he thought more likely than others to please the general reader.

His composition is animated, and in general correct, but not of the highest order of merit. His peculiarities of phraseology are carefully specified by Wetzel in his *prolegomena*, though he has omitted to remark his constant use of the conjunction *quasi* in his narratives and descriptions.

It is observed by Dr. Robertson,* that "we cannot rely on Justin's evidence, unless when it is confirmed by the testimony of other ancient authors." The remark ought rather to be transferred to Trogus, whom Justin seems faithfully to have followed, and who seems, indeed, to have been a writer of sufficient credulity, as his account of Habis, in his forty-fourth book, may serve to show. But there is no historian, as Vopiscus† says, that does not tell something false, and Livy, Sallust, Tacitus, and Trogus, alike exhibit passages not proof against strict examination.

The best editions of Justin are those of Bongarsius, Paris, 1581; of Grævius, Lugd. Bat., 1683, which has been several times reprinted; of Hearne, Oxon, 1703; of Gronovius, Lugd. Bat. 1719, 1760; of Fischer, Lips. 1757; and of Wetzel, Lips. 1806, reprinted in Lemaire's Bibliothèque Classique, 1823.

The oldest English Version is that of Arthur Goldinge, 1564, and the next that of Robert Codrington, 1654, both of whom had but an imperfect knowledge of the language of their author. There have since appeared translations by Thomas Brown, 1712; by Nicolas Bayley, 1732; by Clarke, 1732; and by Turnbull, 1746, the last being the most readable performance, but not always faithful to the sense.

* Disquisition on Anc. India, note 12.

† Life of Aurelian, *prope init.*

NOTICE OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

CORNELIUS NEPOS.

Cornelius Nepos is generally supposed to have been born at Hostilia,* a village in the neighbourhood of Verona, a town included in Cisalpine Gaul. Hence Ausonius,† speaking of Catullus's ‡ dedication of his poems to Cornelius Nepos, says that Gaul supplied the personage to whom the dedication was addressed. Pliny the elder § calls him *Padi accola*, Hostilia being at no great distance from the Po.

He enjoyed the intimate friendship, not only of Catullus, but of Cicero || and Atticus.¶ In Eusebius's Chronicon he is placed in the fourth year of the reign of Augustus, which Vossius supposed to be the time when he first began to attract attention by his writings. Pliny** says that he died in the reign of Augustus. No other particulars concerning his personal history have reached us.

* Voss. de Hist. Lat. Prolegomena to Van Staveren's edition by Bardili, note, p. xcviii.

† Auson. 471, 9.

‡ Catull. i. 3.

§ H. N. iii. 22.

|| Cic. ad Att. xvi. 5; A. Gell. xv. 28.

¶ Vit. Att. c. 13.

** H. N. ix. 39; x. 23.

From various passages in ancient authors we find that he wrote the following works.

1. *Chronica*, to which Catullus appears to allude in his dedication to Nepos:—

> Ausus es unus Italorum
> Omne ævum tribus explicare chartis,
> Doctis, Jupiter! et laboriosis.

Ausonius also mentions the work in his sixteenth Epistle, to Probus, and Aulus Gellius in the twenty-first chapter of his seventeenth book.* The *tres chartæ* of Catullus are supposed to indicate that the work was in three books.

2. *Exemplorum libri*, of which Charisius cites the second book, and Aulus Gellius † the fifth. It is thought to have been a work of the same nature as the subsequent compilation of Valérius Maximus.

3. *De Viris Illustribus*, from which Gellius ‡ gives an anecdote respecting Cato. But this may be merely another designation of the preceding work, or of the Lives.

4. *De Vitâ Ciceronis*, of which Gellius § corrects an error in the first book, respecting the age at which Cicero pleaded his first cause.

5. *Epistolæ ad Ciceronem*. Lactantius || gives an extract from one of them. But it is not certain that they were ever published in a volume by themselves.

6. The younger Pliny, in one of his epistles, speaks of verses made by Cornelius Nepos, but it is equally uncertain whether they were a separate publication.

7. A work *De Historicis*, mentioned in the third chapter of the Life of Dion.

8. A larger Life of Cato, which is mentioned at the end of the existing short Life, as having been written at the request

* See also Solinus, i. 7; xliv. 1. vii. 18.
‡ ix. 8. § xv. 28. || Instit. Div. iii. 15.

of Atticus; but this may have been included in one of the collections above mentioned. In the *Guelferbytanus Codex*, indeed, the shorter Life is said to be extracted *E libro Cornelii Nepotis de Latinis Historicis*.

9. The *Excellentium Imperatorum Vitæ* appeared in the reign of Theodosius I. as the work of Æmilius Probus, a grammarian, who presented it to that emperor with a dedication in bad Latin verse, in which he openly claims to himself the authorship of it.

> Vade liber noster, fato meliore, memento,
> Quum leget hæc Dominus, te sciat esse meum.
> * * * *
> Si rogat auctorem, paullatim detege nostrum
> Tunc Domino nomen; me sciat esse Probum.

He says that the work was the joint production of his mother or father (some copies have *genetricis* and others *genitoris*), his grandfather, and himself. The *editio princeps* accordingly, and some subsequent editions, containing the first twenty-three lives, from Miltiades to Hannibal, with the dedication to Atticus prefixed, were published in the name of Æmilius Probus, and nobody seems at first to have doubted that they were produced as stated in the verses. But suspicions could not but at length arise. Who was the Atticus to whom the preface was addressed? Or why should Probus have addressed his preface to any Atticus, and not to Theodosius to whom he dedicated the book? Atticus is also mentioned in the Life of Hannibal as being dead, and having left writings; was this the same Atticus, addressed as living in the preface, and spoken of as dead in the bod of the work?

At length Peter Cornerus discovered, in a manuscript containing Cicero's Letters to Atticus, the biographies of Cato and Atticus, and added them to the other Lives, publishing them all under the name of Æmilius Probus, in defiance of

internal evidence, as the writer of those pieces speaks of himself as a contemporary and friend of Atticus; and in defiance also of the inscription at the head of the manuscript, which declared them to be *E libro posteriore Cornelii Nepotis.*

At last Dionysius Lambinus, undertaking an edition in 1569, affixed to it a dissertation and commentary, in which he endeavoured to prove that the Lives, exhibiting matter and style greatly at variance with the age of Theodosius, were not the production of Æmilius Probus, but wholly Nepos's own. The authority of Lambinus was such, that none ventured to question his decision, until Barthius, observing that there were certain solecisms and other peculiarities in the Lives which forbade them to be attributed entirely to a writer of the Augustan age, suggested that they were partly the work of Nepos and partly that of Probus, Probus having probably abridged the original performances, and introduced occasionally some matter and phraseology of his own. This supposition will account for the strange observations in the Preface, and in the Life of Epaminondas, on the manners of the Greeks, and for many of the inaccuracies, singular constructions, and abruptnesses of transition, of which it cannot be supposed that such a writer as Cornelius Nepos would have been guilty.

This opinion has now been adopted by most critics. The reader will find the question amply discussed by Rinckius, in a dissertation prefixed to the edition of Roth, Basil, 1841, entitled *Æmilius Probus de Excellentibus Ducibus Exterarum Gentium, et Cornelii Nepotis quæ supersunt.* The chief historical inaccuracies in the lives are briefly but judiciously noticed by Mr. Barker in his edition of Lempriere.

That the Life of Atticus is wholly the work of Cornelius Nepos, has been generally acknowledged. As to the Life of Cato, it may have been first abridged by Nepos himself, and afterwards again by Probus. If Nepos wrote a dedication to

Atticus, as we may suppose that he did, and was also the author of the Life of Hannibal, we must conclude that that Life was not contained in the first edition of the work, but was added to it after Atticus's death.

Of the biography of Atticus, part was published while Atticus was alive, and part after his decease.*

From the conclusion of the Life of Hannibal, it appears that Nepos intended also to write biographies of eminent Roman commanders, that their actions might be compared with those of the Greeks. Whether this work was completed, we have no means of knowing, but from some passages of Plutarch, who cites Nepos for facts in the Lives of Lucullus and Marcellus, we may suppose that at least some part of it was written

There are many good editions of Cornelius Nepos, but the text has perhaps never, on the whole, been presented in a better state than it is given in the edition of Bos, as re-edited by Fischer, Leipsic, 1806.

Two or three English translations have preceded that which is now offered to the public, but none of them good. Clarke's is the most faithful, but the English resembles that of the rest of his versions. Sir Matthew Hale translated the Life of Atticus, with Moral and Political Observations, published in 1677.

* Att. c. 18.

NOTICE OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

EUTROPIUS.

From Eutropius* himself we learn that he served under Julian, and attended him in his expedition to the east. From Georgius Codinus, *de Originibus Constantinopolitanis*,† we find that he had previously been secretary, ἐπιστολογράφος, to Constantine the Great. He was alive in the age of Valentinian and Valens; to the latter of whom he dedicates his book. This is all that is known of his personal history.

When or where he was born, it is useless to attempt to discover. Suidas calls him Ἰταλὸς σοφιστής, which we may translate, *an Italian eminent writer*; but Suidas, as Fabricius and others have observed, may merely have called him so because he wrote in Latin. The authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*‡ wished to prove, from Symmachus, that he was the countryman of Ausonius, and born near Bourdeaux; and Vinetus, from his name and other suppositions, would make him a Greek; but none of the arguments in favour of either hypothesis deserve the least regard. Like Justin, he has but one name; for though he is called Flavius

* Lib. x. c. 16. † Ed. Par. fol. p. 9; Test. Vet. apud Verheyk.
‡ Tom. i. p. 220; Tzschucke, Prolegom. in Eutrop. p. iii., v.

Eutropius by Sigonius and Boniface, the *Flavius* rests on no sufficient authority.*

Some, as Vossius observes, have sought to demonstrate from Gennadius† that he was a disciple of Augustin. But Augustin did not flourish till the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century, at which period Eutropius must either have been dead or extremely old. Others have endeavoured to make him a Christian from what is said of Julian, *nimius insectator religionis Christianæ*,‡ but the word *nimius* is wanting in the best manuscripts, and, if it were found in all, would be of little weight

It seems, indeed, tolerably evident, that Eutropius must have been, not a Christian, but a heathen. "He takes no notice," says Vossius, "of the ten persecutions, and in his notice of Jovian§ plainly advocates dishonest dealings." But direct evidence of his heathenism is given by Nicephorus Gregoras,‖ one of the Byzantine historians, in an oration on the character of Constantine the Great, in which it is observed, that what Eutropius says in favour of Constantine is peculiarly deserving of attention, as proceeding from a writer who must have had some feeling against him in consequence of being of a different religion, διά τε τὸ τῆς θρησκείας ἀκοινώνητον, and also of being a contemporary and partizan of Julian, διὰ τὸ ἡλικιώτην καὶ αἱρεσιώτην Ἰουλιάνου γένεσθαι. Nicephorus also calls him a Greek or Gentile, Ἕλλην καὶ ἀλλοφύλου θρησκείας τρόφιμος, and speaks in such a way as to leave no doubt that the historian Eutropius is meant.

According to Suidas, he wrote other things besides his epitome, but what they were is unknown. A Eutropius is cited by Priscian as an authority for the sound of the letter *x*,

* Tzschucke, p. viii.
† *De Illustribus Ecclesiæ Scriptoribus.*
‡ Eutrop. x. 16.
§ Eutrop. x. 17.
‖ Test. Vet. apud Verheyk.

but no intimation is given that he was the compiler of the history. Whether he executed the work *in a loftier style*, which he promises at the end of his epitome, is uncertain.

As a historian, he is guilty of some errors as to facts and chronology, which are minutely particularized by Tzschucke,* but is faithful on the whole, except that he omits, or colours too favourably, some of the transactions that are dishonourable to Rome.

His style is correct and sufficiently polished, but exhibits some words, as *medietas*, *dubietas*, and some expressions, that are of the lower age of the Latin language. But when we consider how late he lived, we may rather commend him for having so few of such peculiarities, than blame him for those that occur.

His text was in a very corrupt state, until Ignatius, in 1516, and Schonhovius, in 1540, exerted themselves to clear it from the foreign matter that had been attached to it by Paulus Diaconus and others. The best editions now are those of Havercamp, 1729; Verheyk, 1762, 1793; and Tzschucke, 1796, 1804. Grosse also has since published a useful edition.

Eutropius was twice translated into Greek, by Capito Lycius,† whose version is lost, and by Pæanius, whose performance survives in a nearly complete state, and is printed in the editions of Cellarius and Verheyk. Who Pæanius was, we do not know; Sylburgius first gave the translation to the press in 1590. It sometimes deviates from the sense, but is in general faithful.

Eutropius has been translated into English by Nicolas Hayward, 1564; by Clarke, 1722, a version that has been several times reprinted, and by Thomas, 1760. None of these performances deserve any particular notice.

* P. xxvi. *seqq.* † Suidas v. Καπίτων.

JUSTIN'S

HISTORY OF THE WORLD,

TROGUS POMPEIUS.

PREFACE.

After many Romans,* men even of consular dignity, had committed the acts of their countrymen to writing in Greek, a foreign language,† Trogus Pompeius, a man of eloquence equal to that of the ancients,‡ whether prompted by a desire to emulate their glory, or charmed by the variety and novelty of the undertaking, composed the history of Greece, and of the whole world, in the Latin tongue, in order that, as our actions might be read in Greek, so those of the Greeks might be read in our language; attempting a work that demanded extraordinary resolution and labour. For when, to most authors who write the history only of particular princes or nations, their task appears an affair of arduous effort, must not Trogus Pompeius, in attempting the whole world, seem to have acted with a boldness like that of Hercules, since in his books are contained the actions of all ages, monarchs, nations, and people? All that the historians of Greece had undertaken separately, according to what was suitable to each, Trogus Pompeius, omitting only what was useless, has put

* Among these were Aulus Albinus, consul A.U.C. 602, Cic. Brut. c. 21; Aul. Gell xi. 8; Lucius Cincius, mentioned by Dionys. Halicarn. i. 6; Caius Julius a senator, Liv. Epit. liii.; Lucius Lucullus, consul A.U.C. 679, Cic. Acad. ii. 1; and Cicero, who sent an account of his consulship (A U.C. 690) written in Greek to his friend Atticus; Ep ad Att. i. 19.—*Wetzel.*

† *Græco peregrinoque sermone.*] Greek, and *therefore* foreign, not Latin.—*Wetzel.*

‡ *Vir priscæ eloquentiæ.*] More literally, "A man of ancient eloquence."

together in one narration, everything being assigned to its proper period, and arranged in the regular order of events. From these forty-four volumes therefore (for such was the number that he published), I have extracted, during the leisure that I enjoyed in the city, whatever was most worthy of being known; and, rejecting such parts as were neither attractive for the pleasure of reading, nor necessary by way of example, have formed, as it were, a small collection of flowers, that those who are acquainted with the history of Greece might have something to refresh their memories, and those who are strangers to it something for their instruction. This work I have sent to you,* not so much that it may add to your knowledge, as that it may receive your correction; and that, at the same time, the account of my leisure, of which Cato thinks that an account must be given, may stand fair with you. For your approbation is sufficient for me for the present, with the expectation of receiving from posterity, when the malice of detraction has died away, an ample testimony to my diligence.

* *Ad te.*] In the editions before that of Bongarsius, 1581, the words *Marce Antonine* followed *te*, but as they did not appear in the manuscripts which Bongarsius consulted, he omitted them. They are generally supposed to have been inserted by some editor or editors, who confounded Justin the historian with Justin Martyr, who lived in the reign of Antoninus. At what time Justin the historian lived is uncertain. See the biographical notice prefixed. But Pontanus and Isaac Vossius argued for the words being retained; and Scheffer, observing that the oldest editions, and that of Bongarsius himself, based on at least eight manuscripts, have *Quod ad te non cognoscendi magis quam emendandi causâ transmisi*, would read, *Quod ad te non tam cognoscendi, Marce Antonine Cæsar, quam emendandi, &c.*, supposing *magis* to be a corruption of M. A. C., the first letters of the emperor's names

BOOK I.

The monarchy of the Assyrians, Ninus, I.—Semiramis, II.—Sardanapalus, III.—The monarchy of the Medes; Astyages, IV.—The youth of Cyrus, V.—He becomes king, VI.—His victory over Crœsus; Candaules and Gyges, VII.—Expedition of Cyrus against the Scythians; his death, VIII.—Cambyses; the Magi; Otanes, IX.—Darius, the son of Hystaspes, X.

I. ORIGINALLY,* the government of nations and tribes was in the hands of kings;† when it was not their flattery of the people, but their discretion, as commended by the prudent, that elevated to the height of this dignity. The people were not then bound by any laws; the wills of their princes were instead of laws. It was their custom to defend, rather than advance,‡ the boundaries of their empire. The dominions of each were confined within his own country.

The first of all princes, who, from an extravagant desire of ruling, changed this old and, as it were, hereditary custom, was Ninus, king of the Assyrians. It was he who first made war upon his neighbours, and subdued the nations, as yet too barbarous to resist him, as far as the frontiers of Libya. Sesostris,§ king of Egypt, and Tanaus,‖ king of Scythia, were indeed prior to him in time; the one of whom advanced into Pontus, and the other as far as Egypt; but these princes engaged in distant wars, not in struggles with their neigh-

* *Principio rerum.*] "In the beginning of things," i.e., as soon as there was any government at all.

† *Penes reges.*] See Sallust, Cat. i. 2; Cic. Leg. 2, 11, de Off. ii. 12; Arist. Polit. i.

‡ See Sall. Cat. 2; Tacit. Ann. iii. 26; Ov. Met. i. 89.

§ Justin, ii. 3, makes Sesostris fifteen hundred years older than Ninus; but the truth is that his age and actions are equally involved in obscurity, though Usher says that he was the son of the Amenophis who perished in the Red Sea, and that, consequently, he began his reign A.M. 2513. But Reitz, on Herod. ii. 102, fixes his death in A.M. 2713, eighty-seven years before the taking of Troy. Marsham, again, in his Can. Chr. p. 22, follows Josephus (Ant. viii. 4) in placing him much later, and in making him the same with Shishak, who took Jerusalem and plundered the temple, A.M. 3013, two hundred and thirteen years after Troy was taken. Diodorus Siculus, who speaks of his actions, i. 53—58, settles nothing certain concerning his age.—*Wetzel.*

‖ Herodotus, iv. 5, calls the first king of Scythia Targitaus.

bours; they did not seek dominion for themselves, but glory for their people, and, content with victory, declined to govern those whom they subdued. But Ninus established the greatness of his acquired dominion by immediately possessing himself of the conquered countries.* Overcoming, accordingly, the nearest people, and advancing, fortified with an accession of strength, against others, while each successive victory became the instrument of one to follow, he subjugated the nations of the whole east. His last war was with Zoroaster,† king of the Bactrians, who is said to have been the first that invented magic arts, and to have investigated, with great attention, the origin of the world and the motions of the stars. After killing Zoroaster, Ninus himself died, leaving a son called Ninyas, still a minor, and a wife, whose name was Semiramis.‡

II. Semiramis, not daring to entrust the government to a youth, or openly to take it upon herself (as so many great nations would scarcely submit to one man, much less to a woman), pretended that she was the son of Ninus instead of his wife, a male instead of a female. The stature of both mother and son was low, their voice alike weak, and the cast of their features similar. She accordingly clad her arms and legs in long garments, and decked her head with a turban; and, that she might not appear to conceal any thing by this new dress, she ordered her subjects also to wear the same apparel: a fashion which the whole nation has since retained. Having thus dissembled her sex at the commencement of her

* *Continuâ possessione.*] His establishment of his power over the countries was immediately consequent on his subjugation of them.

† By Diodorus, ii. 6, he is called Oxyartes See also Plin H. N. xxx. 1; August. De Civ. Dei. xxi. 14.—*Wetzel.* Concerning the age of Zoroaster all is uncertainty; such is the difference of opinions about it. Agathias and others think that he must have lived at a later date, about the commencement of the Persian empire. See Marsham in Canon. Ægypt. ad Sec. ix.—*Gronovius.* It has not yet been shown that Zoroaster the king and Zoroaster the Magus were the same person.

‡ See Diodorus, xi. 4; Plutarch in Amator.; Ælian. Var. Hist. vii. 1; Polyæn. Stratag. vii. "Conon apud Photium, Narr. ix. states, that Semiramis was not the wife but the daughter of Ninus or Ninyas, and says, *eam ignaram cum filio concubuisse*, and afterwards, *re cognitâ*, married him; after which occurrence it was lawful among the Persians for sons *commisce ri matribus.*"—*Vossius.* To the *concubitus cum equo* Pliny alludes, H. N. viii. 64.

reign, she was believed to be a male. She afterwards performed many noble actions; and when she thought envy was overcome by the greatness of them, she acknowledged who she was, and whom she had personated. Nor did this confession detract from her authority as a sovereign, but increased the admiration of her, since she, being a woman, surpassed, not only women, but men, in heroism.

It was she that built Babylon,* and constructed round the city a wall of burnt brick; bitumen, a substance which everywhere oozes from the ground in those parts, being spread between the bricks instead of mortar.† Many other famous acts, too, were performed by this queen; for, not content with preserving the territories acquired by her husband, she added Ethiopia also to her empire; and she even made war upon India, into which no prince,‡ except her and Alexander the Great, ever penetrated. At last, conceiving a criminal passion for her son, she was killed by him, after holding the kingdom two and forty years from the death of Ninus.

Her son Ninyas, content with the empire acquired by his parents, laid aside the pursuits of war, and, as if he had changed sexes with his mother, was seldom seen by men, but grew old in the company of his women. His successors too, following his example, gave answers to their people through their ministers. The Assyrians, who were afterwards called Syrians, held their empire thirteen hundred years.

III. The last king that reigned over them was Sardanapalus, a man more effeminate than a woman. One of his satraps, named Arbaces, governor of the Medes, having, with great difficulty and after much solicitation, obtained admission to visit him, found him, among crowds of concubines, and in the dress of a woman, spinning purple wool with a distaff, and

* Concerning the real builder of Babylon, see Strab. xvi. init.; Diod. Sic. ii. 17; Q. Curt. v. 1, 42; Euseb. Chron. init.; Jerome on Hos. c. xi.; Herod. i. 184.; Amm. Marcell. xxii. 20.—*Lemaire.*

† *Arenæ vice.*] Understand sand mixed with lime.—*Berneccerus* But the signification of *arena* is not always confined to that of *sand*; it sometimes means *earth* or *mud*. Thus Virgil, Georg. i. 105, has *malè pinguis arenæ*; and, speaking of the Nile, says, *Viridem Ægyptum nigrâ fœcundat arenâ*. Dübner's edition has *arenati vice*, I know not on what authority.

‡ *Nemo.*] Justin has forgotten the expeditions of Hercules and Bacchus.—*Lemaire.*

distributing tasks to girls, but surpassing all the women in the effeminacy of his person and the wantonness of his looks. At that sight, feeling indignant that so many men should be subject to one so much of a woman, and that those who bore swords and arms should obey one that handled wool, he proceeded to his companions, and told them what he had seen, protesting that he could not submit to a prince who had rather be a woman than a man. A conspiracy was consequently formed, and war raised against Sardanapalus; who, hearing of what had occurred, and acting, not like a man that would defend his kingdom, but as women are wont to do under fear of death, first looked about for a hiding-place, but afterwards marched into the field with a few ill-disciplined troops. Being conquered in battle, he withdrew into his palace, and, having raised and set fire to a pile of combustibles, threw himself and his riches into the flames, in this respect only acting like a man. After him Arbaces, who was the occasion of his death, and who had been governor of the Medes, was made king, and transferred the empire from the Assyrians to the Medes.

IV. After several kings, the crown, by order of succession, descended to Astyages. This prince, in a dream, saw a vine spring from the womb of his only daughter, with the branches of which all Asia was overshadowed. The soothsayers being consulted concerning the vision, replied, that he would have a grandson by that daughter, whose greatness was foreshown, and the loss of Astyages's kingdom portended. Alarmed at this answer, he gave his daughter in marriage, not to an eminent man, nor to one of his own subjects (lest nobility on the father or mother's side should rouse the spirit of his grandson), but to Cambyses, a man of mean fortune, and of the race of the Persians, which was at that time obscure. But not having, even thus, got rid of his fear of the dream, he sent for his daughter, while she was pregnant, that her child might be put to death under the very eye of his grandfather. The infant, as soon as it was born, was given to Harpagus, a friend of the king's and in his secrets, to be killed. Harpagus, fearing that if the crown, on the death of the king (as Astyages had no male issue), should devolve upon his daughter, she might exact from the agent, for the murder of her child, that revenge which she could not inflict on her

father, gave the infant to the herdsman of the king's cattle to be exposed. The herdsman, by chance, had a son born at the same time; and his wife, hearing of the exposure of the royal infant, entreated, with the utmost earnestness, that the child might be brought and shown to her. The herdsman, overcome by her solicitations, went back into the wood, and found a dog by the infant, giving it her teats, and protecting it from the beasts and birds of prey. Being moved with pity, with which he saw even a dog moved, he carried the child to the cattle-folds, the dog vigilantly following him. When the woman took the babe into her hands, it smiled upon her as if it knew her; and there appeared so much vivacity in it, with a certain sweetness in its smile as it clung to her, that the wife at once entreated the herdsman to expose her own child instead of the other, and to allow her to bring up the royal infant, whether to his own fortune or to her hopes.* Thus the lot of the children being changed, the one was brought up as the shepherd's son, and the other exposed as the king's grandson. The nurse had afterwards the name of Spaco; for so the Persians call a dog.

V. The boy after a time, while he was among the shepherds, received the name of Cyrus. Subsequently, being chosen by lot king among his play-fellows, and having boldly scourged such of them as were disobedient to him, a complaint was made to the king by the parents of the boys, who were angry that free-born youths should be lashed with servile stripes by the king's slave. Astyages having sent for the boy and questioned him, and the boy replying, without any change of countenance, that "he had acted as a king," was struck with his high spirit, and reminded of his dream and its interpretation. In consequence, as both the resemblance of his features, the time of his exposure, and the confession of the herdsman, concurred exactly, he acknowledged him as his grandson. And since he seemed to have had his dream accomplished, by the boy's exercise of rule among the shepherds, he subdued his feelings of animosity; but with regard to him only; for, being incensed with his friend Harpagus, he, in revenge for the preservation of his grandson, killed his son,

* *Sive fortunæ ipsius sive spei suæ puerum nutrire.*] She hoped that the child would be restored to the regal station or fortune in which it had been born.—*Lemaire.*

and gave him to his father to eat. Harpagus, dissembling his resentment for the present, deferred showing his malice towards the king, until a proper time for vengeance should occur.

Some time having elapsed, and Cyrus being grown up, Harpagus, prompted by his resentment for the loss of his child, wrote him an account how he had been banished to the Persians by his grandfather; how his grandfather had ordered him to be killed when he was an infant; how he had been saved by his kindness; how he himself had incurred the king's displeasure, and how he had lost his son. He exhorted him to raise an army, and march directly to seize the throne, promising that the Medes should join him. This letter, because it could not be conveyed openly, as the king's guards occupied all the roads, was enclosed in the body of a hare, of which the bowels had been taken out; and the hare was committed to a trusty slave, to be carried into Persia to Cyrus. Nets were also given him, that the plot might be concealed under the appearance of a hunting expedition.

VI. Cyrus, after reading the letter, was exhorted in a dream to make the same attempt; but was also admonished to take the first man that he should meet on the following day, as a companion in his enterprize. Commencing his journey from the country, accordingly, before it was light, he met a slave named Scœbaris, coming from the slave-house of a certain Mede. Having questioned him as to his birth-place, and hearing that he was born in Persia, he knocked off his fetters, took him with him as his companion, and returned to Persepolis. Here, having called the people together, he ordered them all to attend him with axes, and to cut down a wood that skirted each side of the road. When they had thoroughly accomplished this, he invited them on the following day to a feast prepared for them. Then, as soon as he saw them exhilarated with the banquet, he asked them, "if an offer were made them, which sort of life they would choose, a life of labour like that of yesterday, or of feasting like the present?" As they all exclaimed, "A life of feasting like the present," he told them that, "as long as they obeyed the Medes, they must lead a life like the drudgery of yesterday; but, if they would follow him, a life like the present entertainment." All expressing their joy, he made war upon the Medes.

Astyages, forgetting his treatment of Harpagus, entrusted him with the management of the war. Harpagus immediately delivered up the forces, which he had received from Astyages, to Cyrus, and took revenge for the king's cruelty by a treacherous desertion of him. Astyages, hearing of this occurrence, and collecting troops from all quarters, marched against the Persians in person. Having vigorously renewed the contest, he posted part of his army, while his men were fighting, in their rear, and ordered that those who turned back should be driven on the enemy with the point of the sword; telling them that, "unless they conquered, they would find men in their rear not less stout than those in their front; and they were therefore to consider whether they would penetrate the one body by fleeing, or the other body by fighting." In consequence of this obligation to fight, great spirit and vigour was infused into his army. As the Persian troops, therefore, were driven back, and were gradually retiring, their mothers and wives ran to meet them, and besought them to return to the field. While they hesitated, they took up their garments, and showed them the secret parts of their persons, asking them, "if they would shrink back into the wombs of their mothers or their wives." Checked with this reproach, they returned to the battle, and, making a vigorous assault, compelled those from whom they had fled to flee in their turn. In this battle Astyages was taken prisoner; from whom Cyrus took nothing but his kingdom, and, acting towards him the part rather of a grandson than of a conqueror, made him ruler of the powerful nation of the Hyrcanians; for to the Medes he was unwilling to return. Such was the termination of the empire of the Medes, who had ruled three hundred and fifty years.

VII. In the beginning of his reign, Cyrus appointed Sœbaris (his companion in his undertakings, whom, in conformity with his dream, he had released from the slave-house, and made a sharer in all his enterprises), governor of Persia, and gave him his sister in marriage But several cities, which had been tributary to the Medes, thinking that their condition was changed by this change in the government, revolted from Cyrus; a revolt which was the occasion and source of many wars against him. When he had at length, however, reduced most of them to submission, and was carrying

on war against the Babylonians, Crœsus, king of Lydia, whose power and riches were at that time extraordinary, came to the aid of that people, but, being soon defeated and abandoned, fled back to his kingdom. Cyrus, after his victory, as soon as he had settled affairs in Babylonia, transferred the war into Lydia, where he easily routed the army of Crœsus, already dispirited by the event of the former battle. Crœsus himself was taken prisoner. But in proportion to the smallness of the danger in the battle, was the greatness of the clemency shown by Cyrus on his victory. To Crœsus was granted his life, part of his hereditary possessions, and the city Barene,* in which he lived, though not the life of a king, yet one scarcely inferior to royal dignity. This lenity was of no less advantage to the conqueror than to the conquered; for when it was known that war was made upon Crœsus, auxiliaries flocked to him from the whole of Greece,† as if to extinguish a conflagration that threatened them all; so popular was Crœsus in all the Greek cities; and Cyrus would have incurred a heavy war with Greece, if he had resolved on any severe treatment of Crœsus.

Some time after, when Cyrus was engaged in other wars, the Lydians rebelled, and, being a second time conquered, their arms and horses were taken from them, and they were compelled to keep taverns, to turn their thoughts to amusements, and open houses of pleasure Thus a nation, formerly powerful through its industry, and brave in the field, was rendered effeminate by ease and luxury, and lost its ancient spirit; and those whom their wars had proved invincible till the time of Cyrus, idleness and sloth overpowered when they had fallen into dissoluteness of manners.

The Lydians had many kings before Crœsus, remarkable for various turns of fate; but none to be compared, in singularity

* This word has been received into the text instead of the old *Barce* (which was a city of Cyrene, into which country the arms of Cyrus had not yet penetrated), on the conjecture of Bongarsius and authority of Ctesias, who states that this city, situated near Ecbatana, was given to Crœsus.—*Wetzel.*

† *Ex universâ Græciâ.*] This is not true. Crœsus having asked aid of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians by advice of the Delphic oracle, the Lacedæmonians were proceeding to assist him, but having heard, at the commencement of their march, of his defeat, they went back. Herod. i. 53, 69, 70, 77, 82, 152.—*Wetzel.*

of fortune, to Candaules. This prince used to speak of his wife, on whom he doated for her extreme beauty, to every body, for he was not content with the quiet consciousness of his happiness, unless he also published the secrets of his married life; just as if silence concerning her beauty had been a detraction from it. At last, to gain credit to his representations, he showed her undressed to his confidant, Gyges; an act by which he both rendered his friend, who was thus tempted to corrupt his wife, his enemy, and alienated his wife from him, by transferring, as it were, her love to another; for, soon after, the murder of Candaules was stipulated as the condition of her marriage with Gyges, and the wife, making her husband's blood her dowry, bestowed at once his kingdom and herself on her paramour.

VIII. Cyrus, after subduing Asia,* and reducing the whole of the east under his power, made war upon the Scythians. At that time, the Scythians were ruled by a queen named Tomyris, who, not alarmed like a woman at the approach of an enemy, suffered them to pass the river Araxes, though she might have hindered them from passing it; thinking that it would be easier for her to fight within the limits of her kingdom, and that escape would be harder for the enemy from the obstruction of the river. Cyrus accordingly, having carried his troops across, and advanced some distance into Scythia, pitched his camp. On the day following, having quitted his camp in pretended alarm, and as if in full flight, he left behind him abundance of wine, and such things as were proper for a feast. The news of this event being brought to the queen, she despatched her son, a very young man, with a third part of her army, in pursuit of him. When they reached the camp of Cyrus, the youth, inexperienced in military matters, seeming to think he was come to feast and not to fight, paid no attention to the enemy, but allowed his barbarians, who were unused to wine, to overload themselves with it; so that the Scythians were overcome with wine before they were subdued by the enemy; for Cyrus, learning what had happened, and returning in the night, fell upon them unawares,† and killed all the Scythians together with the queen's son.

* That is, the kingdom of Lydia, which included almost all *Asia Minor*. Herod. i. 28.—*Wetzel.*

† *Securos.*] I have adopted *securos* from Aldus, instead of the other reading *saucios*, for which Freinshemius happily conjectured

But Tomyris, after losing so great an army, and, what she still more lamented, her only son, did not pour forth her sorrow for her loss in tears, but turned her thoughts to the solace of revenge, and entrapped her enemies, exulting in their recent victory, by a deception and stratagem similar to their own. For, counterfeiting timidity on account of the damage which she had received, and taking to flight, she allured Cyrus into a narrow defile, where, placing an ambush on the hills, she slew two hundred thousand of the Persians with their king himself; a triumph in which this also was remarkable, that not a man to tell of such a massacre survived. The queen ordered the head of Cyrus to be cut off and thrown into a vessel full of human blood, adding this exclamation against his cruelty, "Satiate thyself with blood for which thou hast thirsted, and of which thou hast always been insatiable." Cyrus reigned thirty years, and was a man wonderfully distinguished, not only in the beginning of his reign, but during the whole course of his life.

IX. He was succeeded by his son Cambyses, who added Egypt to his father's dominions, but, disgusted at the superstitions of the Egyptians, ordered the temples of Apis and the other gods to be demolished. He also sent an army to destroy the celebrated temple of Ammon; which army was overwhelmed with tempests and heaps of sand, and utterly annihilated. Afterwards he learned in a dream that his brother Smerdis was to be king. Alarmed at this vision, he did not scruple to add fratricide * to sacrilege; nor was it to be expected, indeed, that he, who, in contempt of religion, had braved the gods themselves, would spare his own relations. To execute this cruel service, he selected from his confidants a man named Prexaspes, one of the Magi. But in the mean time, he himself, being severely hurt in the thigh by his sword, which had started out of its sheath,† died of the wound, and

sopitos. Though it should be observed that Justin, xxiv. 8, has *mero saucius.*—*Wetzel.*

* *Parricidium.*] See Festus in voce *Parrici*, and note on Sall. Cat. c. 14, Bohn's Cl. Library

† *Sponte evaginato.*] Justin seems to think that there was something miraculous in the unsheathing of the sword. Herodotus, iii. 64, says the sword fell from the sheath by accident, the cap at the end of the sheath having dropped off; observing, however, that the occurrence

paid the penalty whether of the fratricide which he had intended, or of the sacrilege which he had perpetrated. The Magus, receiving intelligence of this event, despatched his commission before the report of the king's death was spread abroad, and, having killed Smerdis, to whom the kingdom belonged, set up in his room his own brother Orospastes, who closely resembled him in features and person, and, no one suspecting any imposture in the case, Orospastes was declared king instead of Smerdis. This transaction was the more easily kept secret, as, among the Persians, the person of the king is concealed from public view, under pretext of keeping his majesty inviolate. The Magi,* to gain the favour of the people, granted a remission of the taxes, and an immunity from military service, for three years, that they might secure by indulgence and bounties the kingdom which they had gained by fraud. The imposition was first suspected by Otanes, a man of noble birth, and extremely happy in forming conjectures. He accordingly, by the aid of certain agents, inquired of his daughter, who was one of the royal concubines, whether the son of king Cyrus was now king. She replied that "she neither knew, nor could learn from any other woman, as all the females were shut up in separate apartments." He then desired her to feel his head while he was asleep; as Cambyses had cut off both the Magus's ears. Being then assured by his daughter that "the king was without ears," he disclosed the affair to some of the Persian noblemen, and, having persuaded them to murder the pretended king, bound them to the commission of the deed by a solemn oath. To this conspiracy seven only were privy, who at once (lest if time were allowed for change of mind, the affair should be made public by any one) proceeded to the palace with swords hidden under their garments. Here, having killed all that they met, they made their way to the Magi, who indeed did not want courage to defend themselves, for they drew their swords and killed two of the conspirators. They were overpowered, however, by numbers. Gobryas, having seized one of them by the waist, and his companions hesitating to use

took place on the spot where Cambyses had previously wounded the god Apis.

* The rest of the Magi conspired to support the one who was made king.

their swords, lest, as the affair was transacted in the dark, they should stab him instead of the Magus, desired them to thrust the weapon into the Magus even through his body; but, as good fortune directed, the Magus was slain, and Gobryas escaped unhurt.

X. The Magi being slain, the glory of the noblemen, in having recovered the kingdom, was indeed great, but proved far greater in this, that when they came to debate about the disposal of it, they were able to act in concert. They were so equal in merit and nobility of birth, that their very equality would have rendered it hard for the people to make a selection from them. They themselves, therefore, contrived a method by which they might refer the judgment respecting them to religion* and fortune, and agreed that, on an appointed day, they should all bring their horses early in the morning before the palace, and that he whose horse should neigh first, on the rising of the sun,† should be king. For the Persians believe the sun to be the only god, and regard horses as sacred to the god. Among the conspirators was Darius the son of Hystaspes, to whom, when he felt anxious about his chance of the kingdom, his groom said that, "if that matter was the only obstacle to his success, there would not be the least difficulty about it." The groom then took the horse, in the night before the appointed day, to the place agreed upon, and there let him cover a mare, thinking that from the pleasure of the leap would result what actually came to pass. On the next day, accordingly, when they were all met at the appointed hour, the horse of Darius, recognizing the place, set up a neigh from desire for the mare, and, while the other horses were silent, was the first to give a fortunate signal for his master. Such was the moderation of the other nobles, that when they heard the omen, they immediately leaped from their horses, and saluted Darius as king. The whole people too, following the judgment of their chiefs, acknowledged him as their ruler. Thus the kingdom of the Persians, recovered by

* *Religioni.*] To the gods, who might signify their will by omens. —*Wetzel.*

† *Inter solis ortum.*] The old editions have *ante solis ortum*, but *inter*, which Bongarsius took from his manuscripts, agrees better with the account of Herodotus, who has ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος, and ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνίοντι. *Inter ortum solis* is equivalent to *dum sol oritur.* —*Vorstius.*

the valour of seven of its noblest men, was by so easy a mode of decision conferred upon one of them. It is incredible that they should have resigned, with so much patience, their pretensions to a kingdom, for which, in order to recover it from the Magi, they had not hesitated to expose their lives. However, besides possessing gracefulness of person, and merit deserving of such an empire, Darius was related to the preceding kings; and, in the beginning of his reign, he took to wife the daughter of Cyrus, in order to strengthen his kingdom by a royal marriage, so that it might not so much seem transferred to a stranger, as to be restored to Cyrus's family.

Some time after, when the Assyrians had revolted and seized upon Babylon, and the capture of the city proved difficult, so that the king was in great anxiety about it, Zopyrus, one of the assassins of the Magi, caused himself to be mangled with stripes, in his own house, over his whole body, and his nose, ears, and lips to be cut off, and in this condition presented himself unexpectedly before the king; when he privately informed Darius, who was astonished, and inquired the cause and author of so dire an outrage, with what object he had done it, and, having settled his plan of action for the future, set out for Babylon in the character of a deserter. There he showed the people his lacerated body; complained of the barbarity of the king, by whom, in the competition for the throne, he had been defeated, not by merit but by fortune, not by the judgment of men but by the neighing of a horse; and bade them form an opinion, from his treatment of his friends, what was to be apprehended by his enemies; exhorting them not to trust to their walls more than to their arms, and to allow him, whose resentment was fresher, to carry on the war in common with them. The nobleness and bravery of the man was known to them all; nor did they doubt of his sincerity, of which they had the wounds on his person, and the marks of his ill-usage, as proofs. He was therefore chosen general by the suffrages of all; and, having received a small body of men, and the Persians, once or twice, purposely retreating from the field, he fought some successful battles. At last he betrayed the whole army, with which he had been entrusted, to Darius, and brought the city under his power. Some time after, Darius

made war upon the Scythians, as shall be related in the following book.

BOOK II.

Account of the Scythians and their actions, I., II., III.—The Amazons, IV.—The war of the Scythians with their slaves; the expeditions of Darius against the Scythians and Ionians, V.—The Athenians, and Solon, VI., VII.—Pisistratus, VIII.—Hippias, being exiled, brings the Persians against Greece; the battle of Marathon; Miltiades, IX.—The sons of Darius; Xerxes invades Greece, X.—Leonidas at Thermopylæ, XI.—The battle of Salamis, XII.—Mardonius; the flight of Xerxes, XIII.—The battle of Platææ, XIV.—The walls of Athens; Pausanias; Aristides; Cimon, XV.

I. In narrating the acts of the Scythians, which were very great and glorious, we must commence from their origin; for they had a rise not less illustrious than their empire; nor were they more famous for the government of their men than for the brave actions of their women. As the men were founders of the Parthians and Bactrians, the women settled the kingdom of the Amazons; so that to those who compare the deeds of their males and females, it is difficult to decide which of the sexes was more distinguished.

The nation of the Scythians was always regarded as very ancient; though there was long a dispute between them and the Egyptians concerning the antiquity of their respective races; the Egyptians alleging that, "In the beginning of things, when some countries were parched with the excessive heat of the sun, and others frozen with extremity of cold, so that, in their early condition, they were not only unable to produce human beings, but were incapable even of receiving and supporting such as came from other parts (before coverings for the body were found out against heat and cold, or the inconveniences of countries corrected by artificial remedies), Egypt was always so temperate, that neither the cold in winter nor the sun's heat in summer, incommoded its inhabitants; and its soil so fertile, that no land was ever more productive of food for the use of man; and that, consequently, men must

reasonably be considered to have been first produced in that country,* where they could most easily be nourished."

The Scythians, on the other hand, thought that the temperateness of the air was no argument of antiquity; "because Nature, when she first distributed to different countries degrees of heat and cold, immediately produced in them animals fitted to endure the several climates, and generated also numerous sorts of trees and herbs, happily varied according to the condition of the places in which they grew; and that, as the Scythians have a sharper air than the Egyptians, so are their bodies and constitutions in proportion more hardy. But that if the world, which is now distinguished into parts of a different nature, was once uniform throughout; whether a deluge of waters originally kept the earth buried under it; or whether fire, which also produced the world,† had possession of all the parts of it, the Scythians, under either supposition as to the primordial state of things, had the advantage as to origin. For if fire was at first predominant over all things, and, being gradually extinguished, gave place to the earth, no part of it would be sooner separated from the fire, by the severity of winter cold, than the northern, since even now no part is more frozen with cold: but Egypt and all the east must have been the latest to cool, as being now burnt up with the parching heat of the sun. But if originally all the earth were sunk under water, assuredly the highest parts would be first uncovered when the waters decreased, and the water must have remained longest in the lowest grounds; while the sooner any portion of the earth was dry, the sooner it must have begun to produce animals; but Scythia was so much higher than all other countries, that all the rivers which rise in it run down into the Mæotis, and then into the Pontic and Egyptian seas; whereas Egypt, (which, though it had been fenced by the care and expense of so many princes and generations, and furnished with such strong mounds against the violence of the encroaching waters, and though it had been intersected also by so many canals, the waters being kept out by the one, and retained by the other, was yet unin-

* On the supposition that men sprung out of the ground. See Lucretius, v. 803; Ovid. Met. i. 80; Diod. Sic. i. 10.

† *Ignis, qui et mundum genuit.*] This was the opinion of Heraclitus and some other philosophers. See Lucretius, i. 636.

habitable, unless the Nile were excluded,*) could not be thought to have been the most anciently peopled;† being a land, which, whether from the accessions of soil collected by its kings, or those from the Nile, bringing mud with it, must appear to have been the most recently formed of all lands." The Egyptians being confounded with these arguments, the Scythians were always accounted the more ancient.

II. Scythia, which stretches towards the east, is bounded on one side by the Pontus Euxinus; on the other, by the Rhipæan Mountains; at the back,‡ by Asia§ and the river Phasis. It extends to a vast distance, both in length and breadth. The people have no landmarks, for they neither cultivate the soil, nor have they any house, dwelling, or settled place of abode, but are always engaged in feeding herds and flocks, and wandering through uncultivated deserts. They carry their wives and children with them in waggons,‖ which, as they are covered with hides against the rain and cold, they use instead of houses. Justice is observed among them, more from the temper of the people, than from the influence of laws. No crime in their opinion is more heinous than theft; for, among people that keep their flocks and herds without fence or shelter in the woods, what would be safe, if stealing were permitted? Gold and silver they despise, as much as other men covet them. They live on milk and honey. The use of wool and clothes is unknown among them, although they are pinched by perpetual cold; they wear, however, the skins of wild animals, great and small.¶ Such abstemiousness

* *Nisi excluso Nilo.*] Excluded from the land, or confined to its channel.—*Wetzel.*

† *Hominum vetustate ultimam.*] "The farthest back in the antiquity of its inhabitants."

‡ *A tergo.*] i. e. towards the west.

§ Asia Minor.—*Wetzel.*

‖ *In plaustris.*] See Hor. Od. iii. 24, 9.

¶ *Ferinis aut murinis.*] By *mures* is to be understood small animals in general, as cats, weasels, badgers, rabbits, hares, foxes. Thus Hesychius says that the σίμωρ is a μυὸς ἀγρίον εἶδος among the Parthians, the skin of which they use for garments. So Ammianus Marcellinus, xxxi. 2, says of the Huns, that they wear garments *ex pellibus silvestrium murium consarcinatis.*—*Wetzel.* By *mus Ponticus*, Plin. H. N. x. 73, is generally understood the ermine or squirrel. Seneca, Ep. 90, says, that the Scythians wear skins *vulpium ac murium.* See also Plin. H. N. xxx. 6.

has caused justice to be observed among them, as they covet nothing belonging to their neighbours; for it is only where riches are of use, that the desire of them prevails. And would that other men had like temperance, and like freedom from desire for the goods of others! There would then assuredly be fewer wars in all ages and countries, and the sword would not destroy more than the natural course of destiny. And it appears extremely wonderful, that nature should grant that to them which the Greeks cannot attain by long instruction from their wise men and the precepts of their philosophers; and that cultivated morals should have the disadvantage in a comparison with those of unpolished barbarians. So much better effect has the ignorance of vice in the one people than the knowledge of virtue in the other.

III. They thrice * aspired to the supreme command in Asia; while they themselves remained always either unmolested or unconquered by any foreign power. Darius, king of the Persians, they forced to quit Scythia in disgraceful flight. They slew Cyrus with his whole army. They cut off in like manner Zopyrion, a general of Alexander the Great, with all his forces. Of the arms of the Romans they have heard, but never felt them. They founded the Parthian and Bactrian powers. They are a nation hardy in toils and warfare: their strength of body is extraordinary; they take possession of nothing which they fear to lose, and covet, when they are conquerors, nothing but glory.

The first that proclaimed war against the Scythians was Sesostris, king of Egypt, previously sending messengers † to announce conditions on which they might become his subjects. But the Scythians, who were already apprized by their neighbours of the king's approach, made answer to the deputies, that the prince of so rich a people had been foolish in commencing a war with a poor one (for war was more to be dreaded by himself at home), as the result of the contest was uncertain, prizes of victory there were none, and the ill consequences of defeat were apparent; and that the Scythians,

* One expedition only is mentioned by Herodotus.—*Wetzel.*

† *Lenonibus.*] Messenger, mediator, or conciliator, seems to have been the primary meaning of the word *leno.* Priscian derives it from *lenio. Maxima lena mora est,* says Ovid; and *vox sua lena fuit,* A. Am iii. 316.

therefore, would not wait till he came to them, since there was so much more to be desired in the hands of the enemy, but would proceed of their own accord to seek the spoil." Nor were their deeds slower than their words; and the king, hearing that they were advancing with such speed, took to flight,* and leaving behind him his army and all his military stores, returned in consternation to his own kingdom. The morasses prevented the Scythians from invading Egypt; in their retreat from which they subdued Asia, and made it tributary, imposing, however, only a moderate tribute, rather as a token of their power over it, than as a recompence for their victory. After spending fifteen years in the reduction of Asia, they were called home by the importunity of their wives, who sent them word that "unless their husbands returned, they would seek issue from their neighbours, and not suffer the race of the Scythians to fail of posterity through the fault of their women." Asia was tributary to them for fifteen hundred years; and it was Ninus, king of Assyria, that put a stop to the payment of the tribute.

IV. Among the Scythians, in the meantime, two youths† of royal extraction, Ylinos and Scolopitus, being driven from their country by a faction of the nobility, took with them a numerous band of young men, and found a settlement on the coast of Cappadocia, near the river Thermodon, occupying the Themiscyrian plains that border on it. Here, making it their practice for several years to rob their neighbours, they were at last, by a combination of the surrounding people, cut to pieces in an ambuscade. Their wives, when they found that to exile was added the loss of their husbands, took arms themselves, and maintained their position, repelling the attacks of their enemies at first, and afterwards assailing them in return. They relinquished all thoughts of marrying with their neighbours, saying that it would be slavery, not matrimony. Venturing to set an example imitated through all generations, they established their government without the aid of men, and

* Herodotus, on the contrary, with Diodorus Siculus, and Dicæarchus, say, that the Scythians were put to flight by Sesostris, who conquered every nation that he attacked.—*Wetzel.*

† Herodotus, iv. 110, 117, gives a different account; and another is given by Diod. Siculus, ii. 45. Compare Orosius, i. 15; Ammian Marcellinus, lib xxii.; Eustath. on Dionysius; Strabo, lib ii. says much on this subject, deeming all the accounts fabulous.—*Lemaire.*

soon maintained their power in defiance of them. And that none of their females might seem more fortunate than others, they put to death all the men who had remained at home. They also took revenge for their husbands that were killed in war, by a great slaughter of their neighbours.

Having thus secured peace by means of their arms, they proceeded, in order that their race might not fail, to form connexions with the men of the adjacent nations. If any male children were born, they put them to death. The girls they bred up to the same mode of life with themselves, not consigning them to idleness, or working in wool, but training them to arms, the management of horses, and hunting; burning their right breasts in infancy, that their use of the bow might not be obstructed by them; and hence they were called Amazons.* They had two queens, Marpesia and Lampedo, who, dividing their forces into two bodies (after they were grown famous for their power), conducted their wars, and defended their borders separately and by turns. And that a reason for their success might not be wanting, they spread a report that they were the daughters of Mars.

After subduing the greater part of Europe, they possessed themselves also of some cities in Asia.† Having then founded Ephesus and several other towns there, they sent a detachment of their army home, laden with a vast quantity of spoil. The rest, who remained to secure their power in Asia, were cut to pieces, together with their queen Marpesia, by a combination of the barbarous tribes. Orithya, the daughter of Marpesia, succeeded to the government in her room, and has attracted extraordinary admiration, not only for her eminent skill in war, but for having preserved her virginity to the end of her life. So much was added by her valour and conduct to the fame and glory of the Amazons, that the king, for whom Hercules was bound to perform twelve labours, ordered him, as if it were a thing impossible, to bring him the arms of the queen of the Amazons. Hercules, accordingly, having proceeded thither with nine ships of war, the principal young men of Greece accompanying him, attacked the Amazons unawares. Two sisters at this time held the government, Antiope and Orithya; but Orithya was engaged in a war

* From *ἀ* privative, and *μαζός*, Asia Minor.

abroad. When Hercules, therefore, landed on the coast of the Amazons, there was but a small number of them there with their queen Antiope, free from all apprehension of hostilities. Hence it happened that a few only, roused by the sudden alarm, took up arms, and these afforded an easy conquest to the enemy. Many were slain, and many taken prisoners; among the latter were two sisters of Antiope, Menalippe being taken by Hercules, and Hippolyte by Theseus. Theseus, having received his prisoner as his share of the spoil, took her to wife, and had by her his son Hippolytus. Hercules, after his victory, restored his captive Menalippe to her sister, receiving the arms of the queen as a recompence; and having thus executed what was imposed on him, he returned to the king.

But Orithya, when she found that war had been made upon her sister, and that the assailant was a chief of the Athenians, exhorted her followers to revenge the affront, saying that the "coast of the Pontus, and Asia, had been conquered in vain, if they were still exposed, not merely to the wars, but to the marauding invasions, of the Greeks." She then solicited aid from Sagillus, king of Scythia; representing to him "their Scythian descent, the loss of their husbands, their obligation to take arms, and their reasons for making war;" adding, "that they had proved by their valour, that the Scythians must be thought to have women not less spirited than their men." Sagillus, alive to the glory of his nation, sent his son Panasagoras, with a numerous body of cavalry, to their aid. But some disagreement having occurred before the battle, they were deserted by their auxiliaries, and worsted in the conflict by the Athenians. They had, however, the camp of their allies as a place of refuge, under whose protection they returned to their kingdom unmolested by other nations.

After Orithya, Penthesilea occupied the throne, of whose valour there were seen great proofs among the bravest heroes in the Trojan war, when she led an auxiliary force thither against the Greeks. But Penthesilea being at last killed, and her army destroyed, a few only of the Amazons, who had remained at home in their own country, established a power that continued (defending itself with difficulty against its neighbours), to the time of Alexander the Great. Their queen Minithya, or Thalestris, after obtaining from Alexander

the enjoyment of his society for thirteen days, in order to have issue by him, returned into her kingdom, and soon after died, together with the whole name of the Amazons.

V. The Scythians, in their Asiatic expedition, having been absent from their wives and children eight years, were met on their return home by a war raised by their slaves. For their wives, weary of waiting so long for their husbands, and thinking that they were not detained by war, but had perished in the field, married their slaves that had been left at home to take care of the cattle; who, taking up arms, repelled their masters, returning with victory, from the borders of their country, as if they had been strangers. Success against them being uncertain, the Scythians were advised to change their method of attack, remembering that they were not to fight with soldiers, but with slaves, who were to be conquered, not by means of arms, but of magisterial authority; that whips, not weapons, were to be used in the field; and that, swords being laid aside, rods and scourges, and other instruments of terror to slaves, were to be provided. This suggestion being approved, and all being equipped as was prescribed, the Scythians, as soon as they drew near the enemy, held out scourges towards them unexpectedly, and struck them such terror, that they conquered with the dread of stripes those whom they could not conquer with the sword, and who took to flight, not as defeated enemies, but as fugitive slaves. As many as could be taken, paid the penalty for their rebellion on the cross. The women too, conscious of their ill conduct, put an end to their lives partly by the sword and partly by hanging.

After this occurrence, there was peace among the Scythians till the time of king Jancyrus, on whom Darius, king of Persia, as was said above, made war, because he could not obtain his daughter in marriage. Darius, having entered Scythia with seven hundred thousand armed men, and the enemy allowing him no opportunity of fighting, dreading lest, if the bridge over the Ister were broken down, his retreat should be cut off, hurried back in alarm, with the loss of eighty thousand men; which loss, however, out of so vast a number, was scarcely accounted a disaster. Darius afterwards subdued Asia and Macedonia, and defeated the Ionians in a fight at sea. Then, learning that the Athenians had given

aid to the Ionians against him, he turned all his warlike fury upon them.

VI. Since we have now come to the wars of the Athenians, which were carried on, not only beyond expectation as to what could be done, but even beyond belief as to what was done, the efforts of that people having been successful beyond their hopes, the origin of their city must be briefly set forth; for they did not, like other nations, rise to eminence from a mean commencement, but are the only people that can boast, not only of their rise, but also of their birth. It was not a concourse of foreigners, or a rabble of people collected from different parts, that raised their city, but men who were born on the same ground which they inhabit; and the country which is their place of abode, was also their birth-place. It was they who first taught* the art of working in wool, and the use of oil and wine. They also showed men, who had previously fed on acorns, how to plough and sow. Literature and eloquence, it is certain, and the state of civil discipline which we enjoy, had Athens as their temple. Before Deucalion's time, they had a king named Cecrops, whom, as all antiquity is full of fables, they represented to have been of both sexes, because he was the first to join male and female in marriage. To him succeeded Cranaus, whose daughter Atthis gave name to the country. After him reigned Amphictyon, who first consecrated the city to Minerva, and gave it the name of Athens. In his days, a deluge swept away the greater part of the inhabitants of Greece. Those only escaped, whom a refuge on the mountains protected, or who went off in ships to Deucalion, king of Thessaly, by whom, from this circumstance, the human race is said to have been restored. The crown then descended, in the course of succession, to Erectheus, in whose reign the sowing of corn was commenced by Triptolemus at Eleusis; in commemoration of which benefit the nights sacred to the mysteries of Ceres were appointed. Ægeus also, the father of Theseus, was king of Athens, from whom Medea divorcing herself, on account of the adult age of her step-son, returned to Colchis with her son Medus, whom she had had by Ægeus. After Ægeus reigned Theseus, and after Theseus his son

* See, on the praise of Athens, Lucret. vi. 1; Ælian. Var. Hist. iii. 38; Strabo, lib. xix.; Thucyd. lib. i.; Diod. Sic. lib. i.

Demophoon, who afforded aid to the Greeks against the Trojans. Between the Athenians and Dorians there had been animosities of long standing, which the Dorians, intending to revenge in war, consulted the oracle about the event of the contest. The answer was, that the "Dorians would have the advantage, if they did not kill the king of the Athenians." When they came into the field, the Doric soldiers were charged above all things to take care not to attack the king. At that time the king of the Athenians was Codrus, who, learning the answer of the god and the directions of the enemy, laid aside his royal dress, and entered the camp of the enemy in rags, with a bundle of sticks on his back. Here, among a crowd of people that stood in his way, he was killed by a soldier whom he had purposely wounded with a pruning knife. His body being recognized as that of the king, the Dorians went off without coming to battle; and thus the Athenians, through the bravery of a prince who submitted to death for the safety of his country, were relieved from war.

VII. After Codrus there was no king at Athens; a circumstance which is attributed to the respect paid to his memory. The government of the state was placed in the hands of magistrates elected annually. At this period the people had no laws, for the wills of their princes had always been received instead of laws. Solon, a man of eminent integrity, was in consequence chosen to found the state, as it were afresh, by the establishment of laws. This man acted with such judicious moderation between the commons and the senate (though whatever he proposed in favour of one class, seemed likely to displease the other), that he received equal thanks from both parties. Among many illustrious acts of Solon, the following is eminently worthy of record. A war had been carried on between the Athenians and Megarians, concerning their respective claims to the island of Salamis, almost to the utter destruction of both. After many defeats, it was made a capital offence at Athens to propose a law for the recovery of the island. Solon, anxious lest he should injure his country by keeping silence, or himself by expressing his opinion, pretended to be suddenly seized with madness, under cover of which he might not only say, but do, what was prohibited. In a strange garb, like an insane person, he rushed

forth into the public streets, where, having collected a crowd about him, he began, that he might the better conceal his design, to urge the people in verse (which he was unaccustomed to make), to do what was forbidden, and produced such an effect on the minds of all, that war was instantly decreed against the Megarians; and the enemy being defeated, the island became subject to the Athenians.

VIII. After a time, the Megarians, cherishing the remembrance of the war made upon them by the Athenians, and fearing that they might be said to have taken up arms to no purpose, went on board a fleet with a design to seize the Athenian matrons as they were celebrating the Eleusinian mysteries during the night. Their intention becoming known, Pisistratus, the Athenian general, placed a body of young men in ambush to receive them, directing the matrons, at the same time, to continue the celebration of the sacred rites with their usual cries and noise, even while the enemy were approaching, in order that they might not know that their coming was expected; and thus attacking the Megarians unawares, just as they were leaving their ships, he put them all to the sword. Immediately after, having taken some women with his men on board the fleet which he had seized, to appear like captured matrons of the Athenians, he set sail for Megara. The Megarians, seeing ships of their own build approaching, apparently with the desired prey on board, went out to the harbour to meet them. Pisistratus cut them to pieces, and almost succeeded in taking their city. Thus the Megarians, having their own stratagem turned against them, afforded their enemies a triumph.

But Pisistratus, as if he had conquered for himself and not for his country, possessed himself of the sovereign authority by a subtle contrivance. Having undergone a voluntary scourging in his own house, he ran out, with his body lacerated, into the open street, and, having summoned an assembly of the people, showed them his wounds, complaining of the cruelty of the great men of the city, from whom he pretended to have received this treatment. Tears were joined to his words, and the credulous mob was easily inflamed be a calumnious speech, in which he affirmed that he had incurred the hatred of the senate by showing his love for the common people. He thus obtained a guard for the protection

of his person, by the aid of which he got the sovereign power into his hands, and reigned thirty-three years.

IX. After his death Diocles,* one of his sons, having offered violence to a maiden, was slain by her brother. His other son, whose name was Hippias, taking upon him the authority of his father, ordered the murderer of his brother to be apprehended; who, being forced by torture to name those that were privy to the murder, named all the intimate friends of the tyrant. These being put to death, and Hippias asking him "whether any of the guilty still survived," he replied, that "there was no one surviving whom he should more rejoice to see die than the tyrant himself." By which answer he proved himself superior to the tyrant, after having avenged, too, the violated honour of his sister.

The city being animated, through his spirited conduct, with a desire for liberty, Hippias was at last deprived of his power, and driven into exile. Setting out for Persia, he offered himself as a leader to Darius against his own country; Darius being then, as has been said before, ready to make war on the Athenians. The Athenians, hearing of Darius's approach, requested assistance from the Lacedæmonians, who were then in alliance with them. But finding that they delayed at home four days, in consequence of some religious scruple, they did not wait for their help, but, having mustered ten thousand of their own citizens, and a thousand auxiliaries from Platææ, went out to battle in the plain of Marathon, against six hundred thousand of the enemy. Miltiades was both their general in the field, and the person who advised them not to wait for assistance, being possessed with such confidence of success, that he thought there was more trust to be placed in expedition than in their allies. Great, therefore, was their spirit as they proceeded to battle; so that, though there were a thousand paces between the two armies, they came full speed upon the enemy before their arrows were discharged. Nor did the result fall short of their daring; for such was the courage with which they fought, that you might have supposed there were men on one side and a herd of cattle on the other. The Persians, utterly defeated, fled to their ships, of which many were sunk and many taken. In this battle, the bravery of every individual was such, that it was difficult to determine

* All other historians call him Hipparchus. See Thucyd. i. 20.

to whom the highest praise was due. Amongst others, however, the heroism of Themistocles, then a young man, was greatly distinguished; in whom, even then, appeared a genius *indicative* of his future eminence as a general. The merit of Cynægirus, too, an Athenian soldier, has met with great commendation from historians; for, after having slain a great number in the battle, and having chased the fleeing enemy to their ships, he seized a crowded vessel with his right hand, and would not let it go till he had lost his hand; and even then, when his right hand was cut off, he took hold of the ship with his left, and having lost this hand also, he at last seized the ship with his teeth. So undaunted was his spirit, that neither being weary with killing so many, nor disheartened with the loss of his hands, he fought to the last, maimed as he was, with his teeth, like a wild beast. The Persians lost two thousand men in the battle or by shipwreck. Hippias also, the Athenian tyrant, who was the promoter and encourager of the war, was killed on the occasion; the gods, the avengers of his country, inflicting on him the penalty of his perfidy.

X. Some time after, Darius, when he was going to renew the war, died in the midst of his preparations for it, leaving behind him several sons, some born before his accession to the crown, and others after it. Artemenes, the eldest of them, claimed the kingdom by the law of primogeniture, a law which he said that both order of birth and nature herself had prescribed to all nations. Xerxes, however, alleged, that the dispute was not so much about the order as the good fortune of their birth; for that "Artemenes was born first indeed to Darius, but while he was in a private station; that he himself was born to him first after he was king; and that, consequently, such of his brothers as were born before him might claim the private estate which Darius then possessed, but could have no claim to the kingdom; he himself being the first-born whom his father, when king, had bred up to succeed him on the throne."* In addition to this," he said, "Artemenes was sprung, not only from a father but from a mother in a private condition, and from a maternal grandfather of similar station; but he himself was both sprung from a

* *In regnum.*] Wetzel, with most editors, has *in regno*, but *in regnum* is much more to the purpose.

mother who was a queen, and had never known his father except as a king; he had also for his maternal grandfather king Cyrus, not the heir, but the founder of so great an empire; and even if their father had left both brothers with equal claims, yet he himself ought to have the advantage in right of his mother and grandfather." The settlement of the controversy they left, with mutual consent, to their uncle Artaphernes, as the fittest judge of their family differences; who, having heard their pleas in his own house, decided in favour of Xerxes. But the contest was conducted in so brotherly a way, that neither did he who gained the cause show any unseemly triumph, nor did he who lost it express dissatisfaction; and, during the very time of the contention, they sent presents to one another, and gave such entertainments, as showed not only mutual confidence, but pleasure in each other's society. The judgment, too, was pronounced without witnesses, and heard without a murmur. So much more contentedly did brothers then share the greatest kingdoms, than they now divide the smallest estates!

Xerxes then proceeded, during five years, with his preparations for the war against Greece, which his father had commenced. As soon as Demaratus, king of the Lacedæmonians, who was then an exile at the court of Xerxes, understood his intentions, he, feeling more regard for his country, notwithstanding his banishment, than for the king in return for his favours, sent full intelligence of the matter to the magistrates of the Lacedæmonians, that they might not be surprised by an unexpected attack; writing the account on wooden tablets, and hiding the writing with wax spread over it; taking care, however, not merely that writing without a cover might not give proof against him, but that too fresh wax might not betray the contrivance. These tablets he committed to a trusty slave, who was ordered to deliver them into the hands of the authorities at Sparta. When they were received, the object of them was long a matter of inquiry, because the magistrates could see nothing written on them, and yet could not imagine that they were sent to no purpose; and they thought the matter must be momentous in proportion to its mysteriousness. While the men were still engaged in conjecture, the sister of king Leonidas surmised the writer's intention. The wax being accordingly scraped off the account of the

warlike preparations appeared. Xerxes had already armed seven hundred thousand men of his own kingdom, and three hundred thousand of his auxiliaries; so that there was some ground for the assertion that rivers were drunk up by his army, and that all Greece could scarcely contain it. He is also said to have had a fleet of twelve hundred ships. But for this vast army a general was wanting; for if you contemplate its king, you could not commend his capacity as a leader, however you might extol his wealth, of which there was such abundance in his realm, that, while rivers were drained by his forces, his treasury was still unexhausted. He was always seen foremost in flight, and hindmost in battle; he was a coward in danger, and when danger was away, a boaster; and, in fine, before he made trial of war, elated with confidence in his strength (as if he had been lord of nature itself), he levelled mountains, filled up valleys, covered some seas with bridges, and contracted others, for the convenience of navigation, into shorter channels.

XI. In proportion to the terror of his entrance into Greece, was the shame and dishonour of his retreat from it. Leonidas, king of the Spartans, having occupied the straits of Thermopylæ with four thousand men, Xerxes, in contempt of so small a number, ordered such of the Persians as had lost relatives in the battle of Marathon, to commence an attack upon them; who, while they endeavoured to avenge their friends, were the first to be slaughtered, and a useless multitude taking their place, the havoc became still greater. For three days was the struggle maintained, to the grief and indignation of the Persians. On the fourth, it being told Leonidas that the summit of the mountain was occupied by twenty thousand of the enemy, he exhorted the allies "to retire, and reserve themselves to their country for better times;" saying, that "he himself would try his fortune with the Spartans; that he ought to care more for his country than for his life, and that others should be preserved for the defence of Greece." On hearing the king's resolution, the rest retired, the Lacedæmonians alone remaining.

At the beginning of the war, when the Spartans consulted the oracle at Delphi, they had received the answer, that "either the king or their city must fall." King Leonidas, accordingly, when he proceeded to battle, had so fixed the

resolution of his men, that they felt they must go to the field with minds prepared for death. He had posted himself in a narrow pass, too, that he might either conquer more gloriously with a few, or fall with less damage to his country. The allies being therefore sent away, he exhorted his Spartans "to remember that, however they struggled, they must expect to perish; to take care not to show more resolution to stay than to fight;" adding that, "they must not wait till they were surrounded by the enemy, but when night afforded them opportunity, must surprise them in security and at their ease; as conquerors could die nowhere more honourably than in the camp of the foe." There was no difficulty in stimulating men determined to die. They immediately seized their arms, and six hundred men rushed into the camp of five hundred thousand, making directly for the king's tent, and resolving either to die with him, or, if they should be overpowered, at least in his quarters. An alarm spread through the whole Persian army. The Spartans being unable to find the king, marched uncontrolled through the whole camp, killing and overthrowing all that stood in their way, like men who knew that they fought, not with the hope of victory, but to avenge their own deaths. The contest was protracted from the beginning of the night through the greater part of the following day. At last, not conquered, but exhausted with conquering, they fell amidst vast heaps of slaughtered enemies. Xerxes, having thus met with two defeats by land, resolved next to try his fortune by sea.

XII. Themistocles, the general of the Athenians, having discovered that the Ionians, on whose account they had undertaken this war with the Persians, were come to the assistance of the king with a fleet, resolved to draw them over to his own side. Being unable to find any opportunity of speaking with them, he caused placards to be fixed, and inscriptions to be written, on the rocks where they were to land, to the following effect; "What madness possesses you, O Ionians? What evil are you going to do? Do you intend to make war on those who were formerly your founders, and lately your avengers? Did we build your cities that a people might arise from them to destroy ours? Was it not Darius's reason * for attacking us before, and is it not now that of

* *Quid? si non hæc et Dario prius, et nunc Xerxi, belli causa*

Xerxes, that we did not desert you when you rebelled against them? But pass over from your place of confinement* to our camp; or, if this course is unsafe, withdraw when the battle begins; keep back your vessels with your oars, and retire from the engagement." Before this encounter at sea, Xerxes had sent four thousand armed men to plunder the temple of Apollo, as if he had been at war, not with the Greeks only, but with the immortal gods; but the whole of this detachment was destroyed by a storm of rain and thunder, that he might be convinced how feeble human strength is against the powers of heaven. Afterwards he burnt Thespiæ, Platææ, and Athens, all abandoned by their inhabitants; venting his rage on the buildings by fire, since he could not destroy the people by the sword. For the Athenians, after the battle of Marathon, because Themistocles forewarned them that their victory would not be the termination of the war, but the cause of a greater one, had built two hundred ships; and when, at the approach of Xerxes, he consulted the oracle at Delphi, they were answered, that "they must provide for their safety with wooden walls." Themistocles, thinking that defence with shipping was meant, persuaded them all, that "the citizens, not the walls, constituted their country; that a city consisted, not of its buildings, but of its inhabitants; that it would be better for them, therefore, to trust their safety to their ships than to their city; and that the god was the adviser of this course." The counsel being approved, they committed their wives and children, with their most valuable property, to certain islands out of the way;† while the men went in arms on board the ships. Other cities also followed the example of the Athenians. But when the whole fleet of the allies was assembled, ready for an engagement,

nobiscum foret, &c.] I have not attempted to translate the commencement of this sentence literally. Some editions have a note of interrogation after *quid*, and others not, and some have *quod si*; but, as Scheffer says, no one of these readings is satisfactory. Lemaire plausibly conjectures *Quasi non hæc*, &c.

* *Ex istâ obsidione.*] They being hemmed in by the Persian fleet like enemies. —*Wetzel*

† *Abditis insulis.*] He calls the islands *abditæ* because they were situated in the innermost recess of the [Saronic] gulf.—*Vossius.* We may suppose Salamis and Ægina to be meant.—*Vorstius.* See Corn. Nep. Them. 2, 8; Herod. viii. 41.

and had posted itself in the narrow strait of Salamis, that it might not be overwhelmed by superior numbers, a dissension arose among the leading men of the different cities, who were disposed to relinquish the plan of a general war, and go off each to defend his own country. Themistocles, fearing that the strength of his countrymen would be too much weakened by such desertion of their allies, sent intimation to Xerxes by a trusty slave, that "he might now easily make himself master of all Greece, when it was collected in one place; but that if the several states which were inclined to go away should once be dispersed, he would have to pursue each of them singly with far greater trouble." By this stratagem he induced the king to give the signal for battle. The Greeks, at the same time, taken by surprise by the enemy's attack, proceeded to oppose them with their united force. The king, meantime, remained on shore as a spectator of the combat, with part of the ships near him; while Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, who had come to the assistance of Xerxes, was fighting with the greatest gallantry among the foremost leaders; so that you might have seen womanish fear in a man,* and manly boldness in a woman. While the result of the battle was still doubtful, the Ionians, according to the admonition of Themistocles, began gradually to withdraw from the contest; and their desertion broke the courage of the rest. The Persians, as they were considering in which direction they might flee, suffered a repulse, and were soon after utterly defeated, and put to flight. In the confusion, many ships were taken, and many sunk; but the greater number, fearing the king's cruelty not less than the enemy, went off to their respective homes.

XIII. While Xerxes was confounded at his disaster, and doubtful what course to pursue, Mardonius addressed him, advising him "to return home to his kingdom, lest fame, carrying the news of his defeat, and exaggerating every thing according to her custom, should occasion any sedition in his absence; and to leave with him three hundred thousand men-at-arms, chosen from the whole army, with which force he would either subdue Greece to the king's glory, or, if the result should prove unfavourable, would retire before the enemy without dishonour to him." Mardonius's suggestion being approved,

* Xerxes himself.

the force which he requested was given him, and the king prepared to return home with the rest of the army. The Greeks, hearing of his flight, formed a design to break down the bridge, which, as conqueror of the sea, he had made at Abydos; so that, his retreat being cut off, he might either be destroyed with his army, or might be forced, by the desperate state of his affairs, to sue for peace. But Themistocles, fearing that the enemy, if they were stopped, might take courage from despair, and open by their swords a passage not to be opened by other means, and observing that "there were enemies enough left in Greece, and that the number ought not to be increased by preventing their escape," but finding that he was unable to move his countrymen by his admonitions, despatched the same slave as before to Xerxes, acquainting him of the intention of the Greeks to break down the bridge, and urging him to secure a passage by a speedy flight. Xerxes, alarmed at the message, left his army to be conducted by his generals, and hurried away himself, with a few attendants, to Abydos; where, having found the bridge broken down by the winter storms, he crossed in the utmost trepidation in a fishing-boat. It was a sight worth contemplation for judging of the condition of man,* so wonderful for its vicissitudes, to see him shrinking down in a little boat, whom shortly before the whole ocean could scarcely contain; to behold him wanting servants to attend him, whose armies had burdened the earth with their numbers! Nor had the land-forces, which he had committed to his generals, a more fortunate retreat; for to their daily fatigue (and there is no rest to men in fear) was added the want of provisions. A famine of several days produced also a pestilential distemper; and so dire was the mortality, that the roads were filled with dead bodies; and birds and beasts of prey, allured by the attraction of food, followed close upon the army.

XIV. In Greece, in the meantime, Mardonius took Olynthus by storm. He also invited the Athenians to listen

* *Erat res spectaculo digna, et æstimatione sortis humanæ, rerum varietate mirandæ.*] Such is the reading of Wetzel and Gronovius. Some editions omit the *et*. Wetzel gives this comment: "It was a spectacle deserving of attentive contemplation, and one from which you might judge of the lot of man; of the wonderful changeableness of which Xerxes was an example."

to offers of peace, and of the king's friendship; promising to rebuild their city, which had been burnt, in greater splendour than before. But when he saw that they would not sell their liberty at any rate, he set fire to what they had begun to rebuild, and led off his army into Bœotia. Thither the army of the Greeks, which consisted of a hundred thousand men, followed him, and there a battle was fought. But the fortune of the king was not changed with the general; for Mardonius, being defeated, escaped, as it were from a shipwreck, with but a small number of followers. His camp, which was filled with the king's treasures, was taken; and hence it was, on the division of the Persian gold among them, that the charms of wealth first attracted the Greeks. By chance, on the same day on which the army of Mardonius was defeated, an engagement was fought by sea near the mountain Mycale, on the coast of Asia. Before the encounter began, and whilst the fleets stood opposite one another, a rumour spread through both parties, that the Greeks had gained a victory, and that the army of Mardonius was utterly destroyed. It is said that so great was the speed of this report, that when the battle was fought in Bœotia in the morning, the news of the victory arrived in Asia by noon, passing over so much sea, and so large a space of ground, in so very short a time. When the war was over, and they proceeded to consider the respective merits of the cities that had been engaged in it, the bravery of the Athenians was praised above that of any other people. Among the leaders too, Themistocles, being pronounced the most meritorious by the judgment of the several states, added greatly to the glory of his country.

XV. The Athenians, then, being enriched by the spoils of war, as well as in glory, applied themselves to rebuild their city. Having enlarged the compass of their walls, they became an object of suspicion to the Lacedæmonians, naturally reflecting how great power a city, when fortified, might secure to a people for whom it had done so much when in a state of ruin. They therefore sent ambassadors to admonish them that "they should not build what might prove a stronghold for the enemy, and a place of shelter for them in a future war." Themistocles seeing that envy was entertained towards the rising hopes of his city, but not thinking it prudent to deal abruptly with the Spartans, made answer to the ambassadors, that "deputies

should be sent to Lacedæmon to confer with them about the matter." After thus dismissing the messengers, he exhorted his countrymen "to expedite the work." Allowing some time to elapse, he set out, with some others, as an embassy to Sparta; but sometimes pretending ill health on the road, sometimes complaining of the tardiness of his colleagues, without whom nothing could be properly done, and thus putting off from day to day, he endeavoured to gain time for his countrymen to finish the erection of their walls. In the meanwhile, word was brought to the Spartans that the work was advancing at Athens with great speed; and they accordingly sent ambassadors a second time to ascertain the truth. Themistocles then sent a letter by the hand of a slave, to the magistrates of the Athenians, desiring them "to take the ambassadors into custody, and keep them as hostages, lest any violent measures should be adopted against himself at Sparta." He then went to the public assembly of the Lacedæmonians, and told them that "Athens was now well fortified, and could sustain a war, if any should be made upon it, not only with arms, but with walls; and that their ambassadors were detained by way of hostages at Athens, in case they should on that account resolve on anything injurious towards himself." He then upbraided them severely "for seeking to increase their power, not by their own valour, but by weakening their allies." Being then permitted to depart, he was received by his countrymen as if he had triumphed over Sparta.

After this occurrence, the Spartans, that they might not impair their strength in idleness, and that they might take vengeance for the war which had been twice made upon Greece by the Persians, proceeded to lay waste the Persian territories. They chose Pausanias to be general of their army, and that of their allies, who, coveting, instead of the mere office of general, the entire sovereignty of Greece, treated with Xerxes for a marriage with his daughter, as a reward for betraying his country, restoring him, at the same time, his prisoners, that the good feeling of the king might be secured by such an obligation. He wrote also to Xerxes, "to put to death whatever messengers he sent to him, lest the negociation should be betrayed by their babbling." But Aristides, the general of the Athenians, and his associate in the command, by traversing the attempts of his colleague, and taking prudent

precautions on the occasion, defeated his treasonable designs. Not long after, Pausanias was brought to trial and condemned.

Xerxes, when he found that this perfidious scheme was discovered, made fresh preparations for war. The Greeks nominated as their general Cimon the Athenian, the son o Miltiades, under whose command the battle of Marathon was fought; a young man whose future greatness his manifestations of affection towards his father foretold. For he redeemed the body of his father (who had been thrown into prison on a charge of embezzling the public money, and had died there), taking his fetters on himself,* that it might receive the rites of sepulture. Nor did he, in his conduct of the war, disappoint the opinion of those who chose him; for, not falling in merit below his father, he forced Xerxes, defeated both by land and sea, to retreat in trepidation to his own dominions.

BOOK III.

Death of Xerxes; Artaxerxes; Artabanus, I.—Origin of the wars between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians; Lycurgus and the Spartan polity, II. III.—First and second wars between the Spartans and Messenians, IV., V.—Third war; commencement of the Peloponnesian war, VI.—Continuation of it, Pericles, VII.

I. XERXES, king of Persia, once the terror of the nations around him, became, after his unsuccessful conduct of the war against Greece, an object of contempt even to his own subjects. Artabanus, his chief officer, conceiving hopes of usurping the throne, as the king's authority was every day declining, entered one evening into the palace (which from his intimacy with Xerxes was always open to him), accompanied by his seven stout sons, and, having put the king to death, proceeded to remove by stratagem such of the king's sons as opposed his wishes. Entertaining little apprehension from Artaxerxes, who was but a boy, he pretended that the king had been slain by Darius, who was of full age, that he might have possession of the throne the sooner, and instigated Artaxerxes to revenge parricide by fratricide. When they came to Darius's house,

* *Translatis in se vinculis.*] Whether this act was altogether voluntary is discussed by J. A. Bos on Corn Nep. Cim. c. 1.

he was found asleep, and killed as if he merely counterfeited sleep.* But seeing that one of the king's sons was still uninjured by his villany, and fearing a struggle for the throne on the part of the nobles, he took into his councils a certain Bacabasus, who, content that the government should remain in the present family, disclosed the whole matter to Artaxerxes, acquainting him "by what means his father had been killed, and how his brother had been murdered on a false suspicion of parricide; and, finally, how a plot was laid for himself." On this information, Artaxerxes, fearing the number of Artabanus's sons, gave orders for the troops to be ready under arms on the following day, as if he meant to ascertain their strength, and their respective efficiency for the field. Artabanus, accordingly, presenting himself under arms among the rest, the king, pretending that his corslet was too short for him, desired Artabanus to make an exchange with him, and, while he was disarming himself, and defenceless, ran him through with his sword, ordering his sons, at the same time, to be apprehended. Thus this excellent youth at once took revenge for his father's murder, and saved himself from the machinations of Artabanus.

II. During these transactions in Persia, all Greece, under the leadership of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, was split into two parties, and turned their arms from foreign wars as it were against their own bowels. Of one people were formed two distinct bodies, and they who had so recently served in the same camp, were divided into two hostile armies. On the one side, the Lacedæmonians drew over to their faction the cities that had before been common auxiliaries to both. On the other side, the Athenians, renowned alike for their antiquity and their exploits, relied on their own strength. Thus the two most powerful people of Greece, made equal by the institutions of Solon and the laws of Lycurgus, rushed into war through envy of each other's power.

When Lycurgus had succeeded† Polydectes his brother, king of the Lacedæmonians, and might have secured the

* *Quasi somnum fingeret.*] As if, being guilty, he had counterfeited himself to be asleep on purpose.—*Codrington's Translation.*

† *Successisset.*] That is, the Spartans would have accepted him as successor to his brother, had he not preferred to give the throne to his brother's son.

kingdom for himself, he restored it, with the noblest integrity, to Charilaus, the posthumous son of Polydectes, as soon as he became of age; that all might see how much more the laws of integrity prevail with good men than all the charms of power. In the meantime, while the child was growing up, and he had the guardianship of him, he composed laws for the Spartans, who previously had had none. Nor was he more celebrated for the making of these laws, than for his exemplary conformity to them; for he imposed nothing by law upon others, of the observation of which he did not first give an example in his own conduct. He trained the people to be obedient to those in authority, and those in authority to be just in the exercise of their government. He enjoined frugality on all, thinking that the toils of war would be made more endurable by a constant observance of it. He ordered all purchases to be made, not with money, but by exchange of commodities. The use of gold and silver he prohibited, as being the origin of all evils.

III. He divided the administration of the government *among the* several orders; to the kings he gave the power of *making war, to the magistrates the seats of justice in yearly* succession; to the senate, the *guardianship of the laws; to the* people, the power of choosing the senate, or of creating what magistrates they pleased. The lands of the whole state he divided equally among all, that equality of possession might leave no one more powerful than another. He ordered all to take their meals in public, that no man might secretly indulge in splendour or luxury. He would not allow the young people to wear more than one dress in a year, nor any one to walk abroad in finer garments than another, or to fare more sumptuously, lest imitation of such practices should lead to general luxury. He ordered boys to be carried, not into the forum, but into the field, that they might spend their early years, not in effeminate employments, but in hard labour and exertion; not suffering them to put any thing under them to sleep upon, or to live on high seasoned food, and forbidding them to return into the city till they arrived at manhood. He caused virgins to be married without portions, that wives, not money, might be sought; and that husbands might govern their wives more strictly, being influenced by no regard to dowry. He ordained that the highest respect should be paid, not to the rich and powerful, but to the old, according to thei

degrees of seniority; nor had old age, indeed, a more honourable habitation anywhere than at Sparta.

But seeing that such laws would at first be thought severe, as the state of manners had previously been relaxed, he represented that Apollo of Delphi was the author of them, and that he had brought them from thence at the command of the deity, in order that reverence for religion might overbalance the irksomeness of compliance with them. And to secure perpetuity to his laws, he bound the city by an oath "to make no change in them till he should return," pretending that he was going to ask the oracle at Delphi whether any thing seemed necessary to be added to his institutions, or changed in them But he went in reality to Crete, and continued there in voluntary exile; and, when he was dying, ordered his bones to be thrown into the sea, lest, if they were taken back to Lacedæmon, the Spartans might think themselves absolved from their oath respecting alteration in his laws.

IV. Under such a state of manners, the city acquired, in a short time,* such a degree of strength, that, on going to war with the Messenians for offering violence to some of their maidens at a solemn sacrifice of that people, they bound themselves under a severe oath not to return till they had taken Messene, promising themselves so much either from their strength or good fortune. This occurrence was the commencement of dissension in Greece, and the origin and cause of a civil war. But being detained in the siege of this city, contrary to their expectation, for ten years, and called on to return by the complaints of their wives after so long a widowhood, and being afraid that by persevering in the war they might hurt themselves more than the Messenians (for, in Messene, whatever men were lost in the war, were replaced by the fruitfulness of their women, while they themselves suffered constant losses in battle, and could have no offspring from their wives in the absence of their husbands), they in consequence selected, out of the soldiers that had come, after the military oath was first taken,† as recruits to the army, a

* *Brevi*] Not in so very short a time, for Lycurgus published his laws 130 years before the foundation of Rome, and this war commenced eleven years after its foundation, i. e. 141 years after the promulgation of the laws.—*Wetzel.*

† *Post jusjurandum.*] That is, after the enrolment of the army, when the soldiers took the oath of service.

number of young men; whom they sent back to Sparta with permission to form promiscuous connexions with all the women of the city, thinking that conception would be more speedy if each of the females made the experiment with several men. Those who sprung from these unions were called Partheniæ,* as a reflection on their mothers' violated chastity; and, when they came to thirty years of age, being alarmed with the fear of want (for not one of them had a father to whose estate he could hope to succeed,) they chose a captain named Phalantus, the son of Aratus, by whose advice the Spartans had sent home the young men to propagate, that, as they had formerly had the father for the author of their birth, they might now have the son as the establisher of their hopes and fortunes. Without taking leave of their mothers, therefore, from whose adultery they thought that they derived dishonour, they set out to seek a place of settlement, and being tossed about a long time, and with various mischances, they at last arrived on the coast of Italy, where, after seizing the citadel of the Tarentines, and expelling the old inhabitants, they fixed their abode. But several years after, their leader Phalantus, being driven into exile by a popular tumult, went to Brundusium, whither the former inhabitants of Tarentum had retreated after they were expelled from their city. When he was at the point of death, he urged the exiles "to have his bones, and last relics, bruised to dust, and privately sprinkled in the forum of Tarentum; for that Apollo at Delphi had signified that by this means they might recover their city." They, thinking that he had revealed the destiny of his countrymen to avenge himself, complied with his directions; but the intention of the oracle was exactly the reverse; for it promised the Spartans, upon the performance of what he had said, not the loss, but the perpetual possession of the city. Thus by the subtlety of their exiled captain, and the agency of their enemies, the possession of Tarentum was secured to the Partheniæ for ever.

V. Meantime the Messenians, who could not be conquered by valour, were reduced by stratagem. For eighty years they bore the severe afflictions of slaves, as frequent stripes, and chains, and other evils of subjugation; and then, after so long an

* From *παρθένος, virgo.*] It answers exactly to the German *ein Jungfraukind.—Bernecccrus.*

endurance of suffering, they proceeded to resume hostilities. The Lacedæmonians, at the same time, ran to arms with the greater ardour and unanimity, because they seemed to be called upon to fight against their own slaves. While ill-treatment, therefore, on the one side, and indignation on the other, exasperated their feelings, the Lacedæmonians consulted the oracle at Delphi concerning the event of the war, and were directed to ask the Athenians for a leader to conduct it. The Athenians, learning the answer of the oracle, sent, to express their contempt of the Spartans a lame poet, named Tyrtæus; who, being routed in three battles, reduced the Lacedæmonians to so desperate a condition, that, to recruit their army, they liberated a portion of their slaves, promising that they should marry the widows of those who were slain, and thus fill up, not merely the number of the lost citizens, but their offices. The kings of Sparta, however, lest, by contending against fortune, they should bring greater losses on their city, would have drawn off their army, had not Tyrtæus interposed, and recited to the soldiers, in a public assembly, some verses of his own composition, in which he had comprised exhortations to courage, consolations for their losses, and counsels concerning the war. By this means he inspired the soldiers with such resolution, that, being no longer concerned for their lives, but merely for the rites of sepulture, they tied on their right arms tickets, inscribed with their names and those of their fathers, that if an unsuccessful battle should cut them off, and their features after a time become indistinct, they might be consigned to burial according to the indication of the inscriptions. When the kings saw the army thus animated, they took care that the state of it should be made known to the enemy; the report, however, raised in the Messenians no alarm, but a correspondent ardour. Both sides accordingly encountered with such fury, that there scarcely ever was a more bloody battle. But at last victory fell to the Lacedæmonians.

VI. Some time after, the Messenians renewed the war a third time, when the Lacedæmonians, among their other allies, called also upon the Athenians for assistance; but afterwards, conceiving some mistrust of them, they prevented them from joining in the war, pretending that they had no need for their services. The Athenians, not liking this pro-

ceeding, removed the money, which had been contributed by the whole of Greece to defray the expense of the Persian war, from Delos to Athens, that, if the Lacedæmonians broke their faith as allies, it might not be an object of plunder to them. The Lacedæmonians, on the other hand, did not rest, for though they were engaged in the war with the Messenians, they set the people of the Peloponnesus to make war on the Athenians. The forces of the Athenians at home were at that time inconsiderable, as their fleet had been despatched into Egypt, so that, engaging in battle by sea, they were quickly worsted. Soon after, on the return of their fleet, being strengthened both by sea and land, they renewed the war; when the Lacedæmonians, leaving the Messenians at rest, turned their full force against the Athenians. Victory was long doubtful, and at last both parties gave over with equal loss. The Lacedæmonians being then recalled to the war with the Messenians, but not wishing to leave the Athenians in the meantime unmolested, bargained with the Thebans to restore them the supremacy of Bœotia, which they had lost in the time of the Persian war, if they would but take up arms against the Athenians. Such was the fury of the Spartans, that, though they were involved in two wars, they did not hesitate to occasion a third, if they might but raise up enemies against their enemies. The Athenians, therefore, to meet this storm of war, made choice of two eminent leaders, Pericles, a man of tried courage, and Sophocles, the writer of tragedies; who, dividing their forces, laid waste the lands of the Spartans, and brought many cities of Achaia* under the power of the Athenians.

VII. The Lacedæmonians, being humbled by these losses, agreed upon a peace for thirty years. But their hostile feelings did not allow of so long a period of repose. Hence, having broken the treaty before the fifteenth year was ended, they laid waste the territories of Attica in violation of their obligations towards the gods and towards men. And lest they should seem to have desired to plunder rather than to fight, they challenged the enemy to the field. But the Athenians, by the advice of their leader Pericles, deferred

* *Achaiæ*] So the northern coast of the Peloponnesus was called. Tauchnitz's edition and Dübner's have *Asiæ* instead of *Achaiæ*; but know not whence they took it. Gronovius. and I believe all the older editors, read *Achaiæ*.

revenge for the spoliation of their lands to a fitter time of exacting it, thinking it needless to hazard a battle, when they could avenge themselves on the enemy without risk. Some days afterwards, accordingly, they embarked in their fleet, and, while the Lacedæmonians expected nothing of the kind, laid waste all Sparta,* carrying off much more than they had lost; so that, in a comparison of their respective sufferings, the retaliation was much greater than the injury at first received. This expedition of Pericles was considered as greatly to his honour; but his disregard of his private property was far more honourable. The enemy, while they wasted the lands of others, had left his uninjured; hoping, by this means, either to bring danger on him by rendering him unpopular, or dishonour by making him suspected of treachery. But Pericles, foreseeing what would happen, had both foretold it to the people, and, to escape the effects of popular odium, had made over his lands to the state as a gift; and thus obtained the greatest honour from that by which his ruin had been intended. Some days afterwards, an engagement took place by sea; and the Lacedæmonians, being worsted, fled. Nevertheless they did not cease from fierce attacks on one another, by sea or land, with various success. At last, exhausted with disasters on both sides, they made peace for fifty years, which however they maintained only for six; for they broke the treaty which they had concluded on their own account, under pretence of assisting their allies; as if they were less guilty of perjury by aiding their dependants, than by engaging in open hostilities themselves.

The war was in consequence transferred into Sicily; but before I relate its progress, it is proper to give some account of the situation of that island.

* *Totam Spartam.*] That is, all the neighbourhood of Sparta, all the lands of the Spartans; as in xii. 2, we find *in Troja* for *in agro Trojano*. Concerning this expedition, see Thucyd. ii. 19—46; Diod. Sic. ii. 42

BOOK IV.

Sicily; Ætna; Scylla and Charybdis, I.—Ancient inhabitants of Sicily, II.—Dissension between Rhegium and Himera; the Athenians successful in Sicily at first, III.—The Syracusans seek aid from the Lacedæmonians; the progress of the war, IV.—Utter defeat of the Athenians, V.

I. It is said that Sicily was formerly joined to Italy by a narrow pass,* and was torn off, as it were, from the larger body, by the violence of the upper sea,† which impels itself in that direction with the whole force of its waters. The soil itself, too, is light and frangible, and so perforated with caverns and passages, that it is almost everywhere open to blasts of wind; and the very matter of it is naturally adapted for generating and nourishing fire, as it is said to be impregnated with sulphur and bitumen, a circumstance which is the cause that when air contends with fire in the subterraneous parts, the earth frequently, and in several places, sends forth flame, or vapour, or smoke. Hence it is that the fire of Mount Ætna has lasted through so many ages. And when a strong wind passes in through the openings of the cavities, heaps of sand are cast up.

The promontory of Italy on the side nearest to Sicily, is called Rhegium,‡ because *things broken off* are designated by that term in Greek. Nor is it strange that antiquity should have been full of fables concerning these parts, in which so many extraordinary things are found together. The sea, in the first place, is nowhere so impetuous, pouring on with a current not only rapid but furious, not only frightful to those who feel its effects, but to those who view it from a distance. So fierce is the conflict of the waves as they meet, that you may see some of them, put to flight as it were, sink down into the depths, and others, as if victorious, rising up to the skies. Sometimes, in one part, you may hear the roaring of the sea as it boils

* *Angustis faucibus.*] It was supposed that the two countries had formed one tract of land, with merely a narrow valley or defile between them, and that the sea rushed into this valley and split them asunder.

† *Superi maris.*] The Adriatic.

‡ From ῥήγνυμι, *to break.*

up; and again, in another part, the groaning of it as it sinks into a whirlpool. Next are to be observed the adjacent and everlasting fires of Mount Ætna and the Æolian islands, which burn as if their heat were nourished by the sea itself; nor indeed could such a quantity of fire have endured in such narrow bounds for so many ages unless it were supported by nourishment from the water.* Hence fables produced Scylla and Charybdis; hence barkings were thought to have been heard; hence the appearances of monsters gained credit, as the sailors, frightened at the vast whirlpools of the subsiding waters, imagined that the waves, which the vortex of the absorbent gulf clashes together, actually barked. The same cause makes the fires of Mount Ætna perpetual; for the shock of the waters forces into the depths a portion of air hurried along with it, and then keeps it confined till, being diffused through the pores of the earth, it kindles the matter which nourishes the fire.

In addition, the proximity of Italy and Sicily is to be noticed, with the heights of their respective promontories, which are so similar, that, whatever wonder they raise in us in the present day, they excited proportionate terror in the ancients, who believed that whole ships were intercepted and destroyed by the promontories closing together and opening. Nor was this invented by the ancients to gratify the hearer with a fabulous wonder, but occasioned by the terror and consternation of those who passed by those parts; for such is the appearance of the coasts to any one beholding them from a distance, that you would take the passage between them for a bay in the sea, and not a strait; and, as you draw nearer, you would think that the promontories, which were before united, part asunder and separate.

II. At first Sicily had the name of Trinacria;† afterwards

* *Nisi humoris nutrimentis aleretur.*] Justin seems to mean nothing more than what he expresses below, that the water carried down with it into the earth a certain portion of air, which kindled, or at least excited, the subterraneous fires. I make this observation lest any one should suppose that he had an idea like that of Sir Humphrey Davy, that water, by coming in contact with certain substances beneath the earth, might be decomposed into gases.

† From having τρία ἄκρα, three promontories, or three great angular points.

it was called Sicania.* It was originally the abode of the Cyclops; when they became extinct, Cocalus made himself ruler of the island. After his time the cities fell severally under the dominion of tyrants, of whom no country was more productive. One of them, Anaxilaus, strove to be as just as the others were cruel, and reaped no small advantage from his equity; for having left, at his death, some sons very young, and having committed the guardianship of them to Micythus, a slave of tried fidelity, so great was the respect paid to his memory among all his subjects, that they chose rather to submit to a slave than to abandon the king's children; and the noblemen of the state, forgetful of their dignity, suffered the authority of government to be exercised by a bondman. The Carthaginians, too, attempted to gain the sovereignty of Sicily, and fought against the tyrants for a long time with various success; but at length, after losing their general Hamilcar and his army, they remained quiet for some time in consequence of that defeat.

III. In the meantime, the people of Rhegium being troubled with dissension, and the city being divided by disputes into two factions, a body of veteran soldiers from Himera, who were invited by one of the parties to their assistance, having first expelled from the city those against whom they had been called, and then put to the sword those whom they had come to aid, took the government into their own hands, and made prisoners of the wives and children of their allies; venturing upon an atrocity to which that of no tyrant can be compared; so that it would have been better for the Rhegians to have been conquered than to conquer;† for whether they had become slaves to their conquerors by the laws of war,‡ or, withdrawing from their country, had been necessitated to live in exile, yet they would not have been butchered amidst their altars and household gods, and have left their country, with their wives and children, a prey to the most cruel of tyrants.

* From the Sicani, an Iberian tribe, according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis, lib. i. The Siculi, from whom it was called Sicilia, are said to have come into the island from Italy.—*Wetzel.*

† A remark scarcely applicable to the subject. Part of the Rhegians *were conquered* by the other part with the aid of the people of Himera.

‡ *Jure captivitatis.*

The people of Catana, also, finding themselves oppressed by the Syracusans, and distrusting their own power to withstand them, requested assistance from the Athenians, who whether from desire of enlarging their dominions, so that they might master all Greece and Asia, or from apprehension of a fleet lately built by the Syracusans, and to prevent such a force from joining the Lacedæmonians, sent Lamponius, as general, with a naval armament into Sicily, that under pretence of assisting the people of Catana, they might endeavour to secure the sovereignty of the whole island. Having succeeded in their first attempts, and made havoc among the enemy on several occasions, they despatched another expedition to Sicily, with a greater fleet and more numerous army, under the command of Laches and Chariades. But the people of Catana, whether from fear of the Athenians, or from being weary of the war, made peace with the Syracusans, and sent back the Athenian force that had come to assist them.

IV. After a lapse of some time, however, as the articles of the peace were not observed by the Syracusans, they sent ambassadors a second time to Athens, who, arriving in a mean dress, with long hair and beards, and every sign of distress adapted to move pity, presented themselves in that wretched plight before the public assembly. To their entreaties were added tears; and the suppliants so moved the people to compassion, that the commanders who had withdrawn the auxiliary force from them received a sentence of condemnation.* A powerful fleet was then appointed to aid them; Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus were made captains; and Sicily was revisited with such a force as was a terror even to those to whose aid it was sent. In a short time, Alcibiades being recalled to answer certain charges made against him, Nicias and Lamachus fought two successful battles by land, and, drawing lines of circumvallation around Syracuse, cut off all supplies from the enemy by sea, keeping them closely blocked up in the city. The Syracusans, being greatly reduced by these measures, sought assistance from the Lacedæmonians, by whom Gylippus alone was sent; but he was a man equal to whole troops of aux-

* It is not easy to see on what ground such a sentence was pronounced; for it is stated at the end of the third chapter that the Catanians themselves sent back their Athenian auxiliaries.

il'aries. He, having heard on his way of the declining state of the war, and having collected some support partly from Greece and partly from Sicily, took possession of some posts suitable for carrying on the war. He was then conquered in two battles, but engaging in a third, he killed Lamachus, put the enemy to flight, and rescued his allies from the siege. But as the Athenians transferred their warlike efforts from the land to the sea, Gylippus sent for a fleet and army from Lacedæmon; upon intelligence of which the Athenians themselves, too, sent out Demosthenes and Eurymedon, in the room of their late leader, with a reinforcement to their troops. The Peloponnesians again, by a general resolution of their cities, sent powerful assistance to the Syracusans, and, as it the Greek war had been transported into Sicily, the contest was pursued on both sides with the utmost vigour.

V. In the first encounter at sea, the Athenians were worsted, and lost their camp, with all their money, both what was public and what belonged to private individuals. When, in addition to these disasters, they were also beaten in a battle on land, Demosthenes began to advise that "they should quit Sicily, while their condition, though bad, was not yet desperate; and that they should not persist in a war so inauspiciously commenced, as there were more considerable, and perhaps more unhappy wars, to be dreaded at home, for which it was expedient that they should reserve the present force of their city." But Nicias, whether from shame at his ill success, from fear of the resentment of his countrymen for the disappointment of their hopes, or from the impulse of destiny, contended for staying. The war by sea was therefore renewed, and their thoughts turned from reflections on their previous ill-fortune to the hopes of a successful struggle, but, through the unskilfulness of their leaders, who attacked the Syracusans when advantageously posted in a strait, they were easily overcome. Their general, Eurymedon, was the first to fall, fighting bravely in the front of the battle; and thirty ships which he commanded were burnt. Demosthenes and Nicias being also defeated, set their forces on shore, thinking that retreat would be safer by land. Gylippus seized a hundred and thirty ships which they had left, and then, pursuing them as they fled, took some of them prisoners, and put others to death. Demosthenes, after the loss of his troops.

saved himself from captivity by voluntarily falling on his sword. But Nicias, not induced, even by the example of Demosthenes, to put himself out of the power of fortune, added to the loss of his army the disgrace of being made prisoner.

BOOK V.

Alcibiades banished from Athens; joins the Lacedæmonians, I.—Changes sides, defeats the Lacedæmonians, and returns to Athens II.-IV.—Defeated by Lysander, and goes into voluntary exile, V—Lysander defeats Conon, VI.—Athens surrenders to Lysander who appoints the thirty tyrants; death of Alcibiades, VII. VIII.—Theramenes, one of the tyrants, killed; Thrasybulus overthrows the tyrants; his act of oblivion, IX. X.—Death of Darius; Expedition of Cyrus, and his death; Artaxerxes established on the throne, XI.

I. Whilst the Athenians, during two years, were carrying on the war in Sicily, with more eagerness than success, Alcibiades, the promoter and leader of it, was accused at Athens in his absence of having divulged the mysteries of Ceres, which were rendered sacred by nothing more than by their secrecy. Being recalled from the war to take his trial, and being unwilling, either from the consciousness of guilt or from the affront put upon him, to obey, he retired, without offering to defend himself, to Elis. From thence, having learned that he was not only condemned, but devoted to destruction with execrations in the religious ceremonies of all the priests, he betook himself to Lacedæmon, where he urged the king* of the Lacedæmonians to make war on the Athenians in the midst of their distress at the unfortunate result of the struggle in Sicily. This being done, all the powers of Greece conspired against the Athenians, as if to extinguish a common conflagration; such hatred had they brought upon themselves by their desire of too great power. Darius also, the king of Persia, not forgetting his father's and grandfather's hostility to that city, concluded an alliance with the Lacedæmonians through Tissaphernes, satrap of Lydia, and promised to defray all the expense of the war. Such at least was his pretext for meddling in the affairs of Greece, but in reality he

* Agis.

was afraid that the Lacedæmonians, if they conquered the Athenians, should turn their arms against himself. Who then can wonder that the flourishing state of Athens went to ruin, when the whole strength of the east conspired to overwhelm one city? Yet they did not fall with merely a faint struggle, or without bloodshed, but fighting to the last, and sometimes victorious, being rather worn out by changes of fortune than overcome by force of arms. At the commencement of the war, too, all their allies deserted them, according to common practice; for whatever way fortune leans, in the same direction does the favour of mankind turn.

II. Alcibiades also supported the war raised against his country, not with the services of a common soldier, but with the abilities of a general. Having received a squadron of five ships, he sailed directly to Asia, and, by the authority of his name, prevailed on the cities tributary to the Athenians to revolt from them. They knew his eminence at home; nor did they think his influence weakened by his banishment, but looked on him rather as a leader taken from the Athenians,* than added to the Lacedæmonians, and balanced the command which he had gained against that which he had lost. But among the Lacedæmonians the abilities of Alcibiades had gained him more envy than favour; and the chief men having formed a plot to kill him, as their rival in glory, Alcibiades, receiving intelligence of their design from the wife of Agis, with whom he had an intrigue, fled to Tissaphernes, the satrap of king Darius, with whom he quickly ingratiated himself by his affability and obligingness of manners. He was then in the flower of youth, and distinguished for personal graces, and not less for oratory, even among the Athenians. But he was better fitted to gain the affections of friends than to keep them; because the vices in his character were thrown into the shade by the splendour of his eloquence. He succeeded in persuading Tissaphernes not to furnish such supplies

* They did not so much regard him as a leader deprived of his command by the Athenians, as one who had been entrusted with a similar command by the Lacedæmonians. "Although he had lost his appointment with the Athenians, they considered that he was advanced to equal dignity among the Lacedæmonians."—*Berneccerus.* "The office of general, which he had lost on the one side, he had recovered on the other."—*Grævius.*

of money for the Lacedæmonian fleet; "for the Ionians," he said, "should be called upon to pay their share, since it was for their deliverance, when they were paying tribute to the Lacedæmonians, that the war was undertaken. Neither, however," he added, "should the Lacedæmonians be too greatly assisted; for he should remember that he was preparing a way for the supremacy of others, not for his own; and that the war was only so far to be supported, that it might not be broken off for want of supplies, as the king of Persia, while the Greeks were distracted by dissensions, would be the arbiter of peace and war, and would vanquish with their own arms those whom he could not overcome with his own; but that, if the war were brought to a conclusion, he would immediately have to fight with the conquerors. That Greece, therefore, ought to be reduced by civil wars, so that it might have no opportunity to engage in foreign ones; that the strength of its two parties should be kept equal, the weaker being constantly supported; since the Spartans, who professed themselves the defenders of the liberty of Greece, would not remain quiet after their present elevation." Such arguments were very agreeable to Tissaphernes; and he accordingly furnished supplies to the Spartans but sparingly, and did not send the whole of the king's fleet to assist them, lest he should gain them a complete victory, or bring the other party under the necessity of abandoning the war.

III. Meanwhile Alcibiades boasted of this service to his countrymen; and when deputies from the Athenians came to him, he promised to secure them the king's friendship, if the government should be transferred from the hands of the people to those of the senate; in hopes, either that, if the citizens could agree, he should be chosen general unanimously, or that, if dissension arose between the two orders, he should be invited by one of the parties to their assistance. The Athenians, as a dangerous war hung over them, were more solicitous about their safety than their dignity.* The government, accordingly, was transferred, with the consent of the

* *Major salutis, quàm dignitatis, cura fuit.*] The Athenians submitted to the condition imposed by the king of Persia, viz., that of transferring the government to the senate, though they might lower their dignity by the submission.

people, to the senate. But as the nobility, with the pride natural to their order, treated the common people cruelly, and each arrogated to himself the exorbitant power of tyranny, the banished Alcibiades was recalled by the army, and appointed to the command of the fleet. Upon this, he at once sent notice to Athens that, "he would instantly march to the city with his army, and recover the rights of the people from the four hundred,* unless they restored them of themselves." The aristocracy, alarmed at this denunciation, at first attempted to betray the city to the Lacedæmonians, but being unable to succeed, went into exile. Alcibiades, having delivered his country from this intestine evil, fitted out his fleet with the utmost care, and proceeded to carry forward the war with the Lacedæmonians.

IV. Mindarus and Pharnabazus, the leaders of the Lacedæmonians,† were already waiting at Sestos with their fleet drawn up. A battle being fought, the victory fell to the Athenians. In this engagement, the greater part of the army and almost all the enemy's officers, were killed, and eighty ships taken. Some days after, the Lacedæmonians, transferring the war from the sea to the land, were defeated a second time. Weakened by these disasters, they sued for peace, but were prevented from obtaining it by the efforts of those to whom the war brought private advantage. In the meantime, too, a war made upon Sicily by the Carthaginians called home the aid sent by the Syracusans, and the Lacedæmonians, in consequence, being wholly unsupported, Alcibiades ravaged the coast of Asia with his victorious fleet, fought several battles, and being every where victorious, recovered the cities which had revolted, took some others, and added them to the dominion of the Athenians. Having thus re-established their ancient glory by sea, and united to it reputation in war by land, he returned to Athens to gratify the longing of his countrymen to behold him. In all these battles two hundred ships of the enemy, and a vast quantity of spoils, were taken.

Upon this triumphant return of the army, the whole multitude from Athens poured forth to meet them, and gazed with

* These four hundred composed *the senate.* See Thucyd. viii. 67, 68.

† *Lacedæmoniorum duces.*] Not strictly; Mindarus was captain of the Lacedæmonians: Pharnabazus, a Persian satrap.

admiration on all the soldiers, but especially on Alcibiades; on him the whole city turned their eyes with looks of wonder; they regarded him as sent down from heaven, and as victory in person; they extolled what he had done for his country, nor did they less admire what he had done against it in his exile, excusing his conduct as the result of anger and provocation. Such power indeed, strange to say, was there * in that one man, that he was the cause of a great state being subverted and again re-established; victory removed herself to the side on which he stood; and a wonderful change of fortune always attended him. They therefore heaped upon him not only all human, but divine honours; they made it an object of contention, whether the contumely with which they banished him, or the honour with which they recalled him, should be the greater. They, by whose execrations he had been devoted, carried their gods to meet and congratulate him; and him to whom they had lately refused all human aid, they now desired, if they could, to exalt to heaven; they made amends for indignities with praises, for confiscations with gifts, for imprecations with prayers. The unfortunate battle on the coast of Sicily† was no longer in their mouths, but their success in Greece; ‡ the fleets which he had lost were no more mentioned, but those which he had taken: they did not speak of Syracuse, but of Ionia and the Hellespont. Thus Alcibiades was never received with moderate feelings on the part of his countrymen, either when they were offended, or when they were pleased with him.

V. During these occurrences at Athens, Lysander was appointed by the Lacedæmonians to the command of their fleet and army; and Darius, king of Persia, made, in the room of Tissaphernes, his son Cyrus governor of Ionia and Lydia; who, by his assistance and support, inspired the Lacedæmonians with hopes of recovering their former position. Their strength being therefore recruited, the Spartans, when their approach was wholly unexpected, surprised Alcibiades,

* *Enimvero tantum in uno viro fuisse momenti, ut,* &c.] In such constructions, says Wetzel, we must understand *mirandum est*, or something similar. See ii. 14: *Tantam famæ velocitatem fuisse*, viii. 2, *sub fin.*; xiv. 5, *med.*

† See iv. 5, *init.*

‡ In Greece, Eubœa, Thrace, and Asia Minor.—*Wetzel.*

who had gone with a hundred vessels to Asia, while he was laying waste the country, which was in excellent condition from a long continuance of peace, and while, unapprehensive of any attack, he had allowed his soldiers to disperse themselves under the attractions of plunder; and such was the havoc among the scattered troops, that the Athenians received more injury from that single onslaught, than they had caused the enemy in their previous battles with them. Such, too, was the desperation of the Athenians on the occasion, that they immediately deposed Alcibiades to make room for Conon, thinking that they had been defeated, not by the fortune of war, but by the treachery of their general, on whom their former injuries had had more influence than their recent favours, and that he had conquered in the former part of the war, only to show the enemy what a leader they had despised, and to make his countrymen pay so much the dearer for their previous victory; for his vigour of mind and laxity of morals made everything that was said of Alcibiades credible. Fearing therefore the rage of the people, he went again into voluntary exile.

VI. Conon, being put in the place of Alcibiades, and seeing to what sort of commander he had succeeded, fitted out his fleet with the utmost exertion; but troops were wanting to man the vessels, as the stoutest men had been cut off in the plundering of Asia. Old men, however, and boys under age, were furnished with arms, and the number of an army was completed, but without the strength. But soldiers of an age so unfit for war could not long protract the contest; they were everywhere cut to pieces, or taken prisoners as they fled; and so great was the loss in slain and captured, that not merely the power of the Athenians, but even their very name, seemed to be extinct. Their affairs being ruined and rendered desperate in the contest, they were reduced to such want of men, all of military age being lost, that they gave the freedom of the city to foreigners, liberty to slaves, and pardon to condemned malefactors. With an army raised from such a mixture of human beings, they who had lately been lords of Greece could scarcely preserve their liberty. Yet they resolved once more to try their fortune at sea; and such was their spirit, that though they had recently despaired of safety, they now did not despair even of victory. But it was not such a

soldiery that could support the Athenian name; it was not such troops with which they had been used to conquer; nor were there the requisite military accomplishments in those whom prisons, not camps, had confined. All were in consequence either taken prisoners or slain; and the general Conon alone surviving the battle, and dreading the resentment of his countrymen, went off with eight ships to Evagoras, king of Cyprus.

VII. The general of the Lacedæmonians, after managing his affairs so successfully, grew insolent towards his enemies in their evil fortune. He sent the ships which he had taken, laden with spoil, and decorated as in triumph, to Lacedæmon. He received at the same time voluntary tenders of submission from cities which dread of the doubtful fortune of war had kept in allegiance to the Athenians. Nor did he leave anything in possession of the Athenians but their city itself.

When all this was understood at Athens, the inhabitants, leaving their houses, ran up and down the streets in a frantic manner, asking questions of one another, and inquiring for the author of the news. Neither did incapacity keep the children at home, nor infirmity the old men, nor the weakness of their sex the women: so deeply had the feeling of such calamity affected every age. They met together in the forum, where, through the whole night, they bewailed the public distress. Some wept for their lost brothers, or sons, or parents; some for other relatives; others for friends dearer than relatives; all mingling their lamentations for their country with plaints for their private sufferings; sometimes regarding themselves, sometimes their city, as on the brink of ruin; and deeming the fate of those who survived more unhappy than that of the slain. Each represented to himself a siege, a famine, and an enemy overbearing and flushed with victory; sometimes contemplating in imagination the desolation and burning of the city, and sometimes the captivity and wretched slavery of all its inhabitants; and thinking the former destruction of Athens, which was attended only with * the ruin of their houses, while their children and parents were safe, much less calamitous than what was now to befal them; since there remained no fleet in which, as before, they might find a refuge, and no

* *Taxatæ sint.*] Was at the expense of.

army by whose valour they might be saved to erect a finer city.

VIII. While the city was thus wept over and almost brought to nothing, the enemy came upon it, pressed the inhabitants with a siege, and distressed them with famine. They knew that little remained of the provisions which they had laid up, and had taken care that no new ones should be imported. The Athenians, exhausted by their sufferings, from long endurance of famine, and daily losses of men, sued for peace; but it was long disputed between the Spartans and their allies whether it should be granted or not. Many gave their opinion that the very name of the Athenians should be blotted out, and the city destroyed by fire; but the Spartans refused "to pluck out one of the two eyes of Greece," and promised the Athenians peace, on condition "that they should demolish the walls * extending down to the Piræeus, and deliver up the ships which they had left; and that the state should receive from them thirty governors of their own citizens." The city being surrendered on these terms, the Lacedæmonians committed it to Lysander to model the government of it. This year was rendered remarkable, not only for the reduction of Athens, but for the death of Darius, king of Persia, and the banishment of Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily.

When the form of government at Athens was changed, the condition of the citizens was likewise altered. Thirty governors of the state were appointed, who became absolute tyrants; for, at the very first, they organized for themselves a guard of three thousand men, though, after so much slaughter, scarcely as many citizens survived; and as if this force was too small to overawe the city, they received also seven hundred men from the victorious army. They then began to put to death the citizens, intending to commence with Alcibiades, lest he should again seize the government under pretence of delivering the city; and hearing that he was gone to Artaxerxes king of Persia, they despatched men in haste to stop him on his way. By these deputies he was beset, and, as he could not be killed openly, was burnt alive in the apartment in which he slept.

IX. The tyrants, thus freed from the dread of an avenger, wasted the miserable remains of the city with the sword and

* *Muri brachia.*] The arms of the wall.

spoliation; and finding that their proceedings displeased Theramenes, one of their own body, they put him also to death to strike terror into the rest. In consequence a general dispersion of the citizens took place in all directions, and Greece was filled with Athenian fugitives. But the privilege of flight being also taken from them (for the cities were forbidden, by an edict of the Lacedæmonians, to receive the exiles), they all betook themselves to Argos and Thebes,* where they had not only safe places of refuge, but also conceived hopes of repossessing themselves of their country. There was among the refugees a man named Thrasybulus, a person of great bravery and of noble extraction, who, thinking that something should be attempted, even at the utmost hazard, for their country and the common interest, called together the exiles, and took post at Phyle, a fort on the borders of Attica. Some of the cities, pitying the severity of their misfortunes, afforded them countenance; Ismenias, a leading man among the Thebans, though he could not assist them publicly, yet supported them with his private means; and Lycias, the Syracusan orator,† at that time an exile, sent five hundred soldiers, equipped at his own charge, to the aid of the common country of eloquence. A desperate battle ensued; but as those on the one side fought with their utmost efforts to regain their country, and those on the other, with less eagerness, in support of the power of others, the tyrants were overcome. After their defeat they fled back into the city, which, already exhausted by their slaughters, they despoiled also of its arms. Suspecting all the Athenians, too, of disaffection towards them, they ordered them to remove out of the city, and to take up their abode among the ruins of the walls which had been demolished; supporting their own authority with foreign soldiers. Next they endeavoured to corrupt Thrasybulus, by promising him a share in the government; but, not succeeding, they sought assistance from Lacedæmon, on the arrival of which they took the field again. In

* These cities had not obeyed the edict of the Lacedæmonians, but had resolved to receive the exiles.

† *Lysias Syracusanus orator.*] He was born at Athens, but is called a Syracusan, because he was the son of a native of Syracuse. He had left Athens at the age of fifteen, among the colonists that went to Thurii in Italy and did not return to Athens till the age of forty-seven, after the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily.

this encounter Critias and Hippolochus, the two most cruel of the tyrants, were killed.

X. The others being defeated, and their army, of which the greater part consisted of Athenians, running away, Thrasybulus called out to them with a loud voice, asking, "Why they should flee from him in the midst of victory, rather than join him as the assertor of their common liberty?" adding, that "they should reflect that his army was composed of their countrymen, not of enemies; that he had not armed himself to take any thing away from the conquered, but to restore them what they had lost; and that he was making war, not on the city, but on the thirty tyrants." He then reminded them of their ties of relationship, their laws, their common religion, and their long service as fellow soldiers in so many wars. He conjured them, that, "if they themselves could submit patiently to the yoke, they should yet take pity on their exiled countrymen;" he urged them "to restore him to his country, and to accept liberty for themselves." By these exhortations such an effect was produced, that when the army came back into the city, they ordered the thirty tyrants to retire to Eleusis, appointing ten commissioners to govern in their room; who, however, not at all deterred by the fate of the former tyrants, entered on a similar career of cruelty. During the course of these proceedings, news arrived at Lacedæmon that war had broken out at Athens, and king Pausanias was sent to suppress it, who, touched with compassion for the exiled people, restored the unhappy citizens to their country, and ordered the ten tyrants to leave the city, and go to the rest at Eleusis. Peace was restored by these means; but, after an interval of some days, the tyrants, enraged at the recal of the exiles not less than at their own expulsion (as if liberty to others was slavery to themselves), suddenly resumed hostilities against Athens. As they were proceeding however to a conference,* apparently with the expectation of recovering their power, they were seized by an ambuscade, and offered as sacrifices to peace. The people, whom they had obliged to leave the city, were recalled; and the state, which had been divided into several members, was

* The original stands thus: *bellum Atheniensibus inferunt; sed ad colloquium, veluti dominationem recepturi, progressi*, &c. Justin seems here to have abridged his author a little too much.

at length re-united into one body. And that no dissension might arise in consequence of anything that had gone before, the citizens were all bound by an oath that former discords should be forgotten.

Meanwhile the Thebans and Corinthians sent ambassadors to the Lacedæmonians, to demand a share of the spoil acquired by their common exertions in war, and at their common risk. Their demand being refused, they did not indeed openly resolve on war with the Lacedæmonians, but tacitly conceived such resentment towards them, that it might be seen that war was likely to arise.

XI. About the same time died Darius, king of Persia, leaving two sons, Artaxerxes and Cyrus. He bequeathed the kingdom to Artaxerxes, and to Cyrus the cities over which he had been satrap. But Cyrus thought the will of his father an injustice, and secretly made preparations for war with his brother. News of his intentions being brought to Artaxerxes, he sent for him, and, when he pretended innocence, and denied all thoughts of war, he bound him with golden fetters,* and would have put him to death, had not his mother interposed. Cyrus, in consequence of her intercession, being allowed to depart, began to prepare for war, no longer secretly, but publicly, not with dissimulation, but with an open avowal of it, and assembled auxiliary troops from all quarters. The Lacedæmonians, remembering that they had been vigorously aided by him in the war with Athens, and as if in ignorance against whom hostilities were intended, resolved that "assistance should be sent to Cyrus whenever his necessities should require;" hoping thus to secure favour with Cyrus, and a plea for pardon with Artaxerxes if he should have the advantage, because they had decreed nothing openly against him. But when they came to an encounter, fortune throwing the brothers together in the field, Artaxerxes was first wounded by Cyrus, but being rescued from danger by the speed of his horse, Cyrus was overpowered by the king's battalion, and slain. Thus Artaxerxes being victorious, got possession both of the spoil from the war with his brother, and of his brother's

* That proper respect might be paid to him as one of the royal family. So Darius, when seized by Bessus, was bound with golden chains, as is stated by Q. Curtius, v. 12, and by Justin, xi. 15.—*Bernecerus.*

army. In this battle there were ten thousand Greeks on the side of Cyrus, who had the superiority in the wing on which they had been posted, and, after the death of Cyrus, could neither be reduced forcibly by the vast army of their adversaries, nor captured by stratagem, but, returning through so many wild and barbarous nations, and over such vast tracts of land, defended themselves by their valour till they gained the borders of their country.

BOOK VI.

The Lacedæmonians aspire to conquer Asia; the command of the Persian fleet given to Conon, I.—Agesilaus is general of the Lacedæmonians; acts of Conon, II.—Battle between Conon and Pisander; the Lacedæmonians defeated, III.—Agesilaus supports the declining fortune of the Lacedæmonians, IV.—Iphicrates and Conon; the Athenians repair their city, V.—Peace proclaimed by the king of Persia throughout Greece; the Lacedæmonians break it, VI.—The Thebans attack the Lacedæmonians; the battle of Mantinea, VII.—Epaminondas, VIII.—State of Greece after his death, IX.

THE more the Lacedæmonians got, the more, according to the nature of mankind, they coveted, and, not satisfied at their strength being doubled by the accession of the Athenian power, they began to aspire to the dominion of all Asia. But the greater part of it was under the government of the Persians; and Dercyllidas, being chosen general to conduct the war against them, and seeing that he would be opposed to two satraps of Artaxerxes, Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes, supported by the strength of powerful nations, resolved to make peace with one of them. As Tissaphernes seemed the fitter of the two for his purpose, being more attentive to business, and better furnished with troops (having with him those of the late prince Cyrus), he was invited to a conference, and induced to lay down his arms on certain conditions. This transaction Pharnabazus made matter of accusation to their common sovereign, acquainting him that "Tissaphernes had not taken arms to repel the Lacedæmonians on their invasion of Asia, but had maintained them at the king's charge, and bargained with them as to what they should put off doing in

the war, and what they should carry into execution, as if every loss did not affect the interest of the one empire in general,' adding that "it was disgraceful that war should not be decided by the sword, but bought off, and that the enemy should be induced to retire, not by arms, but by money." When by such charges he had irritated the king against Tissaphernes, he advised him to appoint in his place, as commander by sea, Conon the Athenian, who, having left his country on account of his ill success, was living in exile in Cyprus; "for though the power of the Athenians," he said, "was reduced, their experience at sea was still left them, and that, were a choice to be made from them all, no one could be preferred to Conon." Pharnabazus was accordingly furnished with five hundred talents, and directed to set Conon over the fleet.

II. When this arrangement was publicly known, the Lacedæmonians, through their ambassadors, requested aid for their efforts by sea from Hercynio,* king of Egypt, by whom a hundred triremes, and six hundred thousand *modii*† of corn, were despatched to them, while from their other allies a great number of forces were also assembled. But for such an army, and against such a leader, an efficient commander was wanting; and when the auxiliaries desired Agesilaus, then king of the Lacedæmonians, for their general, the Lacedæmonians, in consequence of an answer from the oracle at Delphi, were long in doubt whether they should appoint him to the chief command, as it was signified to them that "there would be an end of their power when the kingly authority should be lame;" and Agesilaus was lame of one foot. At last they decided that "it was better for the king to halt in his gait than for the kingdom to halt in its power;" and when they afterwards sent Agesilaus, with a large army into Asia, I cannot easily tell what other two generals were ever so well matched; for the age, valour, conduct, and wisdom of both were nearly equal, as was also the fame of their achievements; and fortune, who had given them equal qualifications, had kept the one from being conquered by the other. Great preparations for war, therefore, were made by both, and great deeds

* Called Psammitichus by Diodorus Siculus, xiv. 35.—*Wetzel.*

† The *modius* was not quite half a peck. Its exact content was 1 gall. 7.8576 pints. See Fragments of the Hist. of Sallust; Bohn's Class. Library, Sallust p. 234.

were performed. But a mutiny among his soldiers arose to trouble Conon, in consequence of the king's officers making it a practice to defraud them of their pay; and they demanded their arrears the more obstinately, as they anticipated that service under so great a general would be very severe. Conon, having long importuned the king by letters to no purpose, went at last to him in person, but was debarred from any interview or conference with him, because he would not do him homage* after the manner of the Persians. He, however, treated with him through his ministers, and complained that "the wars of the richest king in the world ended in nothing through want of pay; and that he who had an army equal to that of the enemy, was defeated by means of money in which he was their superior, and found inferior to them in that article of power in which he had far the advantage of them." He also desired that one paymaster might be appointed for his troops, as it was evidently detrimental to commit that office to several. Money for his soldiers was then given him, and he returned to the fleet. Nor did he delay to enter on action; he executed many undertakings with resolution, many with success; he laid waste the enemy's country, stormed their towns, and bore down everything before him like a hurricane. The Lacedæmonians were so alarmed at his progress, that they resolved on recalling Agesilaus† from Asia to the support of his country.

III. In the meantime Pisander, who had been left governor of his country by Agesilaus at his departure, fitted out a powerful fleet with the utmost exertion, determining to try the fortune of war. Conon, too, on the other hand, being then to encounter the enemy's army for the first time, put his troops in order with the greatest care. The emulation between the generals in the contest was not greater than that between the soldiers. Conon himself, in his character of leader, did not so much regard the interest of the Persians as the honour of his own country; and as, when the strength of the Athenians was reduced, he had occasioned the utter loss

* *Adorare.*] See C. Nepos, Life of Conon, c. 9.

† Justin is here in error; for it was not the proceedings of Conon in Asia, but the war raised by the Corinthians, Athenians, and Argives in Europe, that caused the recal of Agesilaus, as indeed Justin himself says, c. 4, *med.*— *Wetzel.*

of their power, so he had a desire to be accounted its restorer, as well as to reinstate himself in his country by a victory from which he had been exiled through being defeated; and this the more remarkably as he was not to fight with the aid of the Athenians themselves, but with that of a foreign state; he was going to contend at the risk of the king, but to conquer to the advantage of his country, acquiring glory by means dissimilar from those by which the former generals of Athens had obtained it, for they had defended their country by defeating the Persians, but he would re-establish his country by making the Persians victorious. Pisander too, from his relationship to Agesilaus,* was also an emulator of his virtues, and endeavoured not to fall short of his exploits and the brilliancy of his renown, and not to overthrow, by the misconduct of a moment, a power which had been gained by so many wars through so many ages. The anxiety of all the soldiers and sailors was similar, being not so much concerned† that they might not lose the power which they had got, as that the Athenians might not recover their former eminence. But the more spirited was the struggle, the more honourable was the victory of Conon. The Lacedæmonians were routed and put to flight; the garrison of the enemy was withdrawn from Athens; the people were restored to their rights, and their bondage was at an end; and several cities were reduced to their former state of obedience.

IV. To the Athenians this event was the beginning of their restoration to power; to the Lacedæmonians it was the termination of their authority; for, as if they had lost their spirit with their pre-eminence, they began to be regarded with contempt by their neighbours. The first people that made war upon them, with the aid of the Athenians, were the Thebans; a state which, by the abilities of its general, Epaminondas, was raised from the most humble condition to the hope of governing Greece. A battle was fought between the two powers by land, with the same fortune on the part of the

* *Pro conjunctione Agesilai.*] He was Agesilaus's wife's brother. See Xen. Hell. iii. 4, 29.

† The text stands thus: *Quos major sollicitudo cruciabat, non tam ne ipsi quæsitas opes amitterent, quàm ne pristinas Athenienses reciperent.* Some alteration is necessary, as Berneccerus remarks, unless, as Vorstius improbably supposes, *major* may be taken for *magna*.

Lacedæmonians as they had experienced against Conon by sea. In this encounter Lysander, under whose conduct the Athenians had been defeated by the Lacedæmonians, was killed. Pausanias also, the other general of the Lacedæmonians, went into exile in consequence of being accused of treachery.

The Thebans, on gaining the victory, led their whole force against Lacedæmon, expecting that it would be easy to reduce the city, as the Spartans were deserted by all their allies. The Lacedæmonians, dreading the event, sent for their king Agesilaus out of Asia, where he was performing great exploits, to defend his country; for since Lysander was slain, they had no confidence in any other general; but, as he was tardy in coming, they raised an army, and proceeded to meet the enemy. Having been once conquered, however, they had neither spirit nor strength to meet those who had recently vanquished them. They were accordingly routed in the very first onset. But Agesilaus came up just when the forces of his countrymen were overthrown; and, having renewed the contest, he, with his fresh troops, invigorated by long service, snatched the victory from the enemy without difficulty, but was himself severely wounded.

V. The Athenians, receiving intelligence of this event, and fearing that if the Lacedæmonians obtained another victory, they should be reduced to their former state of bondage, assembled an army, and ordered that it should be conducted to the aid of the Bœotians by Iphicrates, a young man only twenty years of age, but of great abilities. The conduct of this youth was above his years, and greatly to be admired; nor had the Athenians ever before him, among so many and so great leaders, a captain of greater promise, or of talents that sooner came to maturity; and he had not only the qualifications of a general, but also those of an orator.

Conon, having heard of the return of Agesilaus, came also himself from Asia to ravage the country of the Lacedæmonians; who, while the terrors of war raged around them, were shut up within their walls, and reduced to the depths of despair. After wasting the enemy's territories, Conon proceeded to Athens, where he was received with great joy on the part of his countrymen; but he felt more sorrow at the state of his native city, which had been burnt and laid in ruins by the Lacedæmonians, than joy at his return to it after

so long an absence. He accordingly repaired what had been burnt, and rebuilt what had been demolished, from the price of the spoil which he had taken, and with the help of the Persian troops. Such was the fate of Athens, that having been first burnt by the Persians, it was restored by their labour; and having been afterwards wasted by the Lacedæmonians, it was re-adorned from their spoils; and, the state of things being reversed, it had now for allies those whom it then had for enemies, and those for enemies with whom it had been joined in the closest bonds of alliance.

VI. During the course of these proceedings, Artaxerxes, king of the Persians, sent deputies into Greece, with injunctions, "that they should all lay down their arms," and assurances "that he would treat as enemies those who should act otherwise." He restored to the cities their liberty and all that belonged to them; a course which he did not adopt from concern for the troubles of the Greeks, and for their incessant and deadly enmities displayed in the field, but from unwillingness that, while he was engaged in a war with Egypt (which he had undertaken because the Egyptians had sent aid to the Spartans against his satraps), his troops should be obliged to stay in Greece. The Greeks, exhausted with so much fighting, eagerly obeyed his mandate.

This year was not only remarkable for a peace being suddenly made throughout Greece, but for the taking of the city of Rome at the same time by the Gauls.

But the Lacedæmonians, watching an opportunity of surprising the unguarded, and observing that the Arcadians were absent from their country, stormed one of their fortresses, and, having taken possession of it, placed a garrison in it. The Arcadians in consequence, arming and equipping a body of troops, and calling the Thebans to their assistance, demanded in open war the restitution of what they had lost. In the battle which followed, Archidamus, general of the Lacedæmonians, was wounded, and, seeing his men cut down and apparently defeated, sent a herald to ask the bodies of the slain for burial; this being a sign among the Greeks that the victory is yielded. The Thebans, satisfied with this acknowledgment, made the signal for giving quarter.

VII. After the lapse of a few days, while neither side was offering any hostility, and while, as the Lacedæmonians were

engaged in other contentions with their neighbours, a truce was observed as it were by tacit consent, the Thebans, under the leadership of Epaminondas, conceived hopes of seizing the city of Sparta. They accordingly proceeded thither secretly, in the early part of the night, but failed to take the inhabitants by surprise; for the old men, and others of an age unfit for war, observing the approach of the enemy, met them in arms at the very entrance of the gates; and not more than a hundred men, enfeebled with years, offered battle to fifteen thousand. So much spirit and vigour does the sight of our country and homes inspire; and so much more confidence is afforded by the presence, than by the remembrance of them; for when they considered where and for what they took their stand, they resolved either to conquer or die. A few old men, in consequence, held out against an army, which, shortly before, the flower of their troops were unable to withstand. In this battle two generals of the enemy were killed, when, on intelligence being received that Agesilaus was approaching, the Thebans retreated. But there was no long cessation of hostilities; for the Spartan youth, incited by the heroism and glorious deeds of the old men, could not be prevented from promptly engaging in the field. Just as victory inclined to the Thebans, Epaminondas, while he was discharging the duty, not only of a general, but of a gallant soldier, was severely wounded. When this was known, fear fell upon one side from deep concern, and amaze on the other from excess of joy; and both parties, as if by mutual agreement, retired from the field.

VIII. A few days after, Epaminondas died, and with him fell the spirit of the Theban state. For as, when you break off the point of a dart, you take from the rest of the steel the power of wounding, so when that general of the Thebans (who was, as it were, the point of their weapon*) was taken off, the strength of their government was so debilitated, that they seemed not so much to have lost him as to have all died with him. They neither carried on any memorable war before he became their leader, nor were they afterwards remarkable for their successes, but for their defeats; so that it is certain that with him the glory of his country both rose and fell. Whether he was more estimable as a man or a general is undecided; for he never sought power for himself, but for his

* *Velut mucrone teli*] Faber and Lemaire think these words spurious.

country, and was so far from coveting money, that he did not leave sufficient to pay for his funeral. Nor was he more *desirous* of distinction than of wealth; for all the appointments that he held were conferred on him against his will, and he filled his posts in such a manner that he seemed to add lustre to his honours rather than to receive it from them. His application to learning, and his knowledge of philosophy, were such, that it seemed wonderful how a man bred up in literature could have so excellent a knowledge of war. The manner of his death, too, was not at variance with his course of life; for when he was carried back half dead into the camp, and had recovered his breath and voice, he asked only this question of those that stood about him, "whether the enemy had taken his shield from him when he fell?" Hearing that it was saved, he kissed it, when it was brought to him, as the sharer of his toils and glory. He afterwards inquired which side had gained the victory, and hearing that the Thebans had got it, observed, "It is well," and so, as it were congratulating his country, expired.

IX. With his death the spirit of the Athenians also declined. For after he whom they were wont to emulate was gone, they sank into sloth and effeminacy, and spent the public income, not, as formerly, upon fleets and armies, but upon festivals, and the celebration of games; frequenting the theatres for the sake of eminent actors and poets, visiting the stage oftener than the camp, and praising men rather for being good versifiers than good generals.* It was then that the public revenues, from which soldiers and sailors used to be maintained, were distributed† among the people of the city. By which means it came to pass, that during the absence of exertion on the part of the Greeks, the name of the Macedonians, previously mean and obscure, rose into notice; and Philip, who had been kept three years as a hostage at Thebes, and had been imbued with the virtues of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, imposed the power of Macedonia, like a yoke of bondage, upon the necks of Greece and Asia.

* *Versificatoresque meliores, quàm duces laudantes.*] An obscure mode of expression; but it seems to be equivalent to *laudantes magis bonos versificatores quàm bonos duces.*

† This was not first done at the period of which Justin is speaking, but had previously been done by Pericles, to whom Aristophanes attributes it in more than one passage.—*Wetzel.*

BOOK VII.

Ancient state of Macedonia, I.—Family of Perdiccas, II.—Persian ambassadors punished at the court of Amyntas; Bubares the Persian, III.—Family of Amyntas, IV.—Youth and education of Philip; commencement of his reign, V. VI.

I. MACEDONIA was formerly called Emathia, from the name of king Emathion, of whose prowess the earliest proofs are extant in those parts. As the origin of this kingdom was but humble, so its limits were at first extremely narrow. The inhabitants were called Pelasgi,* the country Pæonia. But in process of time, when, through the ability of their princes and the exertions of their subjects, they had conquered, first of all, the neighbouring tribes, and afterwards other nations and peoples, their dominions extended to the utmost boundaries of the east.† In the region of Pæonia, which is now a portion of Macedonia, is said to have reigned Pelegonus,‡ the father of Asteropæus, whose name we find, in the Trojan war, among the most distinguished defenders of the city. On the other side a king named Europus held the sovereignty in a district called Europa.§

But Caranus,‖ accompanied by a great multitude of Greeks, having been directed by an oracle to seek a settlement in Macedonia, and having come into Emathia, and followed a flock of goats that were fleeing from a tempest, possessed himself of the city of Edessa, before the inhabitants, on account of the thickness of the rain and mist, were aware of his approach; and being reminded of the oracle, by which he had been ordered "to seek a kingdom with goats for his guides," he made this city the seat of his government, and

* See Herod. i. 56; Muller's Dorians, vol. i. Append. i.; Dr. Smith's Classical Dict.; Mannert, vol. vii.; Barker's Lempriere.

† Viz. by Alexander the Great.

‡ Hom. Il. xxi. 141.

§ Europa is a part of Thrace by Mount Hæmus, but has nothing to do with this passage, in which Justin is speaking only of Macedonia. In my opinion we should read *Europia*, which is a portion of Macedonia, in which stood the town of Europus, and where it said that Europus, the son of Macedo, reigned.—*Is. Vossius.* Tanaquil Faber agrees with him.

‖ He came from Argos. See Vell. Pat. i. 6; Diod. Sic. vii. 17, p. 318, ed. Didot.

afterwards religiously took care, whithersoever he led his troops, to keep the same goats before his standards, that he might have those animals as leaders in his enterprises which he had had as guides to the site of his kingdom. He changed the name of the city, in commemoration of his good fortune, from Edessa to Ægeæ,* and called the inhabitants Ægeatæ. Having subsequently expelled Midas† (for he also occupied a part of Macedonia), and driven other kings from their territories, he established himself, as sole monarch, in the place of them all, and was the first that, by uniting tribes of different people, formed Macedonia as it were into one body, and laid a solid foundation for the extension of his growing kingdom.

II. After him reigned Perdiccas, whose life was distinguished, and the circumstances of whose death, as if ordered by an oracle, were worthy of record; for when he was old and at the point of death, he made known to his son Argæus a place in which he wished to be buried, and directed that not only his own bones, but those of the kings that should succeed him, should be deposited in the same spot; signifying that, "as long as the relics of his posterity should be buried there, the crown would remain in his family;" and the people believe, in consequence of this superstitious notion, that the line came to be extinct in Alexander, because he changed the place of sepulture. Argæus, having governed the kingdom with moderation, and gained the love of his subjects, left his son Philip his successor, who, being carried off by an untimely death, made Æropus, then quite a boy, his heir.

The Macedonians had perpetual contests with the Thracians and Illyrians, and, being hardened by their arms, as it were by daily exercise, they struck terror into their neighbours by the splendour of their reputation for war. The Illyrians, however, despising the boyhood of a king under age, attacked the Macedonians, who, being worsted in the field, brought out their king with them in his cradle, and, placing him behind the front lines, renewed the fight with greater vigour, as if they had been defeated before, because the fortune of their prince

* Sometimes written Ægæ, or in the singular Ægea or Ægæa, from αἴξ, a goat.

† Justin speaks otherwise of him, xi. 7. Photius, in an extract from Conon, (n. 86, p. 423) says, that he was instructed by Orpheus on Mount Pieria, and thence crossed over into Mysia.

was not with them in the battle, and would now certainly conquer, because, from this superstitious fancy, they had conceived a confidence of victory; while compassion for the infant, also, moved them, as, if they were overcome, they seemed likely to transform him from a king into a captive. Engaging in battle, therefore, they routed the Illyrians with great slaughter, and showed their enemies, that, in the former encounter, it was a king, and not valour, that was wanting to the Macedonians.

To Æropus succeeded Amyntas, a prince eminently distinguished, both for his own personal valour, and for the excellent abilities of his son Alexander, who had from nature such remarkable talents of every kind,* that he contended for the prize in various species of exercises at the Olympic games.

III. About this time Darius king of Persia, having been forced to quit Scythia in dishonourable flight, but not wishing to be thought every where contemptible from losses in war, despatched Megabazus, with a portion of his army, to subdue Thrace, and other kingdoms in those parts; to which Macedonia, he thought, would fall as an unimportant addition. Megabazus, speedily executing the king's orders, and sending deputies to Amyntas king of Macedonia, demanded that hostages should be given him as a pledge of future peace. The deputies, being liberally entertained, asked Amyntas, as their intoxication increased in the progress of a banquet, "to add to the magnificence of his board the privileges of friendship, by sending for his and his sons' wives to the feast; a practice which is deemed, among the Persians, a pledge and bond of hospitality." The women having entered, and the Persians laying hands upon them too freely, Alexander, the son of Amyntas, begged his father, from regard to his age and dignity, to leave the banqueting-room, engaging that he himself would moderate the frolicsome spirit of their guests. Amyntas having withdrawn, Alexander called the women from the apartment for a while, under pretext of having them dressed in better style, and bringing them back with greater attractions. But in their place he put young men, clad in the habit of matrons, and ordered them to chastise the insolence of the deputies with swords which they were to carry under their garments. All of them being thus put to death, Megabazus, not knowing what had happened, but finding

* *Tanta omnium virtutum ornamenta.*

that the deputies did not return, sent Bubares to Macedonia with a detachment of his forces, as to an easy and trifling contest; *disdaining to go himself, that he might not be disgraced by an encounter with so despicable a people.* But Bubares, before he came to an engagement, fell in love with the daughter of Amyntas, when, breaking off hostilities, he celebrated a marriage, and, all thoughts of war being abandoned, entered into bonds of affinity with the king.

IV. Soon after the departure of Bubares from Macedonia, king Amyntas died; but his relationship with Bubares not only secured to his son and successor, Alexander, peace during the reign of Darius, but also such favour with Xerxes, that, when that monarch overspread Greece like a tempest, he conferred upon him the sovereignty of all the country between the mountains of Olympus and Hæmus. But Alexander enlarged his dominions not less by his own valour than through the munificence of the Persians. The throne afterwards descended, by the order of succession, to Amyntas, the son of his brother Menelaus. This prince was remarkable for his application to business, and was endowed with all the accomplishments of a great general. By his wife Eurydice he had three sons, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, and one daughter, named Eurynoe; he had also by Gygæa Archelaus, Aridæus, and Menelaus. Subsequently he had formidable contests with the Illyrians and Olynthians. He would have been cut off by a plot of his wife Eurydice, who, having engaged to marry her son-in-law, had undertaken to kill her husband, and to put the government into the hands of her paramour, had not her daughter betrayed the intrigue and atrocious intentions of her mother. Having escaped so many dangers, he died at an advanced age, leaving the throne to Alexander, the eldest of his sons.

V. Alexander, at the very beginning of his reign, purchased peace from the Illyrians with a sum of money, giving his brother Philip to them as a hostage. Some time after, too, he made peace with the Thebans by giving the same hostage; a circumstance which afforded Philip fine opportunities of improving his extraordinary abilities; for, being kept as a hostage at Thebes three years, he received the first rudiments of education * in a city distinguished for strictness of disci-

* *Prima puerítiæ rudimenta deposuit.*] He went through of (expe-

pline, and in the house of Epaminondas, an eminent philoso pher, as well as commander. Not long afterwards Alexander fell by a plot of his mother Eurydice, whom Amyntas, when she was convicted of a conspiracy against him, had spared for the sake of their children, little imagining that she would one day be the destroyer of them. Perdiccas, also, the brother of Alexander, was taken off by similar treachery. Horrible, indeed, was it, that children should have been deprived of life by a mother, to gratify her lust, whom a regard for those very children had saved from the punishment of her crimes. The murder of Perdiccas seemed the more atrocious from the circumstance that not even the prayers of his little son could procure him pity from his mother. Philip, for a long time, acted, not as king, but as guardian to this infant; but, when dangerous wars threatened, and it was too long to wait for the co-operation of a prince who was yet a child, he was forced by the people to take the government upon himself.

VI. When he took possession of the throne, great hopes were formed of him by all, both on account of his abilities, which promised that he would prove a great man, and on account of certain old oracles respecting Macedonia, which had foretold that "when one of the sons of Amyntas should be king, the state of the country would be extremely flourishing:" to fulfil which expectations the wickedness of his mother had left only him. At the commencement of his reign, when, on the one hand, the murder of his brother, so atrociously put to death, and the dread of treachery; on the other, a multitude of enemies, and the poverty of his kingdom, exhausted by a series of wars, bore hard upon the young king's immature age, thinking it proper to make distinct arrangements as to the wars, which, as if by a common conspiracy to crush Macedonia, rose around him from different nations and several quarters at the same time, to all of which he could not at once make resistance, he put an end to some by offers of peace, and bought off others, but attacked such of his enemies as seemed easiest to be subdued, that, by a victory over them, he might confirm the wavering minds of his soldiers, and alter any feelings of contempt with which his adversaries might regard

rienced, got over) the earliest instruction of his boyhood." Comp. ix. 1. *tirocinii rudimenta deponeret. Ponere* is used in the same sense, Liv. xxxi. 11.

nim. His first conflict was with the Athenians,* whom he surprised by a stratagem, but, though he might have put them all to the sword, he yet, from dread of a more formidable war, allowed them to depart uninjured and without ransom. Afterwards, leading his army against the Illyrians, he killed several thousand of his enemies, and took the famous city of Larissa. He then fell suddenly on Thessaly (when it apprehended anything rather than war), not from desire of spoil, but because he wished to add the strength of the Thessalian cavalry to his own troops; and he thus incorporated a force of horse and foot in one invincible army. His undertakings having been thus far successful, he married Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus, afterwards king of the Molossians, her cousin-german Arrybas, then king of that nation, who had brought up the young princess, and had married her sister Troas, promoting the union; a proceeding which proved the cause of his ruin, and the beginning of all the evils that afterwards befel him; for while he hoped to strengthen his kingdom by this affinity with Philip, he was by that monarch deprived of his crown, and spent his old age in exile.

After these proceedings, Philip, no longer satisfied with acting on the defensive, boldly attacked even those who gave him no molestation. While he was besieging Methone, an arrow, shot from the walls at him as he was passing by, struck out his right eye; but by this wound he was neither rendered less active in the siege, nor more resentful towards the enemy; so that, some days after, he granted them peace on their application for it, and was not only not severe, but even merciful, to the conquered.

* Who had sent a fleet to Macedonia under Manteias, with the intention of placing on the throne Argæus the rival of Philip. Diod. Sic. xvi. 2

BOOK VIII.

War between the Thebans and Phocians, I.—The Thebans bring Philip against the Phocians; the Athenians take precautions for their defence, II.—Philip harasses Greece, takes possession of Cappadocia, destroys Olynthus; his acts in Thrace, III.—He deceives the Athenians, Bœotians, Thessalians, and Phocians, IV. —Oppresses the Phocians and other Greeks, V.—His machinations to strengthen his power, VI.

I. THE states of Greece, while each sought to gain the sovereignty of the country for itself, lost it as a body. Striving intemperately to ruin one another, they did not perceive, till they were oppressed by another power, that what each lost was a common loss to all; for Philip, king of Macedonia, looking, as from a watch-tower, for an opportunity to attack their liberties, and fomenting their contentions by assisting the weaker, obliged victors and vanquished alike to submit to his royal yoke. The Thebans were the cause and origin of this calamity, who, obtaining power, and having no steadiness of mind to bear prosperity, insolently accused the Lacedæmonians and Phocians, when they had conquered them in the field, before the common council of Greece,* as if they had not been sufficiently punished by the slaughters and depredations that they had suffered. It was laid to the charge of the Lacedæmonians, that they had seized the citadel of Thebes during a time of truce, and to that of the Phocians, that they had laid waste Bœotia, as if the Thebans themselves, after their conduct in the field, had left themselves any ground for resorting to law. But as the cause was conducted according to the will of the more powerful, the Phocians were sentenced to pay such a fine as it was impossible for them to raise, and in consequence, despoiled of their lands, children, and wives, and reduced to desperation, they seized, under the leadership of one Philomelus, on the temple of Apollo at Delphi, as if they were enraged at the god. Being hence enriched with gold and treasure, and hiring mercenary troops, they made war upon the Thebans. This proceeding of the Phocians, though all expressed detestation at the sacrilege, brought more odium upon the Thebans, by whom they had been reduced to such necessity, than on the Phocians them-

* The Amphictyonic council.

selves; and aid was in consequence despatched to them both by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. In the first engagement, Philomelus drove the Thebans from their camp; but in the next he was killed, fighting in front among the thickest of the enemy, and paid the penalty of his sacrilege by the effusion of his impious blood. Onomarchus was made general in his stead.

II. To oppose Onomarchus, the Thebans and Thessalians chose as general, not one of their own people, lest they should not be able to endure his rule if he should conquer, but Philip, king of Macedonia, voluntarily submitting to that power from a foreigner which they dreaded in the hands of their own countrymen. Philip, as if he were the avenger of the sacrilege, not the defender of the Thebans, ordered all his soldiers to assume crowns of laurel, and proceeded to battle as if under the leadership of the god. The Phocians, seeing these ensigns of the deity, and frighted with the consciousness of guilt, threw down their arms and fled, receiving punishment for their violation of religion by the bloodshed and slaughter that they suffered. This affair brought incredibly great glory to Philip in the opinion of all people, who called him "the avenger of the god, and the defender of religion," and said that "he alone had arisen to require satisfaction for what ought to have been punished by the combined force of the world, and was consequently worthy to be ranked next to the gods, as by him the majesty of the gods had been vindicated."

The Athenians, hearing the result of the conflict, and fearing that Philip would march into Greece, took possession of the straits of Thermopylæ, as they had done on the invasion of the Persians, but by no means with like spirit, or in a similar cause; for then they fought in behalf of the liberty of Greece, now, in behalf of public sacrilege;* then to defend the temples of the gods from the ravages of an enemy, now, to defend the plunderers of temples against the avengers of their guilt, acting as advocates of a crime of which it was dishonourable to them that others should have been the punishers, and utterly unmindful that, in their dangers, they had often had recourse to this deity as a counsellor; that, under his guidance,

* *Pro sacrilegio publico.*] This is not just. The Athenians did not fight in defence of sacrilege, but merely took the side of the Phocians to stop Philip's progress into Greece.

they had entered on so many wars with success, had founded so many cities auspiciously, and had acquired so extensive a dominion by sea and land: and that they had never done any thing, either of a public or private nature, without the sanction of his authority. Strange that a people of such ability, improved by every kind of learning, and formed by the most excellent laws and institutions, should have brought such guilt upon themselves as to leave nothing with which they could afterwards justly upbraid barbarians.

III. Nor did Philip distinguish himself by more honourable conduct towards his allies; for, as if he was afraid of being surpassed by his opponents in the guilt of sacrilege, he seized and plundered, like an enemy, cities of which he had just before been captain, which had fought under his auspices, and which had congratulated him and themselves on their victories; he sold the wives and children of the inhabitants for slaves; he spared neither the temples of the gods, nor other sacred structures, nor the tutelar gods, public or private, before whom he had recently presented himself as a guest; so that he seemed not so much to avenge sacrilege as to seek a license for committing it.

In the next place, as if he had done every thing well, he crossed over into Chalcidice,* where, conducting his wars with equal perfidy,† and treacherously capturing or killing the neighbouring princes, he united the whole of the province to the kingdom of Macedonia. Afterwards, to throw a veil over his character for dishonesty, for which he was now deemed remarkable above other men, he sent persons through the kingdoms and the richest of the cities, to spread a report that king Philip was ready to contract, at a vast sum, for the re-building of the walls, temples, and sacred edifices, in the several towns, and to invite contractors by public criers; but when those who were willing to undertake these works went to Macedonia, they found themselves put off with various excuses, and, from dread of the king's power, returned quietly to their

* Wetzel retains *Cappadociam*, the old reading, in his text, though he condemns it in his note, observing that it is well known Philip never went to Cappadocia. Gronovius suggested *Chalcidice*, and Tanaquil Faber approved it

† *Pari perfidiâ*] Justin. or Trogus, represents Philip's character, through all this account of his wars, in far too unfavourable a light.

homes. Soon after he fell upon the Olynthians, because, after the death of one of his brothers, they had, from pity, afforded a refuge to two others, whom, being the sons of his step-mother, Philip would gladly have cut off, as pretenders to a share in the throne. For this reason he destroyed an ancient and noble city, consigning his brothers to the death long before destined for them, and delighting himself at the same time with a vast quantity of booty, and the gratification of his fratricidal inclinations. Next, as if every thing that he meditated was lawful for him to do, he seized upon the gold mines in Thessaly, and the silver ones in Thrace, and, to leave no law or right unviolated, proceeded to engage in piracy. While such was his conduct, it happened that two brothers, princes of Thrace, chose him as arbitrator in their disputes, not, indeed, from respect for his justice, but because each dreaded that he would unite his strength to that of the other. Philip, in accordance with his practice and disposition, came unexpectedly upon the brothers with an army in full array, not apparently to try a cause, but to fight a battle, and spoiled them both of their dominions, not like a judge, but with the perfidy and baseness of a robber.

IV. During the course of these transactions, ambassadors came to him from the Athenians to ask for peace. Having listened to their request, he despatched ambassadors to Athens with terms, and a peace was concluded there to the advantage of both parties. Embassies came to him also from other states of Greece, not from inclination for peace, but for fear of war; for the Thessalians and Bœotians, with reviving wrath, entreated that he would prove himself the leader of Greece, as he had professed to be, against the Phocians; such being the hatred with which they were inflamed towards that people, that they chose rather to perish themselves, than not to destroy them, and to submit to the known cruelty of Philip, rather than spare their enemies. On the other hand, ambassadors from the Phocians (the Lacedæmonians and Athenians joining with them) endeavoured to avert the war, forbearance from which they had thrice before purchased from Philip. It was a shameful and miserable sight, to behold Greece, even then the most distinguished country in the world for power and dignity, a country that had constantly been the conqueror of kings and nations, and was still mistress of many cities,

waiting at a foreign court to ask or deprecate war; that the champions of the world should place all their hopes on assistance from another, and should be reduced, by their discords and civil feuds, to such a condition as to flatter a power which had lately been a humble portion of their dependencies; and that the Thebans and Lacedæmonians should especially do this, who were formerly rivals for sovereignty, but now for the favour of a sovereign. Philip, to show his importance, assumed an air of disdain for these great cities, and deliberated to which of the two he should vouchsafe his favour. Having heard both embassies privately, he promised to the one security from war, binding them by an oath to reveal his answer to nobody; to the other he engaged himself to come and bring them assistance. He charged them both neither to prepare for war, nor to fear it. Different replies being thus given to each, he seized, while they were all free from apprehension, on the pass of Thermopylæ.

V. The Phocians in consequence, finding themselves overreached by the cunning of Philip, were the first, in great trepidation, to take arms. But there was no time to make due preparation for war, or to collect auxiliaries, and Philip, unless a surrender should be made, threatened their destruction. Overcome, accordingly, by necessity, they submitted, stipulating only for their lives. But this stipulation was just as faithfully observed by Philip as his promises had been respecting the war which they had deprecated. They were every where put to the sword, or made prisoners; children were not left to their parents, nor wives to their husbands, nor the statues of the gods in the temples. The sole comfort of the wretched people was, that as Philip had defrauded his allies of their share of the spoil, they saw none of their property in the hands of their enemies.

On his return to his kingdom, as shepherds drive their flocks sometimes into winter, sometimes into summer pastures, so he transplanted people and cities hither and thither, according to his caprice, as places appeared to him proper to be peopled or left desolate. The aspect of things was every where wretched, like that of a country ravaged by an enemy. There was not, indeed, that terror of a foe, or hurrying of troops through the cities, or seizure of property and prisoners, which are seen during a hostile invasion; but there prevailed a sorrow

and sadness not expressed in words, the people fearing that even their very tears would be thought signs of discontent. Their grief was augmented by the very concealment of it, sinking the deeper the less they were permitted to utter it. At one time they contemplated the sepulchres of their ancestors, at another their old household gods, at another the homes in which they had been born, and in which they had had families; lamenting sometimes their own fate, that they had lived to that day, and sometimes that of their children, that they were not born after it.

VI. Some people he planted upon the frontiers of his kingdom to oppose his enemies; others he settled at the extremities of it. Some, whom he had taken prisoners in war, he distributed among certain cities to fill up the number of inhabitants; and thus, out of various tribes and nations, he formed one kingdom and people. When he had settled and put in order the affairs of Macedonia, he reduced the Dardanians and others of his neighbours, who were overreached by his treacherous dealings. Nor did he keep his hands even from his own relations; for he resolved on expelling Arrybas, king of Epirus, who was nearly related to his wife Olympias, out of his kingdom; and he invited Alexander, a step-son of Arrybas, and brother of his wife Olympias (a youth of remarkable beauty), into Macedonia, in his sister's name, and engaged him, after earnestly tempting him with hopes of his father's throne, and pretending violent love for him, in a criminal intercourse, thinking to find greater submission from him, whether through shame on account of his guilt, or through obligation for a kingdom conferred upon him. When he was twenty years of age, accordingly, he took the kingdom from Arrybas, and gave it to the youth, acting a base part towards both, for he disregarded the claims of consanguinity in him from whom he took the kingdom, and corrupted him to whom he gave it before he made him a king.

BOOK IX.

Philip besieges Byzantium, I.—His transactions with the Scythians; he defeats them, II.—Robbed of spoil by the Triballi; Defeats the Thebans and Athenians, III.—His treatment of them, IV.—Settles the affairs of Greece, in order to an invasion of Persia, V.—Is killed by Pausanias, with the knowledge, as is supposed, of Olympias and Alexander, VI. VII.—His character, VIII.

I. When Philip had once come into Greece, allured by the plunder of a few cities, and had formed an opinion, from the spoil of such towns as were of less note, how great must be the riches of all its cities put together, he resolved to make war upon the whole of Greece. Thinking that it would greatly conduce to the promotion of his design, if he could get possession of Byzantium, a noble city and seaport, which would be a station for his forces by land and sea, he proceeded, as it shut its gates against him, to lay close siege to it. This city had been founded by Pausanias, king of Sparta, and held by him for seven years, but afterwards, as the fortune of war varied, it was regarded as at one time belonging to the Athenians, and at another to the Lacedæmonians; and this uncertainty of possession was the cause that, while neither party supported it as its own, it maintained its liberty with the greater determination. Philip, exhausted by the length of the siege, had recourse to piracy for a supply of money, and having captured a hundred and seventy ships, and sold off the cargoes, he was enabled for a while to relieve his craving wants. But that so great an army might not be wasted in the siege of a single city, he marched away with his best troops, and stormed some towns of the Chersonese. He also sent for his son Alexander, who was then eighteen years of age, to join him, and learn the rudiments of war in the camp of his father. He made an expedition, too, into Scythia, to get plunder, that, after the practice of traders, he might make up for the expenses of one war by the profits of another.

II. The king of the Scythians at that time was Atheas, who, being distressed by a war with the Istrians, sought aid from Philip through the people of Apollonia, on the understanding that he would adopt him for his successor on the throne of Scythia. But in the mean time, the king of the Istrians

died, and relieved the Scythians both from the fear of war and the want of assistance. Atheas, therefore, sending away the Macedonians, ordered a message to be sent to Philip, that "he had neither sought his aid, nor proposed his adoption;* for the Scythians needed no protection from the Macedonians, to whom they were superior in the field, nor did he himself want an heir, as he had a son living." When Philip heard this, he sent ambassadors to Atheas to ask him to defray at least a portion of the expense of the siege,† that he might not be forced to raise it for want of money; "a request," he said, "with which he ought the more readily to comply, as, when he sent soldiers to his assistance, he had not even paid their expenses on the march, to say nothing of remuneration for their service." Atheas, alluding to the rigour of their climate and the barrenness of their soil, which, far from enriching the Scythians with wealth, scarcely afforded them sustenance, replied, that "he had no treasury to satisfy so great a king, and that he thought it less honourable to do little than to refuse altogether; but that the Scythians were to be estimated by their valour and hardiness of body, not by their possessions." Philip, mocked by this message, broke up the siege of Byzantium, and entered upon a war with the Scythians, first sending ambassadors to lull them into security, by telling Atheas that "while he was besieging Byzantium, he had vowed a statue to Hercules, which he was going to erect at the mouth of the Ister, requesting an unobstructed passage to pay his vow to the god, since he was coming as a friend to the Scythians." Atheas desired him, "if his object was merely to fulfil his vow, to let the statue be sent to him," promising that "it should not only be erected, but should remain uninjured," but refusing "to allow an army to enter his territories," and adding that, "if he should set up the statue in spite of the Scythians, he would take it down when he was gone, and turn the brass of it into heads for arrows." With feelings thus irritated on both sides, a battle was fought. Though the Scythians were superior in courage and numbers, they were defeated by the subtlety of Philip. Twenty thou-

* Meaning that he had given no such commission to the people of Apollonia, who must therefore have taken it upon themselves both to mention the adoption, as well as to request the auxiliary troops.

† Of Byzantium.

sand young men and women were taken, and a vast number of cattle, but no gold or silver. This was the first proof which they had of the poverty of Scythia. Twenty thousand fine mares were sent into Macedonia to raise a breed.

III. But as Philip was returning from Scythia, the Triballi met him, and refused to allow him a passage, unless they received a share of the spoil. Hence arose a dispute, and afterwards a battle, in which Philip received so severe a wound through the thigh, that his horse was killed by it; and while it was generally supposed that he was dead, the booty was lost. Thus the Scythian spoil, as if attended with a curse, had almost proved fatal to the Macedonians.

But as soon as he recovered from his wound, he made war upon the Athenians, of which he had long dissembled his intention. The Thebans espoused their cause, fearing that if the Athenians were conquered, the war, like a fire in the neighbourhood, would spread to them. An alliance being accordingly made between the two cities, which were just before * at violent enmity with each other, they wearied Greece with embassies, stating that "they thought the common enemy should be repelled by their common strength, for that Philip would not rest, if his first attempts succeeded, until he had subjugated all Greece." Some of the cities were moved by these arguments, and joined themselves to the Athenians; but the dread of a war induced some to go over to Philip. A battle being brought on,† though the Athenians were far superior in number of soldiers, they were conquered by the valour of the Macedonians, which was invigorated by constant service in the field. They were not, however, in defeat, unmindful of their ancient valour; for, falling with wounds in front, they all covered the places which they had been charged by their leaders to defend, with their dead bodies. This day put an end to the glorious sovereignty and ancient liberty of all Greece.

IV. Philip's joy for this victory was artfully concealed. He abstained from offering the usual sacrifices ‡ on that day; he did not smile at table, or mingle any diversions with the enter-

* *Paullo ante.*] In the Phocian war. See viii. 1, 8.—*Wetzel.*

† At Chæronea in Bœotia, the leaders opposed to Philip being Chares and Lysicles. See Diodor. xvi. 85.—*Wetzel.*

‡ *Solita sacra.*] For having obtained a victory.

tainment; he had no chaplets or perfumes; and, as far as was in his power, he so managed his conquest that none might think of him as a conqueror. He desired that he should not be called king, but general of Greece; and conducted himself with such prudence, between his own secret joy on the one hand and the grief of the enemy on the other, that he neither appeared to his own subjects to rejoice, nor to the vanquished to insult them. To the Athenians, whom he had found to be his bitterest enemies, he both sent back their prisoners without ransom, and gave up the bodies of the slain for burial; exhorting them to convey the relics of their dead to the sepulchres of their ancestors. He also sent Alexander his son with his friend Antipater to Athens, to establish peace and friendship with them. The Thebans, however, he compelled to purchase their prisoners, as well as the liberty of burying their dead. Some of the chief men of their city, too, he put to death; others he banished, seizing upon the property of them all. Afterwards, he reinstated in their country those that had been unjustly banished, of whom he made three hundred judges and governors of the city, before whom when the most eminent citizens were arraigned on this very charge, that of having banished them unjustly, they had such spirit that they all acknowledged their participation in the fact, and affirmed that it was better with the state when they were condemned than when they were restored. A wonderful instance of courage! They passed sentence, as far as they could, on those who had the disposal of them for life or death, and set at nought the pardon which their enemies could give them; and, as they could not avenge themselves * by deeds, they manifested their boldness of spirit by words.

V. War being at an end in Greece, Philip directed deputies from all the states to be summoned to Corinth, to settle the condition of affairs. Here he fixed terms of peace for the whole of Greece, according to the merits of each city; and chose from them all a council, to form a senate as it were for the country. But the Lacedæmonians, standing alone, showed

* Wetzel's text has, *et quam rebus nequeunt ulcisci, verbis usurpant libertatem.* I follow Gronovius, who reads *quoniam* instead of *quam.* Faber would retain *quam* and omit *ulcisci.* Wetzel's reading cannot be right; nor does he himself attempt to explain or justify it, but remarks only how it may be corrected

contempt alike for the terms and the king; regarding the state of things, which had not been agreed upon by the cities themselves, but forced upon them by a conqueror, as a state, not of peace, but of slavery. The number of troops to be furnished by each state was then determined, whether the king, in case of being attacked, was to be supported by their united force, or whether war was to be made on any other power under him as their general. In all these preparations for war it was not to be doubted that the kingdom of Persia was the object in view. The sum of the force was two hundred thousand infantry and fifteen thousand cavalry. Exclusive of this number there was also the army of Macedonia, and the adjacent barbarians of the conquered nations.

In the beginning of the next spring, he sent forward three of his generals into that part of Asia which was under the power of the Persians, Parmenio, Amyntas, and Attalus, whose sister he had recently married, having divorced Olympias, the mother of Alexander, on suspicion of adultery.

VI. In the meantime, while the troops were assembling from Greece, he celebrated the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra with Alexander, whom he had made king of Epirus. The day was remarkable for the pomp displayed on it, suitable to the magnificence of the two princes, him that gave his daughter in marriage, and him that married her. Magnificent games were also celebrated, and as Philip was going to view them, unattended by his guards, walking between the two Alexanders, his son and son-in-law, Pausanias, a noble Macedonian youth, without being suspected by any one, posting himself in a narrow passage, killed him as he was going through it, and caused a day appointed for joy to be overclouded with mourning for a death. Pausanias, in the early part of his youth, had suffered gross violence at the hands of Attalus, to the indignity of which was added this further affront, that Attalus had exposed him, after bringing him to a banquet and making him drunk, not only to insults from himself, but also to those of the company, as if he had been a common object for ill-treatment, and rendered him the laughing-stock of those of his own age. Being impatient under this ignominy, Pausanias had often made complaints to Philip, but being put off with various excuses, not unattended with ridicule, and seeing his adversary also honoured with a

general's commission, he turned his rage against Philip himself, and inflicted on him, as an unjust judge, that revenge which he could not inflict on him as an adversary.*

VII. It is even believed that he was instigated to the act by Olympias, Alexander's mother, and that Alexander himself was not ignorant that his father was to be killed; as Olympias had felt no less resentment at her divorce, and the preferment of Cleopatra to herself, than Pausanias had felt at the insults which he had received. As for Alexander, it is said that he feared his brother by his step-mother as a rival for the throne; and hence it happened that he had previously quarrelled at a banquet, first with Attalus, and afterwards with his father himself, insomuch that Philip pursued him even with his drawn sword, and was hardly prevented from killing him by the entreaties of his friends. Alexander had in consequence retired with his mother into Epirus, to take refuge with his uncle, and from thence to the king of the Illyrians, and was with difficulty reconciled to his father when he recalled him, and not easily induced by the prayers of his relations to return. Olympias, too, was instigating her brother, the king of Epirus, to go to war with Philip, and would have prevailed upon him to do so, had not Philip, by giving him his daughter in marriage, disarmed him as a son-in-law. With these provocations to resentment, both of them are thought to have encouraged Pausanias, when complaining of his insults being left unpunished, to so atrocious a deed. Olympias, it is certain, had horses prepared for the escape of the assassin; and, when she heard that the king was dead, hastening to the funeral under the appearance of respect, she put a crown of gold, the same night that she arrived, on the head of Pausanias,† as he was hanging on a cross; an act which no one but she would have dared to do, as long as the son of Philip was alive. A few days after, she burnt the body of the assassin, when it had been taken down, upon the remains of her husband, and made him a tomb in the same place; she also provided that yearly sacrifices should be performed to his manes, possessing the people with a superstitious notion for the purpose. Next she forced Cleopatra, for whose sake she had been divorced from Philip, to hang herself, hav-

* He could not call Philip to account in single combat.

† He had been apprehended, as he was making his escape, by Perdiccas, and killed. Diod. Sic. xvi. 94.

ing first killed her daughter in her lap, and enjoyed the sight of her suffering this vengeance, to which she had hastened by procuring the death of her husband.* Last of all she consecrated the sword, with which the king had been killed, to Apollo, under the name of Myrtale,† which was Olympias's own name when a child. And all these things were done so publicly, that she seems to have been afraid lest it should not be evident enough that the deed was promoted by her.

VIII. Philip died at the age of forty-seven, after having reigned twenty-five years. He had, by a dancing girl of Larissa, a son named Aridæus, who reigned after Alexander. He had also many others by several wives,‡ as is not unusual with princes, some of whom died a natural death, and others by the sword. As a king, he was more inclined to display in war, than in entertainments; and his greatest riches were means for military operations. He was better at getting wealth than keeping it, and, in consequence, was always poor amidst his daily spoliations. Clemency and perfidy were equally valued by him; and no road to victory was, in his opinion, dishonourable. He was equally pleasing and treacherous in his address, promising more than he could perform. He was well qualified either for serious conversation or for jesting. He maintained friendships more with a view to interest than good faith. It was a common practice with him to pretend kindness where he hated, and to counterfeit dislike where he loved; to sow dissension among friends, and try to gain favour from both sides. With such a disposition, his eloquence was very great, his language full of point and studied effect; so that neither did his facility fall short of his art, nor his invention of his facility, nor his art of his invention.

To Philip succeeded his son Alexander, a prince greater than his father, both in his virtues and his vices. Each of the two had a different mode of conquering; the one prosecuted his wars with open force, the other with subtlety; the one delighted in deceiving his enemies, the other in boldly repulsing them. The one was more prudent in council, the other more noble in feeling. The father would dissemble his resentment,

* *Parricidio.*] See note on Sall. Cat. c. 14.

† *Sub nomine Myrtales.*] Putting an inscription on it, "Myrtale (dedicates this) to Apollo."

‡ *Ex variis matrimoniis.*

and often subdue it; when the son was provoked, there was neither delay nor bounds to his vengeance. They were both too fond of wine, but the ill effects of their intoxication were totally different; the father would rush from a banquet to face the enemy, cope with him, and rashly expose himself to dangers; the son vented his rage, not upon his enemies, but his friends. A battle often sent away Philip wounded; Alexander often left a banquet* stained with the blood of his companions. The one wished to reign with his friends, the other to reign over them. The one preferred to be loved, the other to be feared. To literature both gave equal attention. The father had more cunning, the son more honour. Philip was more staid in his words, Alexander in his actions. The son felt readier and nobler impulses to spare the conquered; the father showed no mercy even to his allies. The father was more inclined to frugality, the son to luxury. By the same course by which the father laid the foundations of the empire of the world, the son consummated the glory of conquering the whole world.

BOOK X.

The sons of Artaxerxes conspire against him, and are put to death, I.—Causes of the conspiracy, II.—Darius Ochus; Darius Codomannus; end of the Persian monarchy, III.

I. ARTAXERXES,† king of Persia, had a hundred and fifteen sons by his concubines, but only three begotten in lawful wedlock, Darius, Ariarathes, and Ochus. Of these the father, from paternal fondness, made Darius king during his own lifetime, contrary to the usage of the Persians, among whom the king is changed only by death; for he thought nothing taken from himself that he conferred upon his son, and expected greater enjoyment from having progeny, if he saw the insignia of royalty adorning his son while he lived. But Darius, after such an extraordinary proof of his father's affection, conceived the design of killing him. He would have been bad enough, if he had meditated the parricide alone, but he became so

* *Convivio frequenter excessit.*] "As in the cases of Clitus, Parmenio, Philotas."—*Wetzel.* But of these only Clitus was killed at a banquet; *frequenter* is an absurd exaggeration.

† Artaxerxes Mnemon.

much the worse, by enticing fifty of his brothers to a participation in his crime, and making them parricides in intention as well as himself. It was certainly a kind of prodigy, that, among so great a number, the assassination should not only have been plotted, but concealed, and that of fifty children there should not have been found one, whom either respect for their father's dignity, or reverence for an old man, or gratitude for paternal kindness, could deter from so horrible a purpose. Was the name of father so contemptible among so many sons, that he who should have been secured even against enemies by their protection, should be beset by their treason, and find it easier to defend himself against his foes than his children?

II. The cause of the intended parricide was even more atrocious than the crime itself; for after Cyrus was killed in the war against his brother, of which mention has been previously* made, Artaxerxes had married Aspasia,† the concubine of Cyrus; and Darius had required that his father should resign her to him as he had resigned the kingdom. Artaxerxes, from fondness from his children, said at first that he would do so, but afterwards, from a change of mind, and in order plausibly to refuse what he had inconsiderately promised, made her a priestess of the sun, an office which obliged her to perpetual chastity. The young Darius, being incensed at this proceeding, broke out at first into reproaches against his father, and subsequently entered into this conspiracy with his brothers. But while he was meditating destruction for his father, he was discovered and apprehended with his associates, and paid the penalty of his guilt to the gods who avenge paternal authority. The wives of them all, too, together with their children, were put to death, that no memorial of such execrable wickedness might be left. Soon after Artaxerxes died of a disease contracted by grief, having been happier as a king than as a father.

III. Possession of the throne was given to Ochus, who, dreading a similar conspiracy, filled the palace with the blood and dead bodies of his kinsmen and the nobility, being touched with compassion neither for consanguinity, nor sex, nor age, lest, apparently, he should be thought less wicked than his brothers that had meditated parricide.

* Book v. c. 11.

† Concerning whom see Ælian. Var. Hist. xii. 1.

Having thus, as it were, purified his kingdom, he made war upon the Cardusii; in the course of which one Codomannus.* followed by applause from all the Persians, engaged with one of the enemy that offered himself for single combat, and, having killed his antagonist, regained the victory for his fellow soldiers, as well as the glory which they had almost lost. For this honourable service Codomannus was made governor of Armenia. Some time after, on the death of Ochus, he was chosen king by the people from regard to his former merits, and, that nothing might be wanting to his royal dignity, honoured with the name of Darius. He maintained a long war, with various success, but with great efforts, against Alexander the Great. But being at last overcome by Alexander, and slain† by his relations, he terminated his life and the kingdom of the Persians together.

BOOK XI.

Commencement of Alexander's reign; he prepares to invade Persia, I. II.—Suppresses the seeds of revolt in Greece; destroys Thebes; banishes the Athenian orators, III. IV.—Sets out for Persia, V.—Battle of the Granicus, VI.—The Gordian knot, VII.—Alexander and his physician Philippus, VIII. Battle of Issus, IX.—Alexander becomes luxurious; takes Tyre, X.—Visits the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, XI.—Refuses peace to Darius, XII.—Battle of Arbela and its consequences, XIII. XIV.—Death of Darius Codomannus, XV.

1. In the army of Philip there were various nations, and after his death different feelings prevailed among them. Some, oppressed with an unjust yoke, were excited with hopes of recovering their liberty; others, from dislike of going to war in a distant country, rejoiced that the expedition was broken off; others grieved that the torch, kindled at the daughter's nuptials, should have been applied to the funeral pile of the father. It was no small fear, too, that possessed his friends on so sudden a change, contemplating at one time Asia that

* *Codomannus quidam.*] Codomannus was not so obscure, that it was necessary to speak of him as *quidam*, for his father was Arsames, and his mother Sisygambis, the brother and sister of king Ochus.—*Wetzel.*

† See Book xi. c. 15.

had been provoked, at another Europe* that was not yet pacified, at another the Illyrians, Thracians, Dardanians, and other barbarous nations, who were of wavering faith and perfidious dispositions, and whom, if they should all rebel at once, it would be utterly impossible to resist.

To all these apprehensions the succession of Alexander was a relief, who, in a public assembly, so effectually soothed and encouraged the people, as to remove all uneasiness from those that were afraid, and to fill every one with favourable expectations. He was now twenty years old; at which age he gave great promise of what he would be, but with such modesty, that it was evident he reserved the further proofs of his ability for the time of action. He granted the Macedonians relief from all burdens, except that of service in war; by which conduct he gained such popularity with his subjects, that they said they had changed only the person, not the virtues, of their king.

II. His first care was about his father's funeral, when he caused all who had been privy to his murder to be put to death at his burial-place. The only one that he spared was Alexander Lyncestes† his brother, preserving in him the man who had first acknowledged his royal authority, for he had been the first to salute him king. His brother Caranus,‡ a rival for the throne, as being the son of his step-mother, he ordered to be slain.

In the beginning of his reign he put down many tribes that were revolting, and quelled some seditions in their birth. Encouraged by his success, he marched with haste into Greece, where, after his father's example, having summoned the states to meet at Corinth, he was appointed general in his room. He then turned his attention to the war with Persia, of which a commencement had been made by Philip; but, as he was engaged in preparations for it, he received intelligence that "the Thebans and Athenians had gone over from his side to that of the Persians, and that the author of the defection was the orator Demosthenes, who had been bribed by

* That is, Greece.

† So called from Lyncestis, a region bordering on Macedonia, the inhabitants of which are called Λυγκήσται by Thucydides. Concerning this Alexander, see Quint. Curt. vii. 1; Diod. Sic. xvii. 32, 80; Arrian. i. 25; Justin, xi. 7; xii. 14.—*Wetzel.*

‡ *Caranum fratrem*, &c.] Only his *half-brother*; he was the son of Cleopatra, ix. 5, 7.

the Persians with a large sum of money, and who had asserted that the whole army of the Macedonians, with their king, had been cut off by the Triballi, producing the author of the information before an assembly of the people, a man who said that he had been wounded in the battle in which the king had fallen. In consequence of which statement," it was added, "the feelings of almost all the cities were changed, and the garrisons of the Macedonians besieged." To repress these commotions, he marched upon Greece with an army in full array, and with such expedition, that they could scarcely believe they saw him of whose approach they were so little aware.

III. In the course of his march he had exhorted the Thessalians to peace, reminding them of the kindnesses* shown them by his father Philip, and of his mother's connexion with them by the family of the Æacidæ.† The Thessalians gladly listening to such an address, he was chosen, like his father, captain-general of the whole nation, and they resigned into his hand all their customs and public revenues. The Athenians, as they had been the first to rebel, were also the first to repent of their rebellion, turning their contempt for their enemy into admiration of him, and extolling the youth of Alexander, which they had previously despised, above the merits of old generals. Sending ambassadors, therefore, they deprecated war; and Alexander, listening to their entreaties, and severely reproving them for their conduct, laid aside hostilities against them. He then directed his march towards Thebes, intending to show similar indulgence, if he found similar penitence. But the Thebans had recourse, not to prayers or intreaties, but to arms, and, being conquered, suffered the severest hardships of the most wretched state of subjugation. It being debated in a council of war whether the city should be destroyed, the Phocians, Platæans, Thespians, and Orchomenians, who were the allies of Alexander and sharers in his victory, dwelt upon the destruction of their own cities and the cruelty of the Thebans, urging against

* See vii. 6.

† The Æacidæ were the descendants of Æacus, the father of Peleus, and grandfather of Achilles, whose son Pyrrhus is said to have been the first of the kings of Epirus, from whom Olympias, Alexander's mother, was descended. — *Wetzel.* She was the daughter of Neoptolemus, king of the Molossi. See vii. 6.

them not only their present, but former, defection to the Persians, to the prejudice of the common liberty of Greece; "on which account," they said, "they were an object of general hatred, as was manifest from the fact that all the Greeks had bound themselves by an oath to demolish Thebes as soon as they had conquered the Persians." They brought forward also the fabulous accounts of their old crimes, with which they had filled every theatre, to make them odious not only for their recent perfidy, but for their ancient infamy.

IV. Cleadas, one of those who had been taken prisoners, being permitted to speak in their behalf, said, that "they had not revolted from the king, whom they understood to be killed, but from the king's heirs; that what had been done in the matter was the fault, not of treachery, but of credulity;* for which, however, they had already suffered severely by the loss of the flower of their soldiery; that there was left them only a multitude of old men and women, equally weak and harmless, but who had been so harassed by contumelies and insults, that they had never endured anything more grievous; and that he did not now intercede for his countrymen, of whom so few survived, but for their unoffending natal soil, and for a city which had given birth, not only to men, but to gods."† He endeavoured to work upon the king, too, from his superstitious regard for Hercules, who had been born at Thebes, and from whom the family of the Æacidæ was descended, and from the reflection that the youth of his father Philip had been spent at Thebes; and he conjured him "to spare a city which adored some of his ancestors, who had been born in it, as gods, and saw others who had been brought up in it, princes of the highest dignity." But resentment was more powerful than entreaty. The city was in consequence demolished, the lands divided among the conquerors, and the prisoners publicly sold, their price being settled not for the profit of those who bought them, but according to the hatred of their enemies.‡ Their fate seemed to the Athenians

* *Credulitatis.*] Tauchnitz's edition has *crudelitatis*, by an error, apparently of the press.

† That is, Hercules and Bacchus.—*Wetzel.*

‡ *Quorum pretium non ex ementium commodo, sed ex inimicorum odio extenditur.*] "The greatness of the price asked for them," says Berneccerus, "was in proportion to the eagerness with which they were bought by their enemies." If any one of the purchasers wished

deserving of pity; and they therefore, though contrary to the king's prohibition, opened their gates for the reception of the exiles. At this proceeding Alexander was so displeased, that when they deprecated war by a second embassy, he forbore from hostilities only on condition that their orators and leaders, through confidence in whom they had so often rebelled, should be delivered up to him. The Athenians preparing to comply, lest they should be compelled to abide a war, the matter ended in this arrangement, that the orators should be retained and the generals banished; when the latter immediately went over to Darius, and formed no inconsiderable addition to the strength of the Persians.

V. When he set out to the Persian war, he put to death all his step-mother's relations* whom Philip had advanced to any high dignity, or appointed to any command. Nor did he spare such of his own kinsmen as seemed qualified to fill the throne, lest any occasion for rebellion should be left in Macedonia during his absence; and of the tributary princes he took such as were distinguished for ability to the war with him, leaving the less able at home for the defence of his dominions. Having then assembled his troops, he put them on shipboard, where, excited with incredible animation at the sight of Asia, he erected altars to the twelve gods to offer prayers for success in the war. He divided all his private property, which he had in Macedonia and the rest of Europe, among his friends, saying, "that for himself Asia was sufficient." Before any ship left the shore, he offered sacrifices, praying for "victory in that war, in which he had been chosen the avenger of Greece so often assailed by the Persians, to whom," he said, "a reign sufficiently long had been granted, a reign that had now reached maturity, and it was time that others, who would conduct themselves better, should take their place." Nor were the anticipations of the army different from those of the prince; for all the soldiers, unmindful of their wives and children, and of the length of the expedition from home, contemplated the Persian gold, and the wealth of the whole east, as already their own prey, thinking neither of the war nor its perils, but of riches only. When they arrived at

to get an old enemy into his power to torture him as a slave, he offered a high price for him.

* Among whom was Attalus. Compare ch. ii. *init.*—*Wetzel.*

the continent of Asia, Alexander first of all threw a dart into the enemy's country, and leaped on the shore in full armour, like one dancing the *tripudium*.* He then proceeded to offer sacrifices, praying that "those countries might not unwillingly receive him as their king." He also sacrificed at Troy, at the tombs of the heroes who had fallen in the Trojan war.

VI. Marching forward in quest of the enemy, he kept the soldiers from ravaging Asia, telling them that "they ought to spare their own property, and not destroy what they came to possess." His army consisted of thirty-two thousand infantry, and four thousand five hundred cavalry, with a hundred and eighty-two ships. Whether, with this small force, it is more wonderful that he conquered the world, or that he dared to attempt its conquest, is difficult to determine. When he selected his troops for so hazardous a warfare, he did not choose robust young men, or men in the flower of their age, but veterans, most of whom had even passed their term of service, and who had fought under his father and his uncles;† so that he might be thought to have chosen, not soldiers, but masters in war. No one was made an officer‡ who was not sixty years of age; so that he who saw the captains assembled at head-quarters,§ would have declared that he saw the senate of some ancient republic. None, on the field of battle, thought of flight, but every one of victory; none trusted in his feet, but every one in his arms.

King Darius, on the other hand, from confidence in his strength, abstained from all artifice in his operations; observ-

* *Tripudianti similis*] The *tripudium* was a sort of dance in which the performers beat the earth with their feet in measured tread. Cicero, de Div. ii. 34, supposes the derivation to be from *terra* and *pavire*: *terripavium*, *terripudium*, *tripudium*. Cicero, indeed, is here speaking of the corn that fell from the beaks of the sacred chickens when they were feeding; and Turnebus and others accordingly suppose that his derivation is confined to that signification of the word, and that the dance is derived from *ter* and *pes*; agreeably to Horace's *Gaudet invisam pepulisse fossor ter pede terram*, Od. iii. 18, 15, and Ovid's *Et viridem celeri ter pede pulsat humum*, Fast. vi. 329. Compare Lucret. v. 1393, *seqq.*

† Under Alexander and Perdiccas against the Illyrians.—*Wetzel.*

‡ *Ordines duxit*] A phrase borrowed from the military affairs of the Romans, among whom *ordines ducere* meant "to be a centurion."

§ *Principia castrorum.*] See note on Florus, iii. 10, Bohn's Classical Library.

ing that "clandestine measures were fit only for a stolen victory;" he did not attempt to repel the enemy from his frontiers, but admitted them into the heart of his kingdom, thinking it more honourable to drive war out of his kingdom than not to give it entrance. The first engagement, in consequence, was fought on the plains of Adrastia.* The Persian army consisted of six hundred thousand men, who were conquered not less by the valour of the Macedonians than by the conduct of Alexander, and took to flight. The slaughter among the Persians was great. Of the army of Alexander there fell only nine foot-soldiers, and a hundred and twenty horse, whom the king buried sumptuously as an encouragement to the rest, honouring them also with equestrian statues, and granting privileges to their relatives. After this victory the greater part of Asia came over to his side. He had also several encounters with Darius's lieutenants, whom he conquered, not so much by his arms, as by the terror of his name.

VII. During the course of these proceedings, he was acquainted, on the information of a certain prisoner, that a conspiracy was forming against him by Alexander Lyncestes the son-in-law of Antipater, who had been made governor of Macedonia. Fearing, therefore, that, if he were put to death, some disturbance might arise in Macedonia, he only kept him in prison.†

He soon after marched to a city called Gordium, which is situated between the Greater and Lesser Phrygia, and which he earnestly desired to take, not so much for the sake of plunder, as because he had heard that in that city, in the temple of Jupiter, was deposited the yoke of Gordius's car; the knot of which, if any one should loose, the oracles of old had predicted that he should rule all Asia. The cause and origin of the matter was as follows. When Gordius was ploughing in these parts, with oxen that he had hired,‡ birds of every kind began to fly about him. Going to consult the augurs of the next town on the occurrence, he met at the

* *Campis Adrastiæ.*] Through which flows the river Granicus, from which the battle is generally named.

† He was, however, afterwards put to death. See xii. 14, *init.*

‡ *Bubus conductis.*] It is specified that they were hired, to denote his poverty.

gate a virgin of remarkable beauty, and asked her "which of the augurs he had best consult." When she, having heard his reason for consulting them, and knowing something of the art from the instruction of her parents, replied, that "a kingdom was portended to him," and offered to become his wife and the sharer of his expectations. So fair a match seemed the chief felicity of a throne. After his marriage a civil war arose among the Phrygians; and when they consulted the oracles how their discord might be terminated, the oracles replied that "a king was required to settle their disputes." Inquiring a second time as to the person of the king, they were directed to regard him as their king whom they should first observe, on their return, going to the temple of Jupiter on a car. The person who presented himself to them was Gordius, and they at once saluted him king. He dedicated the car, in which he was riding when the throne was offered him, "to kingly majesty," and it was placed in the temple of Jupiter. After him reigned his son Midas, who, having been instructed by Orpheus in sacred rites, filled all Phrygia with ceremonies of religion, by which he was better protected, during his whole life, than by arms. Alexander, having taken the city, and gone to the temple of Jupiter, requested to see the yoke of Gordius's car, and, when it was shown him, not being able to find the ends of the cords, which were hidden within the knots, he put a forced interpretation on the oracle, and cut the cords with his sword; and thus, when the involutions were opened out, discovered the ends concealed in them.

VIII. While he was thus engaged, intelligence was brought him that Darius was approaching with a vast army. Fearing the defiles, he crossed Mount Taurus with the utmost expedition, advancing, in one of his forced marches, five hundred stadia.* Arriving at Tarsus, and being charmed with the pleasantness of the river Cydnus, which flows through the midst of the city, he threw off his armour, and, covered as he was with dust and sweat, plunged himself into the water, which was then excessively cold; when, on a sudden, such a numbness seized his nerves, that his voice was lost, and not only was there no hope of saving his life, but not even a means of

* About fifty-seven miles and a half, the Greek stadium being equal to 606 feet 9 inches. See Dr. Smith's Classical Dict. *sub voc.*

delaying death could be found. One of his physicians, named Philippus, was the only person that promised a cure; but a letter from Parmenio, which arrived the day before from Cappadocia, rendered him an object of suspicion; for Parmenio, knowing nothing of Alexander's illness, had written to caution him against trusting Philippus, as he had been bribed by Darius with a large sum of money. Alexander, however, thought it better to trust the doubtful faith of the physician, than to perish of certain disease. Taking the cup from Philippus, therefore, he gave him Parmenio's letter to read, and, as he drank, fixed his eyes upon the physician's countenance while he was reading. Seeing him unmoved, he became more cheerful, and recovered his health on the fourth day after.

IX. Meantime Darius advanced to battle with four hundred thousand foot and a hundred thousand horse. So vast a multitude of enemies caused some distrust in Alexander, when he contemplated the smallness of his own army; but he called to mind, at the same time, how much he had already done, and how powerful people he had overthrown, with that very moderate force. His hopes, therefore, prevailing over his apprehensions, and thinking it more hazardous to defer the contest, lest dismay should fall upon his men, he rode round among his troops, and addressed those of each nation in an appropriate speech. He excited the Illyrians and Thracians by describing the enemy's wealth and treasures, and the Greeks by putting them in mind of their wars of old, and their deadly hatred towards the Persians. He reminded the Macedonians at one time of their conquests in Europe, and at another of their desire to subdue Asia, boasting that no troops in the world had been found a match for them, and assuring them that this battle would put an end to their labours and crown their glory. In the course of these proceedings he caused the army occasionally to halt, that they might, by such stoppages, accustom themselves to endure the sight of so great a multitude. Nor was Darius less active in drawing up his forces. Rejecting the services of his officers, he rode himself through the whole army, encouraged the several divisions, and put them in mind of the ancient glory of the Persians, and the perpetual possession of empire vouchsafed them by the immortal gods. Soon after a battle was fought with great spirit.

Both kings were wounded in it. The result remained doubtful until Darius fled, when there ensued a great slaughter of the Persians, of whom there fell sixty-one thousand infantry and ten thousand horse, and forty thousand were taken prisoners. On the side of the Macedonians were killed a hundred and thirty foot and a hundred and fifty horse. In the camp of the Persians was found abundance of gold and other treasures; and among the captives taken in it were the mother and wife, who was also the sister, of Darius, and two of his daughters. When Alexander came to see and console them, they threw themselves, at the sight of his armed attendants, into one another's arms, and uttered mournful cries, as if expecting to die immediately. Afterwards, falling at the feet of Alexander, they begged, not that they might live, but that their death might be delayed till they should bury the body of Darius. Alexander, touched with the respectful concern of the princesses for Darius, assured them that the king was still alive, and removed their apprehensions of death; directing, at the same time, that they should be treated as royal personages, and giving the daughters hopes of husbands suitable to the dignity of their father.

X. As he afterwards contemplated the wealth and display of Darius, he was seized with admiration of such magnificence. Hence it was that he first began to indulge in luxurious and splendid banquets, and fell in love with his captive Barsine for her beauty, by whom he had afterwards a son that he called Hercules. Not forgetting, however, that Darius was still alive, he despatched Parmenio to seize the Persian fleet, and commissioned some others of his friends to secure the cities of Asia, which, on hearing the report of the victory, had immediately submitted to the conqueror, the satraps of Darius surrendering themselves with a vast quantity of treasure. He next marched into Syria, where he was met by several princes of the east with fillets on their heads.* Of these, according to their respective deserts, he received some into alliance; others he deprived of their thrones, and put new kings in their places. Above the rest Abdolonymus, appointed by Alexander king of Sidon, stood pre-eminent; a man whom, when he was living a life of poverty, being accustomed to draw water, and water gardens for hire, Alexander made

* *Cum infulis.*] Denoting that they were suppliants.

a king, setting aside the nobles, lest they should regard his favour as shown to their birth, and not as proceeding from the kindness of the giver.

The city of Tyre sending Alexander, by the hands of a deputation, a golden crown of great value, as a token of congratulation, he received their present kindly, and told them that "he intended to visit Tyre to pay his vows to Hercules." The deputies replying that "he would do that better at Old Tyre,* and in the more ancient temple;" he was so provoked with them, because they evidently deprecated his visit, that he threatened their city with destruction. Bringing up his army, soon after, to the island, he was met with a hostile resistance, the Tyrians, from reliance on Carthage, being not less determined than himself. The example of Dido had stimulated the Tyrians; for that queen, after founding Carthage, had secured the empire over the third part of the world;† and they thought it would be dishonourable if their women should show more courage in acquiring dominion than they in defending their liberty. They removed to Carthage, therefore, such as were unfit for war, and sent at once for assistance, but were, not long afterwards, reduced by treachery.‡

XI. Alexander next got possession of Rhodes and Cilicia§ without an effort. He then went to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, to consult the oracle about the event of his future proceedings, and his own parentage. For his mother Olympias had confessed to her husband Philip, that "she had conceived Alexander, not by him, but by a serpent of extraordinary size." Philip, too, towards the end of his life, had publicly declared that "Alexander was not his son;" and he accordingly divorced Olympias, as having been guilty of adultery. Alexander, therefore, anxious to obtain the honour of divine paternity, and to clear his mother from infamy, instructed the priests, by messengers whom he sent before him, what answers

* *Tyro vetere.*] Which had been besieged for thirteen years, and at last taken by Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 590. The new city of Tyre had been built on an island.—*Wetzel.*

† Not she herself, but her successors, extended their dominion over a great part of Africa.

‡ Or rather, after being besieged seven months, they were forced to surrender. See Diod. Sic. xvii. 40—47; Q. Curt iv. 2—4. Compare also Justin, xviii. 3, *sub fin.*—*Wetzel.*

§ Isaac Vossius conjectures Syria, as Cilicia had been already taken

he wished to receive. The priests, as soon as he entered the temple, saluted him as the son of Ammon. Alexander, pleased with the god's adoption of him, directed that he should be regarded as his son. He then inquired "whether he had taken vengeance on all that had been concerned in the assassination of his father." He was answered that "his father could neither be assassinated, nor could die; but that vengeance for Philip's death had been fully exacted." On putting a third question, he was told that "success in all his wars, and dominion over the world, was granted him." A response was also given by the oracle to his attendants, that "they should reverence Alexander as a god, and not as a king." Hence it was that his haughtiness was so much increased, and a strange arrogance arose in his mind, the agreeableness of demeanour, which he had contracted from the philosophy of the Greeks and the habits of the Macedonians, being entirely laid aside. On his return from the temple of Ammon he founded Alexandria, and desired that that colony of the Macedonians might be considered the metropolis of Egypt.

XII. Darius, having fled to Babylon, entreated Alexander, in a letter, "to give him permission to redeem his prisoners," offering a large sum for their ransom. But Alexander demanded his whole kingdom, and not a sum of money, as the price of their release. Some time after, another letter from Darius was brought to Alexander, in which one of his daughters was offered him in marriage, and a portion of his kingdom. Alexander replied that "what was offered was his own," and desired him "to come to him as a suppliant, and to leave the disposal of his kingdom to his conqueror." All hopes of peace being thus lost, Darius resumed hostilities, and proceeded to meet Alexander with four hundred thousand infantry and a hundred thousand cavalry. On his march he was informed that "his wife had died of a miscarriage, and that Alexander had mourned for her death, and attended her funeral; acting, in that respect, not from love, but merely from kindness of feeling; as Darius's wife had been visited by him but once, though he had often gone to console his mother and her little daughters."

Darius now considered himself indeed overcome, since, after losing so many battles, he was surpassed by his enemy even in kindnesses, and declared that it was a consolation to him.

since he could not conquer, to be conquered by such an enemy. He therefore wrote a third letter to Alexander, thanking him for not having acted as an enemy towards his family, and offering him a larger portion of his kingdom, even as far as the river Euphrates, another of his daughters in marriage, and thirty thousand talents for the other prisoners. To this Alexander replied, that "thanks were needless from an enemy; that nothing had been done by him to flatter Darius, or to gain the means of mollifying him, with a view either to the doubtful results of war, or to conditions of peace; but that he had acted from a certain greatness of mind, by which he had learned to fight against the forces of his enemies, not to take advantage of their misfortunes;" and he promised at the same time, that "he would comply with the wishes of Darius, if he would be content to be second to him, and not his equal; but that the universe could not be governed by two suns, nor could the earth with safety have two sovereigns; and that he must consequently either prepare to surrender on that day, or to fight on the next, and must promise himself no better success than he had already experienced."

XIII. On the next day they drew up their armies; when, on a sudden, before they came to battle, a deep sleep fell on Alexander, who was wearied with making arrangements. Nothing but the presence of the king being wanting, in order to commence the engagement, he was awakened, though with difficulty, by Parmenio, and as those about him asked the reason of his sleeping in the midst of danger, when he was sparing of sleep even in time of security, he answered that "he had been relieved from great concern, and that his repose was occasioned by sudden freedom from apprehension, since he should now engage with the forces of Darius in a body; whereas he had dreaded, if the Persians should divide their army, that the war would be greatly protracted." Before the battle commenced, each army was an object of admiration to its antagonists. The Macedonians admired the host of men opposed to them, their stature, and the beauty of their armour. The Persians were amazed that so many thousands of their countrymen had been defeated by so small a force. Nor did the kings forbear to ride round among their troops. Darius told his men, that "if a division of the enemy were

made, scarcely one man would fall to ten* of his own armed followers." Alexander exhorted the Macedonians "not to be alarmed at the numbers of the enemy, their stature, or the strangeness of their complexion." He bade them remember only that "they were now fighting for the third time with the same adversaries; and not to imagine that they had been rendered braver by defeat, as they would bring into the field with them the sad recollection of former disasters, and of the blood shed in the two previous engagements;" adding, that "Darius had the greater number of human beings, but he himself the greater number of men." He admonished them "to despise an army glittering with gold and silver, in which they would find more spoil than danger, since victory was to be gained, not by splendour of arms, but by the power of the sword."

XIV. Soon after, the battle was begun. The Macedonians rushed upon the swords presented to them, with contempt for an enemy whom they had so often defeated. The Persians, on the other hand, were desirous to die rather than be conquered. Seldom has there been so much blood shed in a battle. Darius, when he saw his army repulsed, wished himself to die, but was compelled by his officers to flee. Some advising that the bridge over the Cydnus should be broken down, in order to stop the advance of the enemy, he said that "he would not provide for his safety in such a way as to expose so many thousands of his followers to the foe; and that the road which was open to himself, ought also to be open to others." Alexander, meanwhile, made the most hazardous efforts; where he saw the enemy thickest, and fighting most desperately, there he always threw himself, desiring that the peril should be his, and not his soldiers'. By this battle he gained the dominion over Asia, in the fifth year after his accession to the throne. His victory was so decisive, that after it none ventured to rebel against him; and the Persians, after a supremacy of so many years, patiently

* Very similar to what is said by Agamemnon, Il. ii., of the comparative numbers of the Greeks and Trojans:

> So small their numbers, that if wars were ceas'd,
> And Greece triumphant held a gen'ral feast,
> All rank'd by tens; whole decads, when they dine,
> Must want a Trojan slave to pour the wine.—*Pope.*

submitted to the yoke of servitude. After rewarding his soldiers, and allowing them to recruit their strength for thirty-four days, he took account of the spoil. He afterwards found forty thousand talents in the city of Susa. Next he took Persepolis, the metropolis of the kingdom of Persia, a city which had been eminent for many years, and which was filled with the spoils of the world, as was now first seen at its destruction. In the course of these proceedings, about eight hundred Greeks met Alexander, men who had been punished in captivity by mutilation of their bodies, and who entreated that, "as he had delivered Greece, he would also release them from the cruelty of their enemies." Permission was given to them to go home, but they preferred receiving portions of land in Persia, lest, instead of causing joy to their parents by their return, they should merely shock them by the horrid spectacle which they presented.

XV. Meanwhile, to gain the favour of the conqueror, Darius was confined in golden fetters* and chains in a village of the Parthians named Thara; the immortal gods, I suppose, ordaining that the empire of the Persians should have its termination in the country of those who were to succeed them in dominion.† Alexander, hastening his march, arrived there on the following day, when he found that Darius had been conveyed from the place in the night, in a covered vehicle. Directing his army to follow him, he pursued the flying prince with six thousand cavalry. On his march he had several severe encounters, and advanced many miles without finding any traces of Darius. But while he was allowing the horses time to rest, one of the soldiers, going to a neighbouring spring, found Darius in the vehicle, wounded in several places, but still alive. One of the Persian captives being brought forward, the dying prince, knowing from his voice that he was his countryman, said that "he had at least this comfort in his present sufferings, that he should speak to one who could understand him, and that he should not utter his last words in vain." He then desired that the following message should be given to Alexander: that "he died without having done him any acts of kindness, but a debtor to him

* See note on vi. 11.

† The Parthians, revolting from the Syrians, founded a new empire, B.C. 255. See xli. 4.—*Wetzel.*

for the greatest, since he had found his feelings towards his mother and children to be those of a prince, not of a foe; that he had been more happy in his enemy than in his relations, for by his enemy life had been granted to his mother and children, but taken from himself by his relatives, to whom he had given both life and kingdoms; and that such a requital must therefore be made them as his conqueror should please. For himself, that he made the only return to Alexander which he could at the point of death, by praying to the gods above and below, and the powers that protected kings, that the empire of the world might fall to his lot. That he desired the favour of a decent rather than a magnificent funeral; and, as to avenging his death, it was not his cause alone that was concerned, but precedent, and the common cause of all kings, which it would be both dishonourable and dangerous for him to neglect; since, in regard to vengeance, the interests of justice were affected, and, in regard to precedent, those of the general safety. To this effect he gave him his right hand, as the only pledge of a king's faith to be conveyed to Alexander." Then, stretching out his hand, he expired.

When this intelligence was communicated to Alexander, he went to see the body of the dead monarch, and contemplated with tears a death so unsuitable to his dignity. He also directed his corpse to be buried as that of a king, and his relics to be conveyed to the sepulchres of his ancestors.

BOOK XII.

Greece resumes hostilities in Alexander's absence, I.—Expedition of Alexander, king of Epirus, into Italy; Scythia invaded, II.—Alexander's luxury; Thalestris; Alexander assumes the Persian dress, III.—Effects of his conduct on his troops; his mode of conciliating them, IV.—Parmenio and Philotas put to death; further conquests of Alexander; Bessus delivered up to justice, V.—Death of Clitus; Alexander's grief, VI.—Alexander's pride; his march to the east; his ardour to surpass Bacchus and Hercules, VII.—Overcomes Porus, VIII.—His danger among the Sygambri; reaches the mouth of the Indus; marries Statira, IX. X.—His munificence; he suppresses a mutiny; death of Hephæstion, XI. XII.—Alexander poisoned by the contrivance of Antipater, XIII. XIV.—His death, XV.—His eulogy, XVI.

ALEXANDER interred the soldiers, whom he had lost in the pursuit of Darius, at great expense, and distributed thir-

teen thousand talents among the rest that attended him in that expedition. Of the horses, the greater part were killed by the heat; and those that survived were rendered unfit for service. All the treasure, amounting to a hundred and ninety thousand talents, was conveyed to Ecbatana, and Parmenio was entrusted with the charge of it. In the midst of these proceedings, letters from Antipater in Macedonia were brought to Alexander, in which the war of Agis king of Sparta in Greece, that of Alexander king of Epirus in Italy, and that of Zopyrion his own lieutenant-general in Scythia, were communicated. At this news he was affected with various emotions, but felt more joy at learning the deaths of two rival kings, than sorrow at the loss of Zopyrion and his army.

After the departure of Alexander from Macedonia, almost all Greece, as if to take advantage of the opportunity for recovering their liberty, had risen in arms, yielding, in that respect, to the influence of the Lacedæmonians, who alone had rejected peace from Philip and Alexander, and had scorned the terms on which it was offered. The leader in this insurrection was Agis, king of the Lacedæmonians, but Antipater, assembling an army, suppressed the commotion in its infancy. The slaughter, however, was great on both sides; for king Agis, when he saw his men taking to flight, dismissed his guards, and, that he might seem inferior to Alexander in fortune only, not in valour, made such a havoc among the enemy, that he sometimes drove whole troops before him. At last, overpowered by numbers, he fell superior to all in glory.

II. Alexander, too, the king of Epirus, having been invited into Italy by the Tarentines, who desired his assistance against the Bruttians, had gone thither as eagerly as if, in a division of the world, the east had fallen by lot to Alexander, the son of his sister Olympias, and the west to himself, and as if he was likely to have not less to do in Italy, Africa, and Sicily, than Alexander in Asia and Persia. To this was added, that as the oracle at Delphi had forewarned Alexander the Great against treachery in Macedonia, so that of Jupiter at Dodona had admonished the other Alexander "to beware of the city Pandosia and the river Acheron;" and as both these were in Epirus, and he was ignorant that they were also to be found in Italy, he had the more eagerly fixed on this foreign expedition, in hope of escaping the dangers signified in the warn

ing. On his arrival in Italy, his first contest was with the Apulians; but when he learned the destiny appointed to their city, he soon concluded a peace and alliance with their king. The chief city of the Apulians, at that time, was Brundusium, which a party of Ætolians that followed Diomede, a leader rendered famous and honourable by his achievements at Troy, had founded; but being expelled by the Apulians, and having recourse to some oracle, they received for answer that "they would possess for ever the place which they had sought to recover." On this ground they demanded of the Apulians that their city should be restored, threatening them with war unless the demand should be complied with. But the oracle becoming known to the Apulians, they put the ambassadors to death, and buried them in the city, that they might have a perpetual abode there; and, having thus given the oracle a fulfilment, they long kept possession of the city. Alexander, hearing of this occurrence, and having great respect for the oracles of antiquity, made an end of hostilities with the Apulians.

He engaged also in war with the Bruttians and Lucanians, and captured several cities; and he formed treaties and alliances with the Metapontines, Pediculans, and Romans. But the Bruttians and Lucanians, having collected reinforcements from their neighbours, renewed the war with fresh vigour; when the king was slain near the city Pandosia and the river Acheron, not knowing the name of the fatal place before he fell in it, and understanding, as he was expiring, that the death, for fear of which he had fled from his country, had not been to be dreaded in his country. The Thurians ransomed his body at the public expense, and buried it.

During these events in Italy, Zopyrion, who had been left governor of Pontus by Alexander the Great, thinking that, if he did not attempt something, he should be stigmatized as indolent, collected a force of thirty thousand men, and made war upon the Scythians. But being cut off, with his whole army, he paid the penalty for a rash attack upon an innocent people.

III. When these occurrences were reported to Alexander, who was then in Parthia, he assumed a show of grief on account of his relationship to Alexander, and caused the army to mourn for three days. But while all his men were expecting, as if the war had been ended, to return to their country, and

were embracing in imagination their wives and children, he called a general assembly of the troops; in which he told them that "nothing had been done in so many glorious battles, if the barbarians more to the eastward should be left unmolested; that he had not sought the body, but the throne, of Darius; and that those who had revolted from his government must be punished." Having, by this speech, revived the spirits of his soldiers for new exertions, he subdued Hyrcania and the Mardians. Here Thalestris, or Minithya, queen of the Amazons, came to meet him, having travelled for twenty-five days, with three hundred women in her train, and through extremely populous nations, in order to have issue by him. Her appearance and arrival was a cause of astonishment to all, both from her dress, which was an unusual one for women, and from the object of her visit. To gratify her, thirteen days' rest was allowed by the king; and when she thought herself pregnant, she took her leave.

Soon after, Alexander assumed the attire of the Persian monarchs, as well as the diadem, which was unknown to the kings of Macedonia, as if he gave himself up to the customs of those whom he had conquered. And lest such innovations should be viewed with dislike, if adopted by himself alone, he desired his friends also to wear the long robe of gold and purple. That he might imitate the luxury too, as well as the dress of the Persians, he spent his nights among troops of the king's concubines of eminent beauty and birth. To these extravagances he added vast magnificence in fea ting; and lest his entertainments should seem jejune and parsimonious,* he accompanied his banquets, according to the ostentation of the eastern monarchs, with games; being utterly unmindful that power is accustomed to be lost, not gained, by such practices.

IV. During the course of these proceedings, there arose throughout the camp a general indignation that he had so degenerated from his father Philip as to abjure the very name of his country, and to adopt the manners of the Persians,

* *Luxuria destructa.*] Grævius, not knowing what to make of *destructa*, conjectures *restricta*. Wetzel explains the words thus: "Lest, as the empire of the Persians was *destroyed*, the luxury of the Persians should seem also to be *destroyed*." I incline to think with Grævius that the word is corrupt.

whom, from the effect of such manners, he had overcome. But that he might not appear to be the only person who yielded to the vices of those whom he had conquered in the field, he permitted his soldiers also, if they had formed a connexion with any of the female captives, to marry them; thinking that they would feel less desire to return to their country, when they had some appearance of a house and home in the camp, and that the fatigues of war would be relieved by the agreeable society of their wives. He saw, too, that Macedonia would be less drained to supply the army, if the sons, as recruits, should succeed their veteran fathers, and serve within the ramparts within which they were born, and would be likely to show more courage, if they passed, not only their earliest days of service, but also their infancy, in the camp. This custom was also continued under Alexander's successors. Maintenance was provided for the boys, and arms and horses were given them when they grew up; and rewards were assigned to the fathers in proportion to the number of their children. If the fathers of any of them were killed, the orphans notwithstanding received their father's pay; and their childhood was a sort of military service in various expeditions. Inured from their earliest years to toils and dangers, they formed an invincible army; they looked upon their camp as their country, and upon a battle as a prelude to victory.

V. Alexander, meanwhile, began to show a passionate temper towards those about him, not with a princely severity, but with the vindictiveness of an enemy. What most incensed him was, that reflections were cast upon him in the common talk of the soldiers, for having cast off the customs of his father Philip and of his country. For this offence, Parmenio, an old man, next to the king in rank, and his son Philotas, were put to death; an examination by torture having been previously held on both of them. At this instance of cruelty, all the soldiers, throughout the camp, began to express their displeasure, being concerned for the fate of the innocent old general and his son, and saying, at times, that "they must expect nothing better for themselves." These murmurs coming to the knowledge of Alexander, he, fearing that such reports would be carried to Macedonia, and that the glory of his victories would be sullied by the stain of

cruelty, pretended that he was going to send home some of his friends to give an account of his successes. He exhorted his soldiers to write to their relatives, as they would now have fewer opportunities on account of the scene of warfare being further from home. The packets of letters, as they were given in, he commanded to be privately brought to him, and having learned from them what every one thought of him, he put all those, who had given unfavourable opinions of his conduct, into one regiment, with an intention either to destroy them, or to distribute them in colonies in the most distant parts of the earth.

He then subdued the Drancæ, the Evergetæ, the Parymæ, the Parapammeni, the Adaspii, and other nations that dwelt at the foot of Mount Caucasus.

In the meantime Bessus, one of the former friends of Darius, who had not only betrayed his sovereign, but put him to death, was brought to Alexander in chains, who, that he might be punished for his treachery, delivered him to the brother of Darius to be tortured, considering not so much that Darius had been his enemy, as that he had been the friend of the man by whom he had been killed.

That he might leave his name to these parts, he founded the city of Alexandria on the river Tanais, completing a wall six miles in circuit in seventeen days, and transplanting into it the inhabitants of three cities that had been built by Cyrus. He also built twelve cities in the territories of the Bactrians and Sogdians, and distributed among them such of the soldiers as he had found mutinous.

VI. After these proceedings, he invited his friends on some particular day, to a banquet, where mention being made, when they were intoxicated, of the great things achieved by Philip, he began to prefer himself to his father, and to extol the vastness of his own exploits to the skies, the greater part of the company agreeing with him; and when Clitus, one of the older guests, trusting to his hold on the king's friendship, in which he held the principal place, defended the memory of Philip, and praised his acts, he so provoked Alexander, that he snatched a weapon from one of the guards, and slew him with it in the midst of the guests. Exulting at the murder, too, he scoffed at the dead man for his defence of Philip, and his commendation of his mode of warfare But when his mind, satiated with the bloodshed, grew calm, and reflection

took the place of passion, he began, as he contemplated at one time the character of the dead, and at another the occasion of his death, to feel the deepest sorrow for the deed; grieving that he had listened to his father's praises with more anger than he ought to have listened to insults on his memory, and that an old and blameless friend had been slain by him at a feast and carousal. Driven, therefore, to repentance, with the same vehemence with which he had before been impelled to resentment, he determined to die. Bursting into tears, he embraced the dead man, laid his hand on his wounds, and confessed his madness to him as if he could hear; then, snatching up a weapon, he pointed it against his breast, and would have committed suicide, had not his friends interposed. His resolution to die continued even for several days after; for to his other causes of sorrow was added the remembrance of his nurse, the sister of Clitus, on whose account, though she was far away, he was greatly ashamed of his conduct, lamenting that so base a return should be made her for rearing him: and that, in the maturity of life and conquest, he should have requited her, in whose arms he had spent his infancy, with bloodshed instead of kindness. He reflected, too, what remarks and odium he must have occasioned, as well in his own army as among the conquered nations; what fear and dislike of himself among his other friends; and how dismal and sad he had rendered his entertainment, appearing not less to be dreaded at a feast than when armed in the field of battle. Parmenio and Philotas, his cousin Amyntas, his murdered stepmother and brothers, with Attalus, Eurylochus, Pausanias, and other slaughtered nobles of Macedonia, presented themselves to his imagination. He in consequence persisted in abstaining from food for four days, until he was drawn from his purpose by the prayers of the whole army, who conjured him "not to lament the death of one, so far as to ruin them all; since, after bringing them into the remotest part of the barbarians' country, he would leave them amidst hostile nations exasperated by war." The entreaties of Callisthenes the philosopher had great effect upon him, a man who was intimate with him from having been his fellow-student under Aristotle. and who had been subsequently sent for, by the king himself, to record his acts for the perusal of posterity.

VII. Soon after, he gave orders that he should not be approached with mere salutation, but with adoration;* a point of Persian pride to which he had hesitated to advance at first, lest the assumption of everything at once should excite too strong a feeling against him. Among those who refused to obey, the most resolute was Callisthenes; but his opposition proved fatal, both to himself and to several other eminent Macedonians, who were all put to death on the pretence that they were engaged in a conspiracy. The custom of saluting their king was however retained by the Macedonians, adoration being set aside.†

He then marched into India, that he might have his empire bounded by the ocean, and the extreme parts of the east. That the equipments of his army might be suitable to the glory of the expedition, he mounted the trappings of the horses, and the arms of the soldiers, with silver, and called a body of his men, from having silver shields, Argyraspides.‡ On arriving at the city Nysa, he ordered the inhabitants, who, from their confidence in being protected by their worship of Bacchus, the founder of their city, made no resistance, to be spared; rejoicing that he had not only followed the god's military achievements, but also his footsteps. He then led his army to view the sacred mountain, which was clad with the adornments of nature, the vine and ivy, as beautifully as if it had been tilled by art, and decked by the labour of the cultivator. But the troops, as they approached the hill, were impelled, by a sudden commotion in their minds, to utter devout cries to the god, and ran frantically up and down, to the amazement of the king, but without suffering any harm; whence he might understand that, by sparing the town, he had not so much secured its safety, as that of his own army.

He next proceeded to the Dædalian mountains,§ and the dominions of Queen Cleophis; who, after surrendering to Alexander, recovered her throne from him by admitting him

* That is, with a kind of prostration. See Corn. Nep. Con. c. 3; Justin, vi. 2. Προσκυνέιν τὸν βασιλέα προσπίπτοντας, Herod. vii. 136; see also i. 134. On the question about paying adoration to Alexander, see Arrian, iv. 11.

† *Explosâ.*] Scheffer conjectures *expulsâ*, which Lemaire approves.

‡ From ἄργυρος, silver, and ἀσπίς, a shield.

§ *Montes Dædalos.*] Quintus Curtius, viii. 10, has *Regio quæ Dædala vocatur;* but there is no allusion to the name in any other author.

to her bed; saving by her charms what she had been unable to secure by her valour. A son whom she had by him, she named Alexander; and he afterwards sat upon the throne of the Indians. Queen Cleophis, for allowing her chastity to be violated, was thenceforward called by the Indians the royal harlot.

Having arrived, in his course through India, at a rock of extraordinary ruggedness and altitude, to which many people had fled for refuge, he learned that Hercules had been hindered from taking it by an earthquake. Seized with a desire, in consequence, to go beyond the exploits of Hercules, he made himself master of the rock with the utmost exertion and peril, and received submission from all the tribes of that part of the country.

VIII. There was one of the kings of India, named Porus, equally distinguished for strength of body and vigour of mind, who, hearing of the fame of Alexander, had been for some time before preparing for war against his arrival. Coming to battle with him, accordingly, he directed his soldiers to attack the rest of the Macedonians, but desired that their king should be reserved as an antagonist for himself. Nor did Alexander decline the contest; but his horse being wounded in the first shock, he fell headlong to the ground, and was saved by his guards gathering round him. Porus, covered with a number of wounds, was made prisoner, and was so grieved at being defeated, that when his life was granted him by the enemy, he would neither take food nor suffer his wounds to be dressed, and was scarcely at last prevailed upon to consent to live. Alexander, from respect to his valour, sent him back in safety to his kingdom. Here he founded two cities, one called Nicæa, and the other, from the name of his horse, Bucephale.

He then overthrew the Adrestæ, the Gesteani, the Presidæ, and the Gangaridæ, with great slaughter among their troops. When he had reached the Cuphites, where the enemy awaited him with two thousand cavalry, the whole army, wearied not less with the number of their victories than with their toils in the field, besought him with tears that "he would at length make an end of war, and think on his country and his return; considering the years of his soldiers, whose remainder of life would scarcely suffice for their journey home." One pointed

to his hoary hairs, another to his wounds, another to his body worn out with an age, another to his person disfigured with scars,* saying "that they were the only men who had endured unintermitted service under two kings, Philip and Alexander;" and conjuring him in conclusion that "he should restore their remains at least to the sepulchres of their fathers, since they failed not in zeal but in age; and that, if he would not spare his soldiers, he should yet spare himself, and not wear out his good fortune by pressing it too far." Moved with these reasonable supplications, he ordered a camp to be formed, as if to mark the termination of his conquests, of greater size than usual, by the works of which the enemy might be astonished, and an admiration of himself be left to posterity. No task did the soldiers execute with more alacrity. After great slaughter of the enemy, they returned to this camp with mutual congratulations.

IX. From hence Alexander proceeded to the river Acesines, and sailed down it into the ocean. In his way he received the submission of the Hiacensanæ † and the Silei, whom Hercules settled; next he sailed to the Ambri and Sigambri,‡ who met him with eighty thousand foot and sixty thousand horse. Gaining the victory in a battle, he led his army against their city; and supposing, as he looked from the wall, which he had been the first to mount, that the place was destitute of defenders, he leaped down into the area of the city without a single attendant. The enemy, seeing him alone, gathered round upon him with a shout, to try if by taking one life they could put an end to war in the world, and exact vengeance for the defeats of so many nations. Alexander withstood them with equal spirit, fighting alone against thousands. It is, indeed, incredible, that neither the multitude of enemies, nor the thick showers of javelins, nor the loud outcries of his assailants, could in the least alarm him; and that he alone should have spread havoc and terror among so many thousands. But seeing that he was likely to be overpowered by numbers,

* *Cicatricibus exhausta.*] *Exhausta* cannot surely have been Justin's word. Faber conjectures *distincta.*

† Bongarsius conjectures *Acesinæ*, as taking their name from the neighbouring river.

‡ For *Ambros et Sigambros*, Fabricius, from Arrian, and Curtius, ix. 4, proposes *Mallos et Oxydracas*, which some editors have adopted.

he fixed himself against the trunk of a tree that stood by the wall, by the help of which he long resisted a host, when, his danger being known, his friends leaped down to him, many of whom were slain, and the battle continued doubtful, till the whole army, making a breach in the wall, came to his aid. Being wounded in the struggle by an arrow, and likely to faint through loss of blood, he placed his knee on the ground, and fought till he had killed the man by whom he had been wounded. The curing of the wound caused him more suffering than the wound itself.

X. Being at length restored to health, after there had been great despair of it, he sent Polysperchon with the army to Babylon, while he himself, with a select band of followers, went on board the fleet, and sailed along the shore of the ocean. When he came to the city of king Ambiger, the inhabitants, hearing that he was invincible to the sword, tipped their arrows with poison; and thus repulsing the enemy from their walls with wounds doubly fatal, they killed a great number of them. Ptolemy, with many others, being wounded, and seeming to be at the point of death, a herb was shown to the king in a dream as a cure for poison; this being taken in a drink, he was freed from danger, and the greater part of the army were saved by the same remedy. Taking the city afterwards by storm, and returning to the fleet, he made oblations to the ocean, praying for a prosperous return to his country; and having thus, as it were, driven his chariot round the goal, and fixed the boundaries of his empire, as far as either the deserts would suffer him to proceed by land, or the sea was navigable, he sailed up the mouth of the river Indus with the tide. There he built the city Barce, in memory of the exploits achieved by him, and erected altars, leaving one of his friends as governor of the Indians on the coast. As he intended to march from thence by land, and as the parts in the middle of his route were said to be dry, he ordered wells to be made in suitable places, from which he got abundance of fresh water, and so returned to Babylon. Hither many of the conquered people sent deputations to accuse their governors, whom Alexander, without any regard to his former friendship for them, commanded to be put to death in the sight of the deputies.

Soon after he married Statira, the daughter of king Darius; but, at the same time, he gave the noblest virgins, chosen from

all the conquered natives, as wives to the chiefs of the Macedonians; in order that the impropriety of the king's conduct* might be rendered less glaring by the practice becoming general.

XI. He next assembled the army, and promised that "he would pay all their debts at his own expense," so that they might carry home their spoil and prizes undiminished. This munificence was highly prized, not only for the sum given, but for the character of the gift, and was received not more thankfully by the debtors than by the creditors, exaction being as troublesome to the one as payment to the other. Twenty thousand talents were expended in this largess. Discharging some of the veterans, he recruited the army with younger soldiers. But those that were retained, murmuring at the discharge of the older men, demanded that they themselves should be released likewise; desiring that "their years, not of life, but of service, should be counted," and thinking it reasonable that "those who had been enlisted in the service together, should together be set free from the service." Nor did they address the king only with entreaties, but also with reproaches, bidding him "carry on his wars alone, with the aid of his father Ammon, since he looked with disdain on his soldiers." Alexander, on the other hand, sometimes upbraided his men, and sometimes charged them in gentle terms, "not to tarnish their glorious services by mutiny." At last, when he could produce no effect by words, he leaped unarmed from his tribunal among the armed multitude, to lay hands on the authors of the mutiny; and not a man daring to oppose him, he led thirteen of them, whom he had seized with his own hand, to punishment. Such submission to death did the fear of their king produce in the men; or such courage in inflicting punishment had his knowledge of military discipline given the king.

XII. He then addressed himself, in a public speech, to the auxiliary troops of the Persians apart from the Macedonians. He extolled their constant fidelity, as well as to himself as to their former kings; he mentioned the kindnesses which he had shown them, saying that "he had never treated them as

* *Crimen regis*] *Crimen*, in this place, has not the ordinary signification of *crime*, but means simply *opprobrium*, a reproach, dishonour. —*Faber.*

a conquered people, but always as sharers in his successes; that he had gone over to the usages of their nation, not they to those of his; and that he had mingled the conquerors with the conquered by matrimonial connexions. And now," he added, "he would entrust the guardianship of his person, not to the Macedonians only, but also to them." Accordingly, he enrolled a thousand of their young men among his body-guard; and at the same time incorporated into his army a portion of the auxiliaries, trained after the discipline of the Macedonians. At this proceeding the Macedonians were much dissatisfied, exclaiming that "their enemies were put into their places by their king;" and at length they all went to Alexander in a body, beseeching him with tears "to content himself rather with punishing than ill-treating them." By this modest forbearance they produced such an effect upon him, that he released eleven thousand veterans more. Of his own friends, too, were sent away the old men, Polysperchon, Clitus, Gorgias, Polydamas, Amadas, and Antigenes. Of those that were sent home Craterus was appointed leader, and commissioned to take the government of Macedonia in the room of Antipater, whom he sent for, with a body of recruits, to supply the place of Craterus. Pay was allowed to those that went home, as if they had been still in the service. In the course of those proceedings, Hephæstion, one of his friends, died; a man who was a great favourite with Alexander, at first on account of his personal qualities in youth, and afterwards from his servility. Alexander mourned for him longer than became his dignity as a king, built a monument for him that cost twelve thousand talents, and gave orders that he should be worshipped as a god.

XIII. As he was returning to Babylon, from the distant shores of the ocean, he was acquainted that embassies from the Carthaginians, and other states of Africa, as well as from the Spains, Sicily, Gaul, and Sardinia, and some also from Italy, were waiting his arrival at that city. So powerfully had the terror of his name diffused itself through the world, that all nations were ready to bow to him as their destined monarch. When he was hastening to Babylon, therefore, to hold an assembly, as it were, of the states of the world, one of the Magi warned him "not to enter the city," for that the "place would be fatal to him." He accordingly

avoided Babylon, and turned aside to Borsippa, a city on the other side of the Euphrates, that had been for some time uninhabited. Here again he was persuaded by Anaxarchus the philosopher, to slight the predictions of the Magi as fallacious and uncertain; observing that, "if things were fixed by fate, they were unknown to mortals, and, if they were dependent on the course of nature, were unchangeable." Returning, therefore, to Babylon, and allowing himself several days for rest, he renewed, in his usual manner, the entertainments which had been for some time discontinued, resigning himself wholly to mirth, and joining in his cups the night to the day. As he was returning, on one occasion, from a banquet, Medius, a Thessalian, proposing to renew their revelling, invited him and his attendants to his house. Taking up a cup, he suddenly uttered a groan while he was drinking, as if he had been stabbed with a dagger, and being carried half dead from the table, he was excruciated with such torture that he called for a sword to put an end to it, and felt pain at the touch of his attendants as if he were all over wounds. His friends reported that the cause of his disease was excess in drinking, but in reality it was a conspiracy, the infamy of which the power of his successors threw into the shade.

XIV. The author of this conspiracy was Antipater, who, seeing that* his dearest friends were put to death, that Alexander Lyncestes, his son-in-law, was cut off, and that he himself, after his important services in Greece, was not so much liked by the king as envied by him, and was also persecuted with various charges by his mother Olympias; reflecting, too, on the severe penalties inflicted, a few days before, on the governors of the conquered nations, and hence imagining that he was sent for from Macedonia, not to share in the war, but to suffer punishment, secretly, in order to be beforehand with Alexander, furnished his son Cassander with poison, who, with his brothers Philippus and Iollas, was accustomed to attend on the king at table. The strength of this poison was so great, that it could be contained neither in brass, nor iron, nor shell, nor could be conveyed in any other way than in the hoof of a horse. Cassander had been warned

* In the original there is no grammatical construction. Either the text has been mutilated, or Justin commenced his sentence in one way, and proceeded with it in another.

to trust nobody but the Thessalian and his brothers; and hence it was that the banquet was prepared and renewed in the house of the Thessalian. Philippus and Iollas, who used to taste and mix the king's drink, had the poison ready in cold water, which they put into the drink after it had been tasted.

XV. On the fourth day, Alexander, finding that death was inevitable, observed that "he perceived the approach of the fate of his family, for the most of the Æacidæ had died under thirty years of age."* He then pacified the soldiers, who were making a tumult, from suspecting that the king was the victim of a conspiracy, and, after being carried to the highest part of the city, admitted them to his presence, and gave them his right hand to kiss. While they all wept, he not only did not shed a tear, but showed not the least token of sorrow; so that he even comforted some who grieved immoderately, and gave others messages to their parents; and his soul was as undaunted at meeting death, as it had formerly been at meeting an enemy. When the soldiers were gone, he asked his friends that stood about him, "whether they thought they should find a king like him?" All continuing silent, he said that, "although he did not know that, he knew, and could foretel, and almost saw with his eyes, how much blood Macedonia would shed in the disputes that would follow his death, and with what slaughters, and what quantities of gore, she would perform his obsequies." At last he ordered his body to be buried in the temple of Jupiter Ammon. When his friends saw him dying, they asked him "whom he would appoint as the successor to his throne?" He replied, "The most worthy." Such was his nobleness of spirit, that though he left a son named Hercules,† a brother called Aridæus,‡ and his wife Roxane § with child, yet, forgetting his relations, he named only "the most worthy" as his successor; as though it were unlawful for any but a brave man to succeed a brave man, or for the power of so great an empire to be left to any but approved governors. But as if, by this reply, he had

* *Intra trigesimum annum.*] Yet he himself had passed his thirtieth year. However *intra* will not bear any other signification.

† Son of Barsine. See xi. 10; xiii. 2; xiv. 6.

‡ See ix 8, *init.*; xiii. 2; xiv. 5.

§ Daughter of Oxyartes, king of the Bactrians, Diod. Sic. xviii. 3. She afterwards gave birth to Alexander Ægus, Comp. Q. Curt. x. 3, 13; Justin, xiii. 2, 6; xv. 2.

sounded the signal for battle among his friends, or had thrown the apple of discord amongst them, they all rose in emulation against each other, and tried to gain the favour of the army by secretly paying court to the common soldiers. On the sixth day from the commencement of his illness, being unable to speak, he took his ring from his finger, and gave it to Perdiccas; an act which tranquillized the growing dissension among his friends; for though Perdiccas was not expressly named his successor, he seemed intended to be so in Alexander's judgment.

XVI. Alexander, when he died, was thirty-three years and one month old. He was a man endowed with powers of mind far beyond ordinary human capacity. His mother Olympias, the night in which she conceived him, dreamed that she was entwined with a huge serpent; nor was she deceived by her dream; for she certainly bore in her womb a conception superior to mortality; and though her descent from the Æacidæ, a family of the remotest antiquity, and the royal dignity of her father, brother, husband, and indeed of all her ancestors, conferred sufficient splendour upon her, yet by no one's influence was she rendered more illustrious than that of her son. Some omens of his future greatness appeared at his birth. Two eagles sat the whole of the day on which he was born on the top of his father's palace, giving indication of his double empire over Europe and Asia. The very same day, too, his father received the news of two victories, one in the war with the Illyrians, the other in the Olympic games, to which he had sent some four-horse chariots; an omen which portended to the child the conquest of the world. As a boy, he was ably instructed in elementary learning; and, when his boyhood was past, he improved himself, for five years, under his famous instructor Aristotle.* On taking possession of the throne, he gave orders that he should be styled "King of all the earth and of the world;" and he inspired his soldiers with such confidence in him, that, when he was present, they

* *Sub Aristotele doctore inclyto* [*omnium philosophorum*]. The words in brackets, condemned by Faber, Scheffer, and Wetzel, I have omitted in the translation. They are unsatisfactory, both as regards sense and construction; for if we connect them with *doctore*, we make Justin say what was not true; and if with *inclyto*, we give that adjective a government to which it has no right.

feared the arms of no enemy, though they themselves were unarmed. He, in consequence, never engaged with any enemy whom he did not conquer, besieged no city that he did not take, and invaded no nation that he did not subjugate. He was overcome at last, not by the prowess of any enemy, but by a conspiracy of those whom he trusted, and the treachery of his own subjects.

BOOK XIII.

Feelings of the Macedonians on the death of Alexander, I.—Opinions of the generals about a successor, II.—Mutiny among the infantry, III.—Aridæus chosen king; the generals divide the provinces among them, IV.—The Ætolians and Athenians fight for the liberty of Greece; the services of Demosthenes, V.—Perdiccas defeats the Cappadocians; goes to war with Antigonus; conduct of Ptolemy, VI.—Account of Cyrene, VII.—Ptolemy goes to war with Perdiccas; acts of Eumenes, VIII.

I. When Alexander was thus cut off in the flower of his age, and at the height of his successes, a mournful silence prevailed among all people throughout Babylon. But the conquered nations could not give credit to the report of his death, because, as they had believed him to be invincible, they had also conceived that he was immortal, reflecting how frequently he had been snatched from imminent destruction, and how often, when he was given up for lost, he had suddenly presented himself to his soldiers, not only safe, but victorious. As soon, however, as the report of his death was confirmed, all the barbarous nations, whom he had shortly before subdued, lamented for him, not as an enemy, but as a father. The mother, too, of King Darius, who, though she had been reduced, after the death of her son, from the summit of royal dignity to the state of a captive, had, till that day, through the kindness of the conqueror, never felt weary of life, committed suicide when she heard of the death of Alexander; not that she felt more for an enemy* than she had felt for her son, but because she had experienced the attention of a son from him whom she had feared as an enemy. The Macedonians, on the other hand, did not mourn for him as a

* She survived the death of Darius, and killed herself on that of Alexander.

countryman, and a prince of such eminence, but rejoiced at his death as at that of an enemy, execrating his excessive severity and the perpetual hardships of war to which he exposed them. The chiefs, moreover, were looking to sovereignty and offices of command; the common soldiers to the treasury and heaps of gold, as a prize unexpectedly presented to their grasp; the one meditating on the possibility of seizing the throne, the other on the means of securing wealth and plenty; for there were in the treasury fifty thousand talents, while the annual tribute produced thirty thousand. Nor did the friends of Alexander look to the throne without reason; for they were men of such ability and authority, that each of them might have been taken for a king. Such was the personal gracefulness, the commanding stature, and the eminent powers of body and mind, apparent in all of them, that whoever did not know them, would have thought that they had been selected, not from one nation, but from the whole earth. Never before, indeed, did Macedonia, or any other country, abound with such a multitude of distinguished men; whom Philip first, and afterwards Alexander, had selected with such skill, that they seemed to have been chosen, not so much to attend them to war, as to succeed them on the throne. Who then can wonder, that the world was conquered by such officers, when the army of the Macedonians appeared to be commanded, not by generals, but by princes?—men who would never have found antagonists to cope with them, if they had not quarrelled with one another; while Macedonia would have had many Alexanders instead of one, had not Fortune inspired them with mutual emulation for their mutual destruction.

II. But, when Alexander was taken off, their feelings of security were not in proportion to their exultation; for they were all competitors for the same dignity; nor did they fear one another * more than the soldiery, whose licence was less controllable, and whose favour was more uncertain. Their very equality inflamed their discord, no one being so far superior to the rest, that any other would submit to him.

* The text stands thus in Wetzel's and Gronovius's editions: *nec minùs milites invicem se timebant.* Vorstius and Scheffer advocate the other reading, *quàm invicem se*, which, as giving much better sense, I have followed.

They therefore met in the palace under arms to settle the present state of affairs. Perdiccas gave his opinion that "they ought to wait till Roxane was delivered, who was now eight months gone with child by Alexander; and that, if she brought forth a boy, he should be appointed his father's successor." Meleager argued that "their proceedings should not be suspended for the result of an uncertain birth; nor ought they to wait till kings were born, when they might choose from such as were already born; for if they wished for a boy, there was at Pergamus a son of Alexander by Barsine, named Hercules; or, if they would rather have a man, there was then in the camp Aridæus, a brother of Alexander, a person of courteous manners, and acceptable to every body, not only on his own account, but on that of his father Philip. But that Roxane was of Persian origin, and that it was unlawful that kings should be chosen for the Macedonians from the blood of those whose kingdoms they had overthrown; a choice to which Alexander himself would not have consented, who, indeed, when he was dying, made no mention of Roxane's issue." Ptolemy objected to Aridæus as king, "not only on account of the meanness of his mother (he being the son of a courtezan of Larissa), but because of the extraordinary weakness with which he was affected, lest, while he had the name of king, another should exercise the authority;" and said that "it would be better for them to choose from those who were next in merit to the king, and who could govern the provinces and be entrusted with the conduct of wars, than to be subjected to the tyranny of unworthy men under the authority of a king." The opinion of Perdiccas was adopted with the consent of all; and it was resolved to wait for the delivery of Roxane; and, if a boy should be born, they appointed Leonatus, Perdiccas, Craterus, and Antipater, his guardians, to whom they at once took an oath of obedience.

III. When the cavalry had also taken the oath, the infantry, indignant that no share in the deliberation had been granted to them, proclaimed Aridæus, the brother of Alexander, king, chose him guards from their own body, and appointed that he should be called Philip, after the name of his father. These proceedings being reported to the cavalry, they despatched two of their officers, Attalus and Meleager, to quell the excitement; but they, hoping for power for them-

selves by flattering the multitude, neglected their commission, and took part with the soldiers. The insurrection soon gathered strength, when it once began to have a head and regular management. The infantry rushed in a body, under arms, to the palace, with a resolution to cut the cavalry to pieces; but the cavalry, hearing of their approach, retreated in haste from the city, and after pitching their camp, began to threaten the infantry in return. Nor did the animosity of the chiefs, meanwhile, abate. Attalus despatched some of his men to assassinate Perdiccas, the leader of the opposite party, but, as he was armed, the assassins durst not go near him, though he freely invited them to approach; and such was the resolution of Perdiccas, that he went of his own accord to the infantry, and, summoning them to an assembly, represented to them the atrocity of their conduct; admonishing them "to consider against whom they had taken arms; that they were not Persians, but Macedonians; not enemies, but their own countrymen; most of them their kinsmen, but certainly all of them their fellow soldiers, sharers of the same camp and of the same dangers; that they would present a striking spectacle to their enemies, who would rejoice at the mutual slaughter of those by whose arms they grieved at having been conquered; and that they would atone with their own blood to the manes of their slaughtered adversaries."

IV. Perdiccas having enforced these arguments with eloquence peculiar to himself, produced such an effect upon the infantry, that his admonitions were obeyed, and he was unanimously chosen general. The cavalry, soon after, being reconciled with the infantry, agreed to have Aridæus for their king. A portion of the empire was reserved for Alexander's son, if a son should be born. These proceedings they conducted with the body of Alexander placed in the midst of them, that his majesty might be witness to their resolutions. Such an arrangement being made, Antipater was appointed governor of Macedonia and Greece; the charge of the royal treasure was given to Craterus; the management of the camp, the army, and the war, to Meleager and Perdiccas; and king Aridæus was commissioned to convey the body of Alexander to the temple of Jupiter Ammon. Perdiccas, who was still enraged at the authors of the late disturbance, suddenly gave notice, without the knowledge of his colleague, that there

would be a lustration of the camp on the following day on account of the king's death. Having drawn up the troops under arms in the field, he, with the general consent, gave orders, as he passed along, that the offenders, selected from each company, should be secretly given up to punishment. On his return, he divided the provinces among the chief men, in order both to remove his rivals out of the way, and to make the gift of a prefectship appear a favour from himself. In the first place Egypt, with part of Africa and Arabia, fell by lot to Ptolemy, whom Alexander, for his merit, had raised from the condition of a common soldier; and Cleomenes, who had built Alexandria,* was directed to put the province into his hands. Laomedon of Mitylene was allotted Syria, which bordered on Ptolemy's province; Philotas, Cilicia; and Philo, Illyria. Atropatus was set over the Greater Media; the father-in-law of Perdiccas over the Less. Susiana was assigned to Scynûs, and the Greater Phrygia to Antigonus, the son of Philip. Nearchus received Lycia and Pamphylia; Cassander, Caria; and Menander, Lydia. The Lesser Phrygia fell to Leonatus. Thrace, and the coasts of the Pontic sea, to Lysimachus; Cappadocia and Paphlagonia were given to Eumenes. The chief command of the camp fell to Seleucus the son of Antiochus. Cassander, the son of Antipater, was made commander of the king's guards and attendants. In Ulterior Bactriana, and the countries of India, the present governors were allowed to retain their office. The region between the rivers Hydaspes and Indus, Taxiles received. To the colonies settled in India, Python, the son of Agenor, was sent. Of Paropamisia, and the borders of mount Caucasus, Extarches had the command. The Arachosians and Gedrosians were assigned to Sibyrtius; the Drangæ and Arci to Stasanor. Amyntas was allotted the Bactrians, Scythæus the Sogdians, Nicanor the Parthians, Philippus the Hyrcanians, Phrataphernes the Armenians, Tleptolemus the Persians, Peucestes the Babylonians, Archon the Pelasgians, Arcesilaus, Mesopotamia. When this allotment, like a gift from the fates, was made to

* Cleomenes had indeed authority in Africa and Europe, but it was only over the revenues; and it was not he that built Alexandria, but Dinocrates. Hence I conjecture that there is some deficiency in the text.—*Schæffer.* See Val. Max. i 5; Q. Curt. iv. 8, 9; Plin. H. N. vii. 38.

each, it was to many of them a great occasion for improving their fortunes; for not long after, as if they had divided kingdoms, not governments, among themselves, they became princes instead of prefects, and not only secured great power to themselves, but bequeathed it to their descendants.

V. While these transactions were passing in the east, the Athenians and Ætolians proceeded with all their might to prosecute the war which they had begun in the life of Alexander. The cause of the war was, that Alexander, on his return from India, had written certain letters to Greece, according to which the exiles from all the states, except such as had been convicted of murder, were to be recalled. These letters, being read before all Greece, assembled at the Olympic games,* had excited a great commotion; because many had been banished, not by legal authority, but by a faction of the leading men, who were afraid that, if they were recalled, they would become more powerful in their states than themselves. Many states therefore at once expressed open discontent, and said that their liberty must be secured by force of arms. The leaders among them all, however, were the Athenians and Ætolians.

This being reported to Alexander, he gave orders that a thousand ships of war should be raised among his allies, with which he might carry on war in the west; and he intended to make an expedition, with a powerful force, to level Athens with the ground. The Athenians, in consequence, collecting an army of thirty thousand men and two hundred ships, went to war with Antipater, to whom the government of Greece had been assigned; and when he declined to come to battle, and sheltered himself within the walls of Heraclea, they besieged him there. At that time Demosthenes, the Athenian orator, who had been banished from his country on the charge of taking gold from Harpalus (a man who had fled from Alexander's severity), bribing him to prevail on the city † to go to war with Alexander, happened then to be living in exile at Megara, and learning that Hyperides was sent as an ambassador by the Athenians to persuade the Peloponnesians to join

* *In mercatu Olympiaco.*] "For at those games," says Pythagoras in Cicero, Tusc. Quæst. v. 3, "*alii corporibus exercitatis gloriam et nobilitatem coronæ petunt; alii emendi aut vendendi quæstu et lucro ducuntur.*"—*Wetzel.*

† We must read *quò civitatem impelleret*, with Freinshemius, Vorstius, and Lemaire.

in the war, followed him, and, by his eloquence, brought over Sicyon, Argos, Corinth, and other states, to the Athenian interest. For this service a ship was sent for him by the Athenians, and he was recalled from banishment. Meanwhile Leosthenes, the general of the Athenians, was killed, while he was besieging Antipater, by a dart hurled at him from the wall as he was passing by. This occurrence gave so much encouragement to Antipater, that he ventured to break down the Athenian rampart. He then sought assistance from Leonatus, who was soon reported to be approaching with his army; but the Athenians met him in battle array, and he was severely wounded in an action of the cavalry, and died. Antipater, though he saw his auxiliaries defeated, was yet rejoiced at the death of Leonatus, congratulating himself that his rival was taken off, and his force added to his own. Taking Leonatus's army under his command, therefore, and thinking himself a match for the enemy, even in a regular battle, he immediately released himself from the siege, and marched away to Macedonia. The forces of the Greeks, too, having driven the enemy * from the territory of Greece, went off to their several cities.

VI. Perdiccas, in the meantime, making war upon Ariarathes, king of the Cappadocians, defeated him in a pitched battle, but got no other reward for his efforts but wounds and perils; for the enemy, retreating from the field into the city, killed each his own wife and children, and set fire to his house and all that he possessed; throwing their slaves too into the flames, and afterwards themselves, that the victorious enemy might enjoy nothing belonging to them but the sight of the conflagration that they had kindled. Soon after, that he might secure royal support to his present power, he turned his thoughts to a marriage with Cleopatra, sister of Alexander the Great, and formerly wife of the other Alexander,† her mother Olympias showing no dislike to the match. But he wished first to outwit Antipater, by pretending a desire for an alliance with him, and therefore made a feint of asking his daughter in marriage, the more easily to procure from him young recruits from Macedonia. Antipater, however, seeing

* *Pulso hoste.*] The word *pulso* is inconsistent with what is said just above, that the enemy "marched away," *concessit*, of their own accord.

† Alexander of Epirus. See ix. 6.

through his deceit, he courted two wives at once, but obtained neither.

Afterwards a war arose between Antigonus and Perdiccas; Craterus and Antipater (who, having made peace with the Athenians, had appointed Polysperchon to govern Greece and Macedonia) lent their aid to Antigonus. Perdiccas, as the aspect of affairs was unfavourable, called Aridæus, and Alexander the Great's son,* then in Cappadocia (the charge of both of whom had been committed to him), to a consultation concerning the management of the war. Some were of opinion that it should be transferred to Macedonia, to the very head and metropolis of the kingdom, where Olympias, the mother of Alexander, was, who would be no small support to their party, while the good will of their countrymen would be with them, from respect to the names of Alexander and Philip; but it seemed more to the purpose to begin with Egypt, lest, while they were gone into Macedonia, Asia should be seized by Ptolemy. Paphlagonia, Caria, Lycia, and Phrygia were assigned to Eumenes, in addition to the provinces which he had already received; and he was directed to wait in those parts for Craterus and Antipater, Alcetas, the brother of Perdiccas, and Neoptolemus being appointed to support him with their forces. The command of the fleet was given to Clitus. Cilicia, being taken from Philotas, was given to Philoxenus. Perdiccas himself set out for Egypt with a large army. Thus Macedonia, while its commanders separated into two parties, was armed against its own vitals, and turned the sword from warring against the enemy to the effusion of civil blood, being ready, like people in a fit of madness, to hack her own hands and limbs. But Ptolemy, by his wise exertions in Egypt, was acquiring great power; he had secured the favour of the Egyptians by his extraordinary prudence; he had attached the neighbouring princes by acts of kindness and courtesy; he had extended the boundaries of his kingdom by getting possession of the city Cyrene, and was grown so great that he did not fear his enemies so much as he was feared by them.

VII. Cyrene was founded by Aristæus, who, from being tongue-tied, was also called Battus. His father Grinus, king of

* His posthumous son by Roxane, called Alexander Ægus. See xii. 15, xiii. 2.

the isle of Thera, having gone to the oracle at Delphi, to implore the god to remove the ignominy of his son, who was grown up but could not speak, received an answer by which his son Battus was directed "to go to Africa, and found the city of Cyrene, where he would gain the use of his tongue." This response appearing but a jest, by reason of the paucity of inhabitants in the island of Thera, from which a colony was desired to go to build a city in a country of such vast extent as Africa, the matter was neglected. Some time after, the Therans, as being guilty of disobedience, were forced by a pestilence to comply with the god's directions. But the number of the colonists was so extremely small that they scarcely filled one ship. Arriving in Africa, they dislodged the inhabitants from a hill named Cyras, and took possession of it for themselves, on account both of the pleasantness of the situation and the abundance of springs in it. Here Battus, their leader, the strings of his tongue being loosed, began to speak; which circumstance, as one part of the god's promises was fulfilled, gave them encouragement to entertain the further hope of building a city. Pitching their camp, accordingly, they received information of an old tradition, that Cyrene, a maiden of extraordinary beauty, was carried off by Apollo from Pelion, a mountain in Thessaly, and brought to that very mountain on which they had seized a hill, where, becoming pregnant by the god, she brought forth four sons, Nomius, Aristæus, Authocus, and Argæus; and that a party being sent by her father Hypsæus, king of Thessaly, to seek for the damsel, were so attracted by the charms of the place, that they settled there with her. Of her four sons, it was said that three, when they grew up, returned to Thessaly, and inherited their grandfather's kingdom; and that the fourth, Aristæus, reigned over a great part of Arcadia, and taught mankind the management of bees and honey, and the art of making cheese, and was the first that observed the solstitial risings of Sirius.* On hearing this account, Battus built the city in obedience

* *Solstitiales ortus sideris.*] Aristæus first observed the risings of Sirius or the dog-star, and taught the Ceans to watch them and sacrifice to it. This is the general account, and that Justin may agree with it, I think that we should read *solstitialis ortus sideris.* By *solstitiale sidus*, I think that Sirius is meant, because it rises soon after the solstice.—*Salmasius.*

to the oracle, calling it Cyrene,* from the name of the maiden.

VIII. Ptolemy, having increased his strength from the forces of this city, made preparations for war against the coming of Perdiccas. But the hatred which Perdiccas had incurred by his arrogance did him more injury than the power of the enemy; for his allies, detesting his overbearingness, went over in troops to Antipater. Neoptolemus, too, who had been left to support Eumenes, intended not only to desert himself, but also to betray the force of his party; when Eumenes, understanding his design, thought it a matter of necessity to engage the traitor in the field. Neoptolemus, being worsted, fled to Antipater and Polysperchon, and persuaded them to surprise Eumenes, by marching without intermission, while he was full of joy for his victory, and freed from apprehension by his own flight. But this project did not escape Eumenes; the plot was in consequence turned upon the contrivers of it; and they who expected to attack him unguarded, were attacked themselves when they were on their march, and wearied with watching through the previous night. In this battle, Polysperchon was killed.† Neoptolemus, too, engaging hand to hand with Eumenes, and maintaining a long struggle with him, in which both were wounded more than once, was at last overpowered and fell. Eumenes, therefore, being victorious in two successive battles, supported in some degree the spirits of his party, which had been cast down by the desertion of their allies. At last, however, Perdiccas being killed,‡ Eumenes was declared an enemy by the army, together with Pitho, Illyrius, and Alcetas, the brother of Perdiccas; and the conduct of the war against them was committed to Antigonus.

* The word *agnito*, which Faber, Scheffer, and Lemaire unite in condemning, I have not translated.

† This is a mistake, for Justin, xiv. 5, speaks of him as being alive. Bongarsius and others have supposed that Justin wrote *Craterus* (nstead of *Polysperchon*, but it seems to be otherwise, for Orosius iiii. 23), who follows Justin, has the same account of Polysperchon's death. That it was Craterus who was killed, and not Polysperchon, appears from Corn Nep. Eum. c. 4. See also Plut. Eum. c. 9; Diod. Sic. xviii 38.

‡ By his own cavalry, when he wanted to cross the Nile; Diod. Sic. xviii. 33—37.—*Wetzel.*

BOOK XIV.

Conduct of Eumenes in the war with Antigonus, I.—Being unsuccessful, he flees to the Argyraspides, II.—They, being defeated, resolve to deliver Eumenes to Antigonus, III.—Eumenes addresses the army; he and the Argyraspides fall into the power of Antigonus, IV.—Proceedings of Cassander and Olympias, V.—Death of Olympias, VI.

I. When Eumenes found that Perdiccas was slain, that he himself was declared an enemy by the Macedonians, and that the conduct of the war against him was committed to Antigonus, he at once made known the state of affairs to his troops, lest report should either exaggerate matters, or alarm the minds of the men with the unexpected nature of the events; designing at the same time to learn how they were affected towards him, and to take his measures according to the feeling expressed by them as a body. He boldly gave notice, however, that "if any one of them felt dismayed at the news, he had full liberty to depart." By this declaration he so strongly attached them to his side, that they all immediately exhorted him to prosecute the war, and protested that "they would annul the decrees of the Macedonians with their swords." Having then led his army into Ætolia,* he exacted contributions from the different cities, and plundered, like an enemy, such as refused to pay. Next he went to Sardis, to Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander the Great, that with her influence he might encourage his captains and chief officers, who would think that the royal authority was on that side on which the sister of Alexander stood. Such veneration was there for the greatness of Alexander, that the influence of his sacred name was sought even by means of women.

When he returned to his camp, letters were found scattered through it, in which great rewards were offered to any that should bring the head of Eumenes [illegible] Antigonus. This coming to his knowledge, Eumenes [illegible]ing his men, first offered them his congratulations that [illegible] had been found

* So stands the name in Wetzel's text, and in most others, except that of Tauchnitz, which has Æolia, the conjecture of Glareanus. But Isaac Vossius conjectures *Ætulane*, from a passage of Ptolemy, who gives that name to a part of Armenia Minor, lying to the north-east of Cappadocia. Vossius's suggestion is approved by Vorstius and Faber.

among them who preferred the expectation of a reward stained with blood to the obligation of his military oath." He then craftily added that these letters had been forged by himself to sound their feelings; but that his life was in the hands of them all; and that neither Antigonus nor any other general would be willing to conquer by such means as would afford the worst of examples against himself." By acting thus, he both preserved for the present the attachment of such as were wavering, and made it likely that if anything similar should happen in future, the soldiers would think that they were not tampered with by the enemy, but sounded by their own general. All of them in consequence zealously offered him their services for the guard of his person.

II. In the meantime Antigonus came up with his army and having pitched his camp, offered battle on the following day. Nor did Eumenes delay to engage with him; but, being defeated, he fled to a fortress, where, when he saw that he must submit to the hazard of a siege, he dismissed the greater part of his army, lest he should either be delivered to the enemy by consent of the multitude, or the sufferings of the siege should be aggravated by too great a number. He then sent a deputation to Antipater, who was the only general that seemed a match for the power of Antigonus, to entreat his aid; and Antigonus, hearing that succour was despatched by him to Eumenes, gave up the siege. Eumenes was thus for a time, indeed, relieved from fear of death; but, as so great a portion of his army was sent away, he had no great hope of ultimate safety. After taking everything into consideration, therefore, he thought it best to apply to the Argyraspides of Alexander the Great, a body of men that had never yet been conquered, and radiant with the glory of so many victories. But the Argyraspides disdained all leaders in comparison with Alexander, and thought service under other generals dishonourable to the memory of so great a monarch. Eumenes had, therefore, to address them with flattery; he spoke to each of them in the language of a suppliant, calling them his "fellow-soldiers," his "patrons," or his "companions in the dangers and exploits of the east;" sometimes styling them "his refuge for protection, and his only security;" saying that "they were the only troops by whose valour the east had been subdued, the only troops that had gone beyond the achievements of

Bacchus and the monuments of Hercules; that by them Alexander had become great, by them had attained divine honours and immortal glory;" and he begged them "to receive him, not so much in the character of a general, as in that of a fellow-soldier, and to allow him to be one of their body." Being received on these terms, he gradually succeeded, first by giving them hints individually, and afterwards by gently correcting whatever was done amiss, in gaining the sole command. Nothing could be done in the camp without him; nothing managed without the aid of his judgment.

III. At length, when it was announced that Antigonus was approaching with his army, he obliged them to march into the field; where, slighting the orders of their general, they were defeated by the bravery of the enemy. In this battle they lost, with their wives and children, not only their glory from so many wars, but also the booty obtained in their long service. But Eumenes, who was the cause of their disaster,* and had no other hope of safety remaining, encouraged them after their repulse, assuring them that "they had the superiority in courage, as five thousand of the enemy had been slain by them; and that if they persevered in the war, their enemies would gladly sue for peace;" adding, that "the losses, by which they estimated their defeat, were two thousand women, and a few children and slaves, which they might better recover by conquering, than by yielding the victory." The Argyraspides, on the other hand, declared that "they would neither attempt a retreat, after the loss of their property and wives, nor would they war against their own children,"† and pursued him with reproaches "for having involved them, when they were returning home after so many years of completed service, and with the fruits of so many enterprises, and when on the point of being disbanded, in fresh efforts and vast struggles in the field; for having deluded them, when they were recalled, as it were, from their own hearths, and from the very threshold of their country, with vain promises; and for not allowing them, after having lost all the gains of their fortunate service, to support quietly under their defeat the burden of a poor and unhappy

* *Auctor cladis.*] Inasmuch as he had impelled them to take the field.—*Wetzel.*

† The Argyraspides were veterans, and some of them, doubtless, had sons in the army to which they were now opposed.

old age." Immediately after, without the knowledge of their leaders,* they sent deputies to Antigonus, requesting that "he would order what was theirs † to be restored to them." Antigonus promised that "he would restore what they asked, if they would deliver up Eumenes to him." Hearing of this reply, Eumenes, with a few others, attempted to flee, but being brought back, and finding his condition desperate, he requested, as a great crowd gathered around him, to be allowed to address the army for the last time.

IV. Being desired by them all to speak, and silence being made, and his chains loosed, he held out his hand, fettered as he was, and said, "Soldiers, ye behold the dress and equipments of your general, which it is not any one of the enemy that has put upon me; for that would be even a consolation to me; but it is you that have made me of a conqueror conquered, and of a general a prisoner. Four times ‡ within the present year have you bound yourselves by oath to obey me; but on that point I shall say nothing, for reproaches do not become the unfortunate. One favour only I entreat, that, if the performance of Antigonus's promises depends on my life, you would allow me to die among yourselves; for to him it signifies nothing how or where I fall, and I shall be delivered from an ignominious end. If I obtain this request, I release you from the oath by which you have so often devoted yourselves to me. Or if you are ashamed to offer violence to me at my entreaty, give me a sword, and permit your general to do for you,§ without the obligation of an oath, that which you have taken an oath to do for your general." Not being able, however, to obtain his request, he changed his tone of entreaty to that of anger, and exclaimed, "May the gods, then, the avengers of perjury, look down in judgment upon you, ye accursed wretches, and bring upon you such deaths as you have brought upon your leaders. It was you, the same who now stand before me, that were lately sprinkled with the blood of

* Eumenes, and those who adhered to him; those few with whom he afterwards attempted to escape.

† Their wives, children, and money.

‡ *Quater.*] Three times, says Cornelius Nepos in his life of Eumenes.—*Bongarsius.* Perhaps we should here read *qui ter.*—*Berneccerus.*

§ Namely, to die.

Perdiccas, and that planned a similar end for Antipater. You would even have killed Alexander himself, if it had been possible for him to fall by a mortal hand: * what was next to it,† you harassed him with your mutinies. I, the last victim of your perfidy, now pronounce on you these curses and imprecations: may you live your whole lives in poverty, far from your country, in this camp where you are exiled; and may your own arms, by which you have killed more generals of your own than of your enemies, sink you in utter destruction." Then, full of indignation, he began to walk before his guards towards the camp of Antigonus. The army followed, surrendering their general, and being themselves made prisoners; and, leading up a triumph over themselves to the camp of their conqueror, resigned to him, together with their own persons, all their honour gained under king Alexander,‡ and the palms and laurels of so long a warfare; and, that nothing might be wanting to the procession, the elephants and auxiliaries of the east§ brought up the rear. This single victory was so far more glorious to Antigonus than so many other victories had been to Alexander, that whereas Alexander subdued the east, Antigonus defeated those by whom the east had been subdued. These conquerors of the world, then, Antigonus distributed among his army, restoring to them what he had taken in the victory; and directed that Eumenes, whom, from regard to their former friendship, he did not allow to come into his presence, should be committed to the care of a guard.

V. In the meantime Eurydice, the wife of king Aridæus, when she learned that Polysperchon was returning from Greece into Macedonia, and that Olympias was sent for by him, being prompted by a womanish emulation, and taking advantage of her husband's weakness, whose duties she took upon herself, wrote in the king's name to Polysperchon, desiring him "to deliver up the army to Cassander, on whom the king had conferred the government of the kingdom." She made a similar

* This is quite at variance with Justin's account of Alexander's death.

† All the editions, I believe, have *quod maximum erat;* I follow the conjecture of Freinshemius (ad Flor. ii. 6, 8), *quod proximum erat.*

‡ *Omnia auspicia regis Alexandri.*] Commoda præliis felicibus, duce rege, parta — *Wetzel.*

§ *Auxilia Orientalia.*] The Persian soldiers that had been in Alexander's army.

communication to Antigonus, in a letter which she wrote to him in Asia. Cassander, attached to her by such a favour, managed everything according to the will of that ambitious woman. Marching into Greece, he made war upon several cities; by the calamities of which, as by a fire in the neighbourhood, the Spartans were alarmed, and, distrusting their power in arms, enclosed their city (which they had always defended, not with walls, but with their swords) with works of defence, in disregard both of the predictions of the oracles, and of the ancient glory of their forefathers. Strange, that they should have so far degenerated from their ancestors, that, when the valour of the citizens had been for many ages a wall to the city, the citizens could not now think themselves secure unless they had walls to shelter them. But during the course of these proceedings, the disturbed state of Macedonia obliged Cassander to return home from Greece; for Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, coming from Epirus to Macedonia, with Æacides, king of the Molossians, attending her, and being forbidden to enter the country by Eurydice and king Aridæus, the Macedonians being moved, either by respect for the memory of her husband, or the greatness of her son, or by the indignity with which she was treated, went over to Olympias, by whose order both Eurydice and the king were put to death, he having held the kingdom six years since the decease of Alexander.

VI. But neither did Olympias reign long; for having committed great slaughter among the nobility throughout the country, like a furious woman rather than a queen, she turned the favour with which she was regarded into hatred. Hearing, therefore, of the approach of Cassander, and distrusting the Macedonians, she retired, with her daughter-in-law Roxane, and her grandson Hercules, to the city of Pydna. Deidamia, the daughter of king Æacides, and Thessalonice, her step-daughter, rendered illustrious by the name of Philip, who was her father, and many others, wives of the leading men, a retinue showy rather than serviceable, attended her on her journey. When the news of her retreat was brought to Cassander, he marched immediately, with the utmost expedition, to Pydna, and laid siege to the city. Olympias, distressed with famine and the sword, and the wearisomeness of a long siege, surrendered herself to the conqueror, stipulating only for life. But Cas-

sander, on summoning the people to an assembly, to inquire "what they would wish to be done with Olympias," induced the parents of those whom she had killed to put on mourning apparel, and expose her cruelties; when the Macedonians, exasperated by their statements, decreed, without regard to her former majesty, that she should be put to death; utterly unmindful that, by the labours of her son and her husband, they had not only lived in security among their neighbours, but had attained to vast power, and even to the conquest of the world. Olympias, seeing armed men advancing towards her, bent upon her destruction, went voluntarily to meet them, dressed in her regal apparel, and leaning on two of her maids. The executioners, on beholding her, struck with the recollection of her former royal dignity,* and with the names of so many of their kings, that occurred to their memory in connexion with her, stood still, until others were sent by Cassander to despatch her; she, at the same time, not shrinking from the sword or the blow, or crying out like a woman, but submitting to death like the bravest of men, and suitably to the glory of her ancient race, so that you might have perceived the soul of Alexander in his dying mother. As she was expiring, too, she is said to have settled her hair,† and to have covered her feet with her robe, that nothing unseemly might appear about her.

After these events, Cassander married Thessalonice, the daughter of king Aridæus, and sent the son of Alexander,‡ with his mother to the citadel of Amphipolis, to be kept under guard.

* *Fortunâ majestatis prioris.*

† Wetzel's text has, *Insuper expirans capillis et veste crura contexisse fertur.* Some manuscripts, as Grævius and Scheffer state, have *compsisse insuper expirans capillos et veste crura*, &c., which I have followed; for as Grævius and others ask, how could she cover her feet with her hair? Scheffer conjectures *cooperuisse capillis os;* Grævius, *papillas veste et crura contexisse:* but both these attempts are inferior to the reading *compsisse* &c

‡ Alexander Ægus, with his mother Roxane.

BOOK XV.

War of Antigonus against his opponents; defeat of his son Demetrius, I.—Cruelty of Cassander towards the family of Alexander the Great; successes of Antigonus, II.—Acts of Lysimachus, III.—Account of Seleucus; of Sandrocottus; death of Antigonus, IV.

I. PERDICCAS and his brother, with Eumenes and Polysperchon, and other leaders of the opposite party, being killed, the contention among the successors of Alexander seemed to be at an end; when, on a sudden, a dispute arose among the conquerors themselves; for Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, demanding that "the money taken amongst the spoil, and the provinces, should be divided," Antigonus said that "he would admit no partners in the advantages of a war of which he alone had undergone the perils." And that he might seem to engage in an honourable contest with his confederates, he gave out that "his object was to avenge the death of Olympias, who had been murdered by Cassander, and to release the son of Alexander, his king, with his mother, from their confinement at Amphipolis." On hearing this news, Ptolemy and Cassander, forming an alliance with Lysimachus and Seleucus, made vigorous preparations for war by land and sea. Ptolemy had possession of Egypt, with the greater part of Africa, Cyprus, and Phœnicia. Macedonia and Greece were subject to Cassander. Antigonus had taken possession of Asia and the eastern countries.

Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, was defeated in the first engagement by Ptolemy, at Gamala.* In this action, the renown gained by Ptolemy for his moderation was greater than that which he obtained from the victory itself; for he let the friends of Demetrius depart, not only with their baggage, but with presents in addition; and he restored Demetrius himself all his private property, together with his family, making, at the same time, this honourable declaration, that "he had not engaged in the war for plunder, but for the maintenance of his own character, being indignant that when the leaders of the opposite faction were conquered, Antigonus claimed the fruits of their common victory for himself."

II. During these transactions, Cassander, returning from

* Near Gaza. Diod. Sic. xix. 84.—*Wetzel.*

Apollonia, fell in with the Antariatæ,* who, having abandoned their country on account of the vast number of frogs and mice that infested it, were seeking a settlement. Fearing that they might possess themselves of Macedonia, he made a compact with them, received them as allies, and assigned them lands at the extremity of the country. Afterwards, lest Hercules, the son of Alexander, who had nearly completed his fourteenth year, should be called to the throne of Macedonia through the influence of his father's name, he sent secret orders that he should be put to death, together with his mother Barsine, and that their bodies should be privately buried in the earth lest the murder should be betrayed by a regular funeral.† As if, too, he had previously incurred but small guilt, first in the case of the king himself,‡ and afterwards in that of his mother Olympias and her son, he cut off his other son, and his mother Roxane, with similar treachery; as though he could not obtain the throne of Macedonia, to which he aspired, otherwise than by crime.

Ptolemy meanwhile engaged a second time with Demetrius at sea;§ and, having lost his fleet, and left the victory to the enemy, fled back to Egypt, whither Demetrius sent Leontiscus, the son of Ptolemy, his brother Menelaus, and his friends, with all their baggage, being induced to this act by like kindness previously shown|| to himself; and that it might appear that they were stimulated, not by hatred, but by desire of glory and honour, they vied with one another, even amidst war itself, in kindnesses and services. So much more

* Wetzel, in his text, has the old reading *Abderitas*, but expresses himself, in his notes, in favour of Freinshemius's conjecture, *Antariatas*, from Diodor. Sic xx. 19, and Athen. viii. 2; which Grævius adopted. The Antariatæ bordered on Dardania and Pæonia. See Strabo, lib. xix. The inhabitants of the island of Gyarus are also said by Pliny, H. N. viii. 43, to have been driven from their country by mice; also those of Troas, x. 85.

† *Sepulturâ.*] That is, by burning the bodies on a funeral pile.—*Wetzel*

‡ See xii. 14.

§ *Cum Demetrio navali prælio iteratò congreditur.*] "There was," says Scheffer, "no previous battle by sea, as is apparent from Diod. Sic. lib. xix.; and the adverb *iteratò* is, therefore, to be referred, not to *prælio*, but to *congreditur*. He had engaged with Demetrius previously *by land*; he now engages him a second time *by sea*."

|| See c. 1, *sub fin.*

honourably were wars then conducted than private friendships are now maintained! *

Antigonus, being elated with this victory, gave orders that he himself, as well as his son Demetrius, should be styled *king* by the people. Ptolemy also, that he might not appear of less authority among his subjects, was called *king* by his army. Cassander and Lysimachus, too, when they heard of these proceedings, assumed regal dignity themselves. They all abstained, however, from taking the insignia of royalty, as long as any sons of their king survived. Such forbearance was there in them, that, though they had the power, they yet contentedly remained without the distinction of kings, while Alexander had a proper heir. But Ptolemy and Cassander, and the other leaders of the opposite faction, perceiving that they were individually weakened by Antigonus, while each regarded the war, not as the common concern of all, but as merely affecting himself, and all were unwilling to give assistance to one another, as if victory would be only for one, and not for all of them, appointed, after encouraging each other by letters, a time and place for an interview, and prepared for the contest with united strength. Cassander, being unable to join in it, because of a war near home, despatched Lysimachus to the support of his allies with a large force.

III. Lysimachus was of a noble family in Macedonia, but was exalted far above any nobility of birth by the proofs which he had given of personal merit, which was so great, that he excelled all those by whom the east was conquered, in greatness of mind, in philosophy, and in reputation for prowess. For when Alexander the Great, in his anger, had pretended that Callisthenes the philosopher, for his opposition to the Persian mode of doing obeisance, was concerned in a plot that had been formed against him, and, by cruelly mangling all his limbs, and cutting off his ears, nose, and lips, had rendered him a shocking and miserable spectacle, and had had him carried about, also, shut up in a cage with a dog, for a terror to others, Lysimachus, who was accustomed to listen to Callisthenes, and to receive precepts of virtue from him, took pity

* A foolish observation. Did Justin or Trogus suppose that friendships were better observed in the days of Cassander and Demetrius than in his own?

on so great a man, undergoing punishment, not for any crime, but for freedom of speech,* and furnished him with poison to relieve him from his misery. At this act Alexander was so displeased, that he ordered Lysimachus to be exposed to a fierce lion; but when the beast, furious at the sight of him, had made a spring towards him, Lysimachus plunged his hand, wrapped in his cloak, into the lion's mouth, and, seizing fast hold of his tongue, killed him. This exploit being related to the king, his wonder at it ended in pleasure, and he regarded Lysimachus with more affection than before, on account of his extraordinary bravery. Lysimachus, likewise, endured the ill-treatment of the king with magnanimity, as that of a parent. At last, when all recollection of this affair was effaced from the king's mind, Lysimachus was his only attendant in an excursion through vast heaps of sand, when he was in pursuit of some flying enemies, and had left his guards behind him in consequence of the swiftness of his horse. His brother Philip,† having previously attempted to do him the same service, had expired in the king's arms. Alexander, however, as he alighted from his horse, happened to wound Lysimachus in the forehead with the point of his spear, so severely that the blood could not by any means be stopped, till the king, taking off his diadem, placed it on his head by way of closing the wound; an act which was the first omen of royal dignity to Lysimachus. And after the death of Alexander, when the provinces were divided among his successors, the most warlike nations were assigned to Lysimachus as the bravest of them all; so far, by general consent, had he the pre-eminence over the rest in military merit.

IV. Before the war with Antigonus was commenced by Ptolemy and his allies, Seleucus, on a sudden, leaving the Greater Asia,‡ came forward as a fresh enemy to Antigonus. The merit of Seleucus was well known, and his birth had been attended with extraordinary circumstances. His mother Laodice, being married to Antiochus, a man of eminence among Philip's generals, seemed to herself, in a dream, to have conceived from a union with Apollo, and, after becoming

* *Libertatis.*] *Libertas* pro *libertate loquendi.* Sic sæpe et alii.—*Vorstius.*

† The brother of Lysimachus. See Q. Curt. viii. 2, 35.

‡ In opposition to Asia Minor.

pregnant, to have received from him, as a reward for her compliance, a ring, on the stone of which was engraved an anchor, and which she was desired to give to the child that she should bring forth. A ring similarly engraved, which was found the next day in the bed, and the figure of an anchor, which was visible on the thigh of Seleucus when he was born, made this dream extremely remarkable. This ring Laodice gave to Seleucus, when he was going with Alexander to the Persian war, informing him, at the same time, of his paternity. After the death of Alexander, having secured dominion in the east, he built a city, where he established a memorial of his twofold origin; for he called the city Antioch from the name of his father Antiochus, and consecrated the plains near the city to Apollo. This mark of his paternity continued also among his descendants; for his sons and grandsons had an anchor on their thigh, as a natural proof of their extraction.

After the division of the Macedonian empire among the followers of Alexander, he carried on several wars in the east. He first took Babylon, and then, his strength being increased by this success, subdued the Bactrians. He next made an expedition into India, which, after the death of Alexander, had shaken, as it were, the yoke of servitude from its neck, and put his governors to death. The author of this liberation was Sandrocottus, who afterwards, however, turned their semblance of liberty into slavery; for, making himself king, he oppressed the people whom he had delivered from a foreign power, with a cruel tyranny. This man was of mean origin, but was stimulated to aspire to regal power by supernatural encouragement; for, having offended Alexander by his boldness of speech, and orders being given to kill him, he saved himself by swiftness of foot; and while he was lying asleep, after his fatigue, a lion of great size having come up to him, licked off with his tongue the sweat that was running from him, and after gently waking him, left him. Being first prompted by this prodigy to conceive hopes of royal dignity, he drew together a band of robbers, and solicited the Indians to support his new sovereignty. Some time after, as he was going to war with the generals of Alexander, a wild elephant of great bulk presented itself before him of its own accord, and, as if tamed down to gentleness,* took him on its back, and

* *Veluti domitâ mansuetudine* stands in Wetzel's text, and I believe

became his guide in the war, and conspicuous in fields of battle. Sandrocottus, having thus acquired a throne, was in possession of India, when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness; who, after making a league with him, and settling his affairs in the east, proceeded to join in the war against Antigonus. As soon as the forces, therefore, of all the confederates were united, a battle was fought,* in which Antigonus was slain, and his son Demetrius put to flight.

But the allied generals, after thus terminating the war with the enemy, turned their arms again upon each other, and, as they could not agree about the spoil, were divided into two parties. Seleucus joined Demetrius, and Ptolemy Lysimachus. Cassander dying, Philip, his son, succeeded him. Thus new wars arose, as it were, from a fresh source, for Macedonia.

BOOK XVI.

Antipater, son of Cassander, puts his mother to death; Demetrius Poliorcetes becomes master of Macedonia, I.—Demetrius is driven from Macedonia; deaths of Antipater and Cassander, II.—War between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus; account of the city Heraclea, in Pontus, III.—Tyranny of Clearchus there, IV.—Death of Clearchus; subsequent condition of Heraclea, V.

I. AFTER the deaths, in rapid succession,† of Cassander and Philip, queen Thessalonice, the wife of Cassander, was soon killed by her son Antipater, though she conjured him by the bosom of a mother to spare her life. The cause of this matricide was that, in the division of the kingdom between the brothers, she seemed to have favoured Alexander. This deed appeared the more atrocious to every one, as there was no proof of injustice on the part of the mother; although, indeed, in a case of matricide, no reason can be alleged sufficient to justify the crime. Alexander, in consequence, resolving to go to war

in all others. Scheffer asks whether there is *mansuetudo* not *domita*. Dübner, the editor of a small edition with French notes (Par. 18mo. 1847), says that Cuper, *de Elephantis*, p. 47, proposes to read *domitus ad mansuetudinem*

* At Ipsus in Phrygia.

† Philip died in the same year with Cassander, B.C. 297. Concerning Thessalonice, see xiv. 6, and Diod. Sic. xxi. Fragm. 10.—*Wetzel.*

with his brother, to avenge his mother's death, solicited aid from Demetrius; and Demetrius, in hopes of seizing the throne of Macedonia, made no delay in complying with his request. Lysimachus, alarmed at his approach, persuaded Antipater, his son-in-law, rather to be reconciled to his brother than to allow his father's enemy to enter Macedonia. Demetrius, therefore, finding that a reconciliation was commenced between the brothers, removed Alexander by treachery, and, having seized on the throne of Macedonia, called an assembly of the army, to defend himself before them for the murder. He alleged that "his life had been first attempted by Alexander, and that he had not contrived treachery, but prevented it; and that he himself was the more rightful king of Macedonia, both from experience attendant on greater age, and from other considerations; for that his father * had been a follower of king Philip, and of Alexander the Great, in the whole of their wars, and afterwards an attendant on the children of Alexander, and a leader in the punishment of the revolters. That Antipater, on the other hand, the grandfather of these young men, had always been more cruel as the governor of the kingdom than the kings themselves; and that Cassander, their father, had been the extirpator of the king's family, sparing neither women nor children, and not resting till he had cut off the whole of the royal house. That vengeance for these crimes, as he could not exact it from Cassander himself, had been inflicted on his children; and that accordingly Philip and Alexander, if the dead have any knowledge of human affairs, would not wish the murderers of them and their issue, but their avengers, to fill the throne of Macedonia." The people being pacified by these arguments, he was saluted king of Macedonia. Lysimachus, too, being pressed with a war with Doricetes, king of Thrace, and not wishing to have to fight with Demetrius at the same time, made peace with him, resigning into his hands the other half of Macedonia, which had fallen to the share of his son-in-law Antipater.

11. When Demetrius, therefore, supported by the whole strength of Macedonia, was preparing to invade Asia, Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Lysimachus, having experienced in the former contest how great the power of unanimity was, formed an alliance a second time, and having joined their forces, carried

* Antigonus.

the war against Demetrius, it to Europe. With these leaders Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, united himself, as a friend and sharer in the war, hoping that Demetrius might lose Macedonia not less easily than he had obtained it. Nor were his expectations vain; for he himself, having corrupted Demetrius's army, and put him to flight, seized on the throne of Macedonia.

During the course of these transactions, Lysimachus put to death his son-in-law Antipater, who complained that he had been deprived of the throne of Macedonia by the treachery of his father-in-law, and put his daughter Eurydice, who had joined with him in his complaints, into prison; and thus the whole house of Cassander made atonement to Alexander the Great, whether for killing himself or destroying his offspring, partly by violent deaths, partly by other sufferings, and partly by shedding the blood of one another.

Demetrius, surrounded by so many armies, preferred, when he might have fallen honourably, to make an ignominious surrender to Seleucus. At the termination of the war died Ptolemy, after having attained great glory by his military exploits. Contrary to the custom among nations, he had resigned his kingdom, before his illness, to the youngest of his sons, and had stated his reasons for that proceeding to the people, who showed themselves no less indulgent in accepting the son for their king than the father had proved himself in delivering the kingdom to him. Among other instances of mutual affection between the father and the son, the following had procured the young man favour from the people, that the father, having publicly resigned the throne to him, had done duty as a private soldier among his guards, thinking it more honour to be the father of a king than to possess any kingdom whatsoever.

III. But the evil of discord, constantly arising among equals, had produced a war between Lysimachus and King Pyrrhus, who had just before been allies against Demetrius. Lysimachus, gaining the advantage, had expelled Pyrrhus, and made himself master of Macedonia. He then made war on Thrace, and afterwards on Heraclea, a city of which the origin and the subsequent fortunes were objects of wonder; for when the Bœotians were suffering from a pestilence, the oracle at Delphi had told them, that "they must plant a

colony in the country of Pontus, dedicated to Hercules. But as, through dread of a long and dangerous voyage, and all the people preferring death in their own country, the matter was neglected, the Phocians made war upon them; and after suffering from unsuccessful struggles with that people, they had recourse to the oracle a second time. The answer which they received was, that "what was a remedy for the pestilence would also be a remedy for the war." Raising therefore a body of colonists, and sailing to Pontus, they built the city Heraclea; and as they had been led to that settlement by the guidance of fate, they soon acquired great power. In process of time the city had many wars with its neighbours, and many dissensions among its own people. Among other noble acts that they performed, the following is one of the most remarkable. When the Athenians were at the height of power, and, after the overthrow of the Persians, had imposed a tax on Greece and Asia for the support of a fleet, and when all were promptly contributing to the maintenance of their safety, the Heracleans alone, from friendship for the kings of Persia, refused to pay. Lamachus was accordingly despatched by the Athenians with an army to exact from them what was withheld; but leaving his ships on the coast, and going to ravage the lands of the Heracleans, he lost his fleet, with the greater part of his army, by shipwreck, in a tempest that came on suddenly. As he was not able, therefore, to return by sea, from having lost his ships, and did not dare, with so small a body of men, to return by land through so many warlike nations, the Heracleans, thinking this a more honourable opportunity for kindness than for revenge, sent the invaders away with a supply of provisions and troops to protect them; deeming the devastation of their lands no loss, if they could but make those their friends who had formerly been their enemies.

IV. Among many other evils they endured also that of tyranny; for when, on the populace violently clamouring for an abolition of debts, and a division of the lands of the rich, the subject was long discussed in the senate, and no settlement of it was devised, they at last sought assistance against the commons, who were grown riotous by too long idleness, from Timotheus general of the Athenians, and afterwards from Epaminondas general of the Thebans. As

both. however, refused their request, they had recourse to Clearchus, whom they themselves had exiled ; such being the urgency of their distresses, that they recalled to the guardian ship of his country him whom they had forbidden to enter his country. But Clearchus, being rendered more desperate by his banishment, and regarding the dissension among the people as a means of securing to himself the government, first sought a secret interview with Mithridates,* the enemy of his countrymen, and made a league with him on the understanding that when he was re-established in his country, he should, on betraying the city into his hands, be made lieutenant-governor of it. But the treachery which he had conceived against his countrymen, he afterwards turned against Mithridates himself; for on returning from banishment, to be as it were the arbiter of the disputes in the city, he, at the time appointed for delivering the town to Mithridates, made Mithridates himself prisoner, with a party of his friends, and released him from captivity only on the receipt of a large sum of money. And as, in this case, he suddenly changed himself from a friend into an enemy, so, in regard to his countrymen, he soon, from a supporter of the senate's cause, became a patron of the common people, and not only inflamed the populace against those who had conferred his power upon him, and by whom he had been recalled into his country and established in the citadel, but even exercised upon his benefactors the most atrocious inflictions of tyrannic cruelty. Summoning the people to an assembly, he declared that "he would no longer support the senate in their proceedings against the populace, but would even interpose his authority, if they persisted in their former severities; and that, if the people thought themselves able to check the tyranny of the senate, he would retire with his soldiers, and take no further part in their dissensions ; but that, if they distrusted their ability to make resistance, he would not be wanting to aid them in taking revenge. They might therefore," he added, "determine among themselves ; they might bid him withdraw, if they pleased, or might request him to stay as a sharer in the popular cause." The people, induced by these fair speeches, conferred on him the supreme authority, and, while they were incensed at the power of the senate, surrendered them

* King of Pontus, father of the Great Mithridates.

selves, with their wives and children, as slaves to the power of a single tyrant. Clearchus then apprehended sixty senators (the rest had taken flight), and threw them into prison. The people rejoiced that the senate was overthrown, and especially that it had fallen by means of a leader among the senators, and that, by a reverse of fortune, their support was turned to their destruction. Clearchus, by threatening all his prisoners with death, made the price offered for their ransom the higher; and, after receiving from them large sums of money, as if he would secretly withdraw them from the violence threatened by the people, despoiled those of their lives whom he had previously despoiled of their fortunes.

V. Learning, soon after, that war was prepared against him by those who had made their escape (several cities being moved by pity to espouse their cause), he gave freedom to their slaves; and that no affliction might be wanting to distress the most honourable families, he obliged their wives and daughters to marry their slaves, threatening death to such as refused, that he might thus render the slaves more attached to himself, and less reconcileable to their masters. But such marriages were more intolerable to the women than immediate death; and many, in consequence, killed themselves before the nuptial rites were celebrated, and many in the midst of them, first killing their new husbands, and delivering themselves from dishonourable sufferings by a spirit of noble virtue. A battle was then fought, in which the tyrant, being victorious, dragged such of the senators as he took prisoners before the faces of their countrymen in triumph. Returning into the city, he threw some into prison, stretched others on the rack, and put others to death; and not a place in the city was unvisited by the tyrant's cruelty. Arrogance was added to severity, insolence to inhumanity. From a course of continued good fortune, he sometimes forgot that he was a man, sometimes called himself the son of Jupiter. When he appeared in public, a golden eagle, as a token of his parentage, was carried before him; he wore a purple robe, buskins like kings in tragedies, and a crown of gold. His son he named Ceraunos,* to mock the gods, not only with false statements, but with impious names. Two noble youths, Chion and Leonides, incensed that he should dare to commit such outrages, and desiring to

* Κεραυνός, *thunder.*

deliver their country, formed a conspiracy to put him to death. They were disciples of Plato the philosopher, and being desirous to exhibit to their country the virtue in which they were daily instructed by the precepts of their master, placed fifty of their relations, as if they were their attendants, in ambush; while they themselves, in the character of men who had a dispute to be settled, went into the citadel to the tyrant.* Gaining admission, as being well known, the tyrant, while he was listening attentively to the one that spoke first, was killed by the other. But as their accomplices were too late in coming to their support, they were overpowered by the guards; and hence it happened that though the tyrant was killed, their country was not liberated. Satyrus, the brother of Clearchus, made himself tyrant in a similar way; and for many years, with various successive changes, the Heracleans continued under the yoke of tyrants.

BOOK XVII.

Fall of Lysimachia; Lysimachus kills his son; Seleucus declares war against him, I.—Death of Lysimachus; Seleucus killed by Ptolemy Ceraunus; Pyrrhus prepares to invade Italy, II.—History of Epirus, III.

I. About the same time there was an earthquake in the regions round the Hellespont and the Chersonese;† but the chief effect of it was, that the city of Lysimachia, founded two and twenty years before by king Lysimachus, was sunk in ruins; a prodigy which portended disasters to Lysimachus and his family, destruction to his kingdom, and calamity to the disturbed provinces. Nor was fulfilment wanting to these omens; for, in a short time after, conceiving towards his son Agathocles (whom he had appointed to succeed him on the throne, and through whose exertions he had managed several wars with success), a hatred unnatural in him not only as a father but

* *Ad tyrannum.*] The words *veluti ad regem*, which follow *tyrannum*, and which Wetzel condemns as a gloss, are omitted from the translation. He also condemns the preceding *veluti clientes;* but for this I see no necessity.

† The Chersonesus Taurica; now the *Crimea*.

as a man, he took him off by poison, using as his agent in the affair his step-mother Arsinoë. This was the first commencement of his calamities, the prelude to approaching ruin; for executions of several great men were added to the murder of his son, who were put to death for expressing concern at the young prince's fate; and, in consequence, both those about the court who escaped this cruelty, and those who were in command of the troops, began at once to desert to Seleucus, and incite him to make war upon Lysimachus; an enterprise to which he was already inclined from a desire to emulate his glory. This was the last contest between the fellow soldiers of Alexander; and the two combatants were reserved, as it were, for an example of the influence of fortune. Lysimachus was seventy-four years old; Seleucus seventy-seven. But at this age they both had the fire of youth, and an insatiable desire of power; for though they alone possessed the whole world,* they yet thought themselves confined within narrow limits, and measured their course of life, not by their length of years, but by the extent to which they carried their dominion.

II. In this war, Lysimachus (who had previously lost, by various chances of fortune, fifteen children) died, with no small bravery, and crowned the ruin of his family. Seleucus, overjoyed at such a triumph, and what he thought greater than the triumph, that he alone survived of all Alexander's staff,† the conqueror of conquerors, boasted that "this was not the work of man, but a favour from the gods," little thinking that he himself was shortly after to be an instance of human instability; for in the course of about seven months, he was treacherously surprised by Ptolemy,‡ whose sister Lysimachus had married, and put to death, losing the kingdom of Macedonia, which he had taken from Lysimachus, together with his life.

Ptolemy, being ambitious to please his subjects, both for the honour of the memory of the great Ptolemy his father,

* *Orbem terrarum duo soli tenerent.*] A great exaggeration. Seleucus had Upper Asia and Syria; Lysimachus Thrace, Greece, Macedonia, and several provinces of Asia Minor. The dominions of Ptolemy Philadelphus were therefore much more extensive.—*Wetzel.*

† *De cohorte Alexandri.*

‡ Ptolemy Ceraunus, the eldest son of Ptolemy Lagus, and brother of Ptolemy Philadelphus; xvi. 2. His mother's name was Eurydice; that of Philadelphus's mother Berenice, Pausan. i. 6, 8.—*Wetzel.*

and for the sake of palliating the revenge which he had taken on behalf of Lysimachus, resolved, in the first place, to conciliate the sons of Lysimachus, and sought a marriage with their mother Arsinoë, his sister,* promising to adopt the young men, so that, when he should succeed to the throne of their father, they might not venture, through respect for their mother, or the influence of the name of father, to attempt anything against him. He solicited, too, by letter, the friendship of his brother the king of Egypt, professing that "he laid aside all feelings of resentment at being deprived of his father's kingdom, and that he would no longer ask that from a brother which he had more honourably obtained from his father's enemy."† He also in every way flattered Nicomedes,‡ that as he was about to have a war with Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, and Antiochus the son of Seleucus, he might not come upon him as a third enemy. Nor was Pyrrhus of Epirus, neglected by him, a king who would be of great assistance to whichsoever side he attached himself, and who, while he desired to spoil them one by one, sought the favour of all. On going to assist the Tarentines, therefore, against the Romans, he desired of Antigonus the loan of vessels to transport his army into Italy; of Antiochus, who was better provided with wealth than with men, a sum of money; and of Ptolemy, some troops of Macedonian soldiers. Ptolemy, who had no excuse for holding back for want of forces, supplied him with five thousand infantry, four thousand cavalry, and fifty elephants, but for not more than two years' service. In return for this favour, Pyrrhus, after marrying the daughter of Ptolemy, appointed him guardian of his kingdom in his absence; lest, on carrying the flower of his army into Italy, he should leave his dominions a prey to his enemies.

III. But since I have come to speak of Epirus,§ a few

* The sister of Ptolemy. See the Index.

† Seleucus, the enemy of Ptolemy Lagus, xv. 4.

‡ Wetzel retains *Eumeni* in his text, though Gronovius had seen that the passage must be thus read: *Omnique arte adulatur Nicomedi, ne cùm Antigono Demetrii, Antiocho Seleuci filiis bellum habiturc, tertius sibi hostis accederet.* This emendation is approved by Grævius, Vorstius, Scheffer, and Faber. The Antigonus here mentioned is *Antigonus Gonnatas*, and the Antiochus *Antiochus Soter*, the successor of Seleucus.

§ He had, however, mentioned it before, as Wetzel observes, xvi. 2.

particulars should be premised concerning the rise of that kingdom. The first regal power in this country was that of *the Molossi*. Afterwards Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, having been deprived of his father's dominions * during his absence in the Trojan war, settled in these parts; the inhabitants of which were first called Pyrrhidæ, and afterwards Epirots. This Pyrrhus, going to the temple of Jupiter at Dodona to consult the oracle, seized there by force Lanassa, the granddaughter of Hercules, and by a marriage with her had eight children. Of his daughters he gave some in marriage to the neighbouring princes, and by means of these alliances acquired great power. He gave to Helenus,† the son of King Priam, for his eminent services, the kingdom of the Chaonians, and Andromache the widow of Hector in marriage, after she had been his own wife, he having received her at the division of the Trojan spoil. Shortly after he was slain at Delphi, at the very altar of Apollo, by the treachery of Orestes the son of Agamemnon. His successor was his son Pielus. The throne afterwards passed in regular descent to Arrybas, over whom, as he was an orphan, and the only survivor of a noble family, guardians were publicly appointed, the concern of all being so much the greater to preserve and educate him. He was also sent to Athens for the sake of instruction; and, as he was more learned than his predecessors, so he became more popular with his subjects. He was the first, accordingly, that established laws, a senate, annual magistrates, and a regular form of government; and as a settlement was found for the people by Pyrrhus, so a more civilized way of life was introduced by Arrybas. A son of this king was Neoptolemus, the father of Olympias (mother of Alexander the great), and of Alexander, who occupied the throne of Epirus after him, and died in Italy in a war with the Bruttii. On the death of Alexander his brother Æacides became king, who, by wearying his people with constant wars against the Macedonians, incurred

* Phthia in Thessaly.

† The words *atque ita*, which precede *Heleno* in the text, are not expressed in the translation; for the giving of the kingdom and the wife to Helenus could hardly have been consequent on the marriages of Pyrrhus's daughters by Lanassa; or Andromache must have been very old when Helenus took her. On this subject, see Virg. Æn. iii. 294.

their dislike, and was in consequence driven into exile, leaving his little son Pyrrhus, about two years old, in the kingdom. The child, too, being sought for by the populace to be put to death, through their hatred to the father, was concealed and carried off into Illyricum, and delivered to Beroë, who was the wife of king Glaucias, and of the family of the Æacidæ, to be brought up. This king, moved either by pity for the boy's misfortunes, or by his infantine caresses, protected him for a long time against Cassander, king of Macedonia, (who demanded him with menaces of war,) having the kindness also to adopt him for his better security. The Epirots, being moved by these acts, and turning their hatred into pity, brought him back, when he was eleven years old, into the kingdom, appointing him guardians to keep the throne for him till he became of age. When he grew up he engaged in many wars, and, by a train of success, attained such eminence as a leader, that he was the only man who was thought capable of defending the Tarentines against the Romans.

BOOK XVIII.

War of Pyrrhus with the Romans, I.—The Romans refuse aid from Carthage; make peace with Pyrrhus; send an embassy to Ptolemy Philadelphus; Cineas; Pyrrhus retires to Sicily, II.—Account of Tyre; rise of Strato, III.—Dido leaves Tyre, IV.—Founds Carthage; its prosperity, V.—Iarbas; death of Dido; human sacrifices at Carthage, VI.—Disasters of the Carthaginians in Sardinia; mutiny of the army; Malchus; Carthalo, VII.

I. PYRRHUS, king of Epirus, therefore, being solicited by a second embassy from the Tarentines, to which were added the entreaties of the Samnites and Lucanians, who likewise needed assistance against the Romans, was induced to comply, not so much by the prayers of the suitors, as by the hope of making himself master of Italy, and promised to come to them with an army. When his thoughts, indeed, were once directed to that enterprise, the examples of his predecessors began to impel him violently towards it, in order that he might not appear inferior to his uncle Alexander, whom the Tarentines had had for a defender against the Bruttii, or to have less spirit than Alexander the Great, who had subdued the east in

so distant an expedition from his native country. Having left his son Ptolemy, therefore, who was but fifteen years old, as guardian of his kingdom, he landed his army in the harbour of Tarentum, taking with him his two younger sons, Alexander and Helenus, as a comfort to him in so long a voyage. The Roman consul, Valerius Lævinus, hearing of his arrival, and hastening to come to battle with him before the forces of his allies were assembled, led forth his army into the field. Nor did the king, although he was inferior in number of forces, hesitate to engage. But as the Romans were getting the advantage, the appearance of the elephants, previously unknown to them, made them at first stand amazed, and afterwards quit the field; and the strange monsters of the Macedonians* at once conquered the conquerors. The triumph of the enemy, however, was not bloodless; for Pyrrhus himself was severely wounded, and a great number of his soldiers killed; and he had more glory from his victory than pleasure. Many cities of Italy, moved by the result of this battle, surrendered to Pyrrhus; among others also Locri, betraying the Roman garrison, revolted to him. Of the prisoners, Pyrrhus sent back two hundred to Rome without ransom, that the Romans, after experiencing his valour, might experience also his generosity. Some days after, when the forces of his allies had come up, he fought a second battle with the Romans, of which the event was similar to that of the former.

II. In the meantime, Mago, general of the Carthaginians, being sent to the aid of the Romans with a hundred and twenty ships, went to the senate, saying that "the Carthaginians were much concerned that they should be distressed by war in Italy from a foreign prince; and that for this reason he had been despatched to assist them; that, as they were attacked by a foreign enemy, they might be supported by foreign aid." The thanks of the senate were given to the Carthaginians, and the succours sent back. But Mago, with the cunning of a Carthaginian, went privately, a few days after, to Pyrrhus, as if to be a peace-maker from the people of Carthage, but in reality to discover the king's views with regard to Sicily, to which island it was reported that he was

* As having been sent to Pyrrhus by Ptolemy Ceraunus, king of Macedonia, xvii. 2.

sent for; since the Carthaginians had the same reason* for sending assistance to the Romans, namely that Pyrrhus might be detained by a war with that people in Italy, and prevented from crossing over into Sicily. During the course of these transactions, Fabricius Luscinus, being commissioned by the senate of Rome, had made peace with Pyrrhus. To ratify the treaty, Cineas was sent to Rome by Pyrrhus with valuable presents, but found nobody's house open for their reception. To this instance of Roman incorruptibility, another, very similar, happened about the same time. Certain ambassadors, who were sent by the senate into Egypt, having refused some costly presents offered them by Ptolemy, and being invited to supper some days after, golden crowns were sent to them, which, from respect to the king, they accepted, but placed them the next day on the king's statues. Cineas, bringing word that "the treaty with the Romans was broken off by Appius Claudius," and being asked by Pyrrhus "what sort of city Rome was," replied that "it appeared to him a city of kings." Soon after, ambassadors from the Sicilians arrived, to offer Pyrrhus the dominion of the whole island, which was harassed by constant wars with the Carthaginians. Leaving his son Alexander, therefore, at Locri, and securing the cities of his allies with strong garrisons, Pyrrhus transported his army into Sicily.

III. Since I come to speak of the Carthaginians, a short account shall be given of their origin, tracing back, to some extent, the history of the Tyrians, whose misfortunes were much to be pitied. The nation of the Tyrians was founded by the Phœnicians, who, suffering from an earthquake, and abandoning their country, settled at first near the Syrian lake,† and afterwards on the coast near the sea, where they built a city, which, from the abundance of fish, they named Sidon, for so the Phœnicians call a fish in their language. Many years after, their city being stormed by the king of the

* *Nam Romanis eadem causa mittendi auxilii Carthaginiensibus fuit*, &c.] Berneccerus and Vorstius think that this passage requires correction. Scheffer supposes that some words are lost, as there is nothing to which *eadem* can be referred.

† *Assyrium stagnum.*] *Assyrium* for *Syrium.*—*Glareanus.* He means the lake of Gennesaret.—*Bongarsius:* with whom Berneccerus and Faber agree.

Ascalonians,* sailing away to the place where Tyre stands, they built that city the year before the fall of Troy. Here, harassed for a long time, and in various ways, by attacks from the Persians, they resisted, indeed, successfully, but, as their strength was exhausted, they suffered the most cruel treatment from their slaves, who were then extraordinarily numerous. These traitors, having entered into a conspiracy, killed their masters and all the free people of the city, and thus, becoming masters of the place, took possession of the houses of their owners, assumed the government, appropriated wives to themselves, and begot, what they themselves were not, freemen. Out of so many thousands of slaves, there was one who was moved to compassion by the mild disposition of his aged master and the hard fortune of his little son, and looked upon them, not with savage fierceness, but with humanity, affection, and pity. He put them out of the way, therefore, as if they had been killed; and when the slaves came to deliberate about the condition of their government, and had resolved that a king should be elected from their own body, and that he should be preferred, as most acceptable to the gods, who should first see the rising sun, he mentioned the matter to Strato (for that was the name of his master), who was then in concealment. Being instructed by him, and proceeding with the rest, about the middle of the night, to a certain plain, he alone, when they were all looking towards the east, kept his eye directed towards the west. This at first seemed madness to the others, to look in the west for the rising sun; but when day began to advance, and the rising luminary to shine on the highest eminences of the city, he, while all the rest were watching to see the sun itself, was the first to point out to them the sunshine on the loftiest pinnacle of the town. This thought seemed above the wit of a slave; and when they asked him who had put it into his head, he confessed that it was his master. It was then seen how far the abilities of freemen surpass those of slaves, who, though they may be first in viciousness, are not first in wisdom. The old man and his son were therefore spared; and the slaves, thinking that they had been preserved by the interposition of some deity, made Strato king. After his death, the throne descended to his son, and

* *Ascaloniorum.*] Inhabitants of Ascalon, between Azotus and Gaza.

subsequently to his grandsons. This atrocity of these slaves was much noticed, and was a terrible example to the whole world. Alexander the Great, when he was prosecuting his wars, some time after, in the east, having taking the city, crucified, as an avenger of the general safety, and in memory of the former massacre, all those who survived the siege; preserving from injury only the family of Strato, and restoring the throne* to his descendants; and sending to the island, at the same time, inhabitants that were free-born and guiltless, that, as the race of slaves was extirpated, an entirely new generation might be established in the city.

IV. The Tyrians, being thus settled under the auspices of Alexander, quickly grew powerful by frugality and industry.

Before the massacre of the masters by the slaves, when they abounded in wealth and population, they sent a portion of their youth into Africa, and founded Utica. Meanwhile their king died at Tyre, appointing his son Pygmalion and his daughter Elissa, a maiden of extraordinary beauty, his heirs. But the people gave the throne to Pygmalion, who was quite a boy. Elissa married Acerbas,† her uncle, who was priest of Hercules, a dignity next to that of the king. Acerbas had great but concealed riches, having laid up his gold, for fear of the king, not in his house, but in the earth; a fact of which, though people had no certain knowledge of it, report was not silent. Pygmalion, excited by the account, and forgetful of the laws of humanity, murdered his uncle, who was also his brother-in-law, without the least regard to natural affection. Elissa long entertained a hatred to her brother for his crime, but at last, dissembling her detestation, and assuming mild looks for the time, she secretly contrived a mode of flight, admitting into her confidence some of the leading men of the city, in whom she saw that there was a similar hatred of the king, and an equal desire to escape. She then addressed her brother in such a way as to deceive him; pretending that "she had a desire to remove to his house, in order that the home of her husband might no longer revive in her, when she was desirous to forget him, the oppressive recollection of her sorrows, and that the sad

* It does not appear how they were deprived of it.

† Called by Virgil *Sichæus*. Servius thinks that the real name was *Sicharbas*, which Faber would insert in Justin's text.

remembrances of him might no more present themselves to her eyes." To these words of his sister, Pygmalion was no unwilling listener, thinking that with her the gold of Acerbas would come to him. But Elissa put the attendants, who were sent by the king to assist in her removal, on board some vessels in the early part of the evening, and sailing out into the deep, made them throw some loads of sand, put up in sacks, as if it was money, into the sea. Then, with tears and mournful ejaculations, she invoked Acerbas, entreating that "he would favourably receive his wealth which he had left behind him, and accept that as an offering to his shade, which he had found to be the cause of his death." Next she addressed the attendants, and said that "death had long been desired by her, but as for them, cruel torments and a direful end awaited them, for having disappointed the tyrant's avarice of those treasures, in the hopes of obtaining which he had committed fratricide." Having thus struck terror into them all, she took them with her as companions of her flight. Some bodies of senators, too, who were ready against that night, came to join her, and having offered a sacrifice to Hercules, whose priest Acerbas had been, proceeded to seek a settlement in exile

V. Their first landing place was the isle of Cyprus, where the priest of Jupiter, with his wife and children, offered himself to Elissa, at the instigation of the gods, as her companion and the sharer of her fortunes, stipulating for the perpetual honour of the priesthood for himself and his descendants. The stipulation was received as a manifest omen of good fortune. It was a custom among the Cyprians to send their daughters, on stated days before their marriage, to the sea-shore, to prostitute themselves, and thus procure money for their marriage portions, and to pay, at the same time, offerings to Venus for the preservation of their chastity in time to come. Of these Elissa ordered about eighty to be seized and taken on board, that her men might have wives, and her city a population. During the course of these transactions, Pygmalion, having heard of his sister's flight, and preparing to pursue her with unfeeling hostility, was scarcely induced by the prayers of his mother and the menaces of the gods to remain quiet; the inspired augurs warning him that "he would not escape with impunity, if he interrupted the founding of a city that was to become the most prosperous in the

world." By this means some respite was given to the fugitives; and Elissa, arriving in a gulf of Africa, attached the inhabitants of the coast, who rejoiced at the arrival of foreigners, and the opportunity of bartering commodities with them, to her interest. Having then bargained for a piece of ground, as much as could be covered * with an ox-hide, where she might refresh her companions, wearied with their long voyage, until she could conveniently resume her progress, she directed the hide to be cut into the thinnest possible strips, and thus acquired a greater portion of ground than she had apparently demanded; whence the place had afterwards the name of Byrsa. The people of the neighbourhood subsequently gathering about her, bringing, in hopes of gain, many articles to the strangers for sale, and gradually fixing their abodes there, some resemblance of a city arose from the concourse. Ambassadors from the people of Utica, too, brought them presents as relatives, and exhorted them "to build a city where they had chanced to obtain a settlement." An inclination to detain the strangers was felt also by the Africans; and, accordingly, with the consent of all, Carthage was founded, an annual tribute being fixed for the ground which it was to occupy. At the commencement of digging the foundations an ox's head was found, which was an omen that the city would be wealthy, indeed, but laborious and always enslaved. It was therefore removed to another place, where the head of a horse was found, which, indicating that the people would be warlike and powerful, portended an auspicious site. In a short time, as the surrounding people came together at the report, the inhabitants became numerous, and the city itself extensive.

VI. When the power of the Carthaginians, from success in their proceedings, had risen to some height, Hiarbas, king of the Maxitani,† desiring an interview with ten of the chief men of Carthage, demanded Elissa in marriage, denouncing war in case of a refusal. The deputies, fearing to report this message to the queen, acted towards her with Carthaginian artifice,

* *Tegi posset.*] Justin misapplies this word. A better account is given by Appian, de Bell. Pun. init: "Οσον βύρσα ταύρου περιλαβῃ and Livy says, *Quantum loci bovis tergo amplecti potuerint.* Virgil also Æn. i. 372: *Taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo.—Berneccerus* Scheffer thinks that we should read *cingi*

† Four old editions have *Mauritani;* two manuscripts *Muri.—Wetzel*

saying that "the king asked for some person to teach him and his Africans a more civilized way of life, but who could be found that would leave his relations and go to barbarians, and people that were living like wild beasts?" Being then reproached by the queen, "in case they refused a hard life for the benefit of their country, to which, should circumstances require, their life itself was due," they disclosed the king's message, saying that "she herself, if she wished her city to be secure, must do what she required of others." Being caught by this subtlety, she at last said (after calling for a long time with many tears and mournful lamentations on the name of her husband Acerbas), that "she would go whither the fate of her city called her." Taking three months for the accomplishment of her resolution, and having raised a funeral pile at the extremity of the city, she sacrificed many victims, as if she would appease the shade of her husband, and make her offerings to him before her marriage; and then, taking a sword, she ascended the pile, and, looking towards the people, said, that "she would go to her husband as they had desired her," and put an end to her life with the sword. As long as Carthage remained unconquered, she was worshipped as a goddess. This city was founded seventy-two years* before Rome; but while the bravery of its inhabitants made it famous in war, it was internally disturbed with various troubles, arising from civil differences. Being afflicted, among other calamities, with a pestilence, they adopted a cruel religious ceremony, an execrable abomination, as a remedy for it; for they immolated human beings as victims, and brought children (whose age excites pity even in enemies) to the altars, entreating favour of the gods by shedding the blood of those for whose life the gods are generally wont to be entreated.

VII. In consequence of the gods, therefore, being rendered

* There is a strange variety of opinions among authors as to the time when this city was founded. Some make it *thirty* years prior to the Trojan war, as Philistas in Eusebius, or *fifty*, as Appian, both of whom deny that Dido was the founder of it; some say that it was founded after Troy was taken, but before the building of Rome; but do not agree as to the number of years. Vell. Paterculus, i. 6, makes it *fifty-six* years older than Rome; Livy, Epit. li., says that it stood seven hundred years, and was destroyed A.U.C. 607; a calculation which makes it *ninety-three* years older than Rome.—*Lemaire.* See also *Bongarsius* and *Berneccerus.*

adverse by such atrocities, after they had long fought unsuccessfully in Sicily, and had transferred the war into Sardinia, they were defeated in a great battle with the loss of the greater part of their army; a disaster for which they sentenced their general Malchus,* under whose conduct they had both conquered a part of Sicily and achieved great exploits against the Africans, to remain in exile with the portion of his army that survived. The soldiers, indignant at this sentence, sent deputies to Carthage, to beg, in the first place, permission for them to return, and pardon for their ill success in the field; and, in the second place, to announce that "what they could not obtain by entreaty, they would obtain by force of arms." The prayers and threats of the deputies being alike slighted, the troops, after some days, went on board ship, and came under arms to the city, when they called gods and men to witness that "they were not come to overthrow, but to recover their country; and that they would show their countrymen that it was not valour, but fortune, that had failed them in the preceding war." By stopping the supplies, and besieging the city, they reduced the Carthaginians to the greatest despair. At this time Cartalo, the son of Malchus the exiled general, returning by his father's camp from Tyre (whither he had been sent by the Carthaginians, to carry the tenth of the plunder of Sicily, which his father had taken, to Hercules), and being desired by his father to wait on him, replied that "he would discharge his religious duties to the public,† before those of merely private obligation." His father, though he was indignant at his conduct, was nevertheless afraid to obstruct him in the performance of his religious offices. Some days after, Cartalo, having obtained leave of absence from the people, and returning to his father, presented himself before all the people, dressed in the purple and fillets of his sacerdotal dignity, when his father took him aside, and said, "Hast thou dared, most unnatural wretch, to appear before so many of thy miserable countrymen, thus arrayed in purple and gold, and to enter, with all the marks of peaceful prosperity about thee, and exulting as it were in triumph, into

* Wetzel has the name *Maleus* in his text, but favours *Malchus*, a conjecture of Is. Vossius, in his note.

† *Publicæ religionis officia.*] The public payment of his vows for his safe return.— *Wetzel.*

this sad and mournful camp? Couldst thou display thyself nowhere else to thy fellow creatures? Was no place fitter for it than where the misery of thy father, and the distress of his unhappy banishment, were to be seen? I have to add, too, that when thou wast summoned a short time ago, thou proudly despisedst, I do not say thy father, but certainly the general of thy countrymen. And what else dost thou exhibit in that purple and those crowns, but the titles of my victories? Since thou, therefore, acknowledgest nothing in thy father but the name of an exile, I also will assume the character, not of a father, but of a general, and will make such an example of thee, that no one may hereafter dare to sport with the miseries and sorrows of a parent." He accordingly ordered him to be nailed, in all his finery, on a high cross within view of the city. A few days after he took Carthage, and assembling the people, complained of the injustice of his banishment, pleaded necessity as his excuse for making war upon them, and added that "being content with his victory, and the punishment of the authors of their country's misery,* he granted a free pardon for his unjust banishment to all the rest." Having accordingly put ten senators to death, he left the city to the government of its laws. But being accused himself, shortly after, of aspiring to be king, he paid the penalty of his twofold cruelty to his son and his country. He was succeeded, as commander-in-chief, by Mago, by whose exertions the power of Carthage, the extent of its territories, and its military glory, was much increased.

* *Auctoribus miserorum civium* is the reading of all the texts, but cannot be right. Faber conjectures *auctoribus miseriarum civilium*, which I have adopted. Vorstius proposed *miseriæ civium;* and Vossius observes that "doctissimus Peyraredus" read *misertum civium*, which Vossius himself approved, but which certainly cannot be adopted unless further changes are made in the context

BOOK XIX

Hasdrubal and Hamilcar, sons of Mago; Hasdrubal dies in Sardinia; war of the Carthaginians in Sicily, I.—The Carthaginians defeated in Sicily; Himilco succeeds Hamilcar; pestilence in the army, II. —Return of Himilco to Carthage; his speech, and death, III.

I. MAGO, the general of the Carthaginians, after having been the first, by regulating their military discipline, to lae the foundations of the Punic power, and after establishing thy strength of the state, not less by his skill in the art of war than by his personal prowess, died, leaving behind him two sons, Hasdrubal and Hamilcar, who, pursuing the honourable course of their father, were heirs to his greatness as well as to his name. Under their generalship war was made upon Sardinia; and a contest was also maintained against the Africans, who demanded tribute for many years for the ground on which the city stood. But as the cause of the Africans was the more just, their fortune was likewise superior, and the struggle with them was ended—not by exertions in the field—by the payment of a sum of money. In Sardinia Hasdrubal was severely wounded, and died there, leaving the command to his brother Hamilcar; and not only the mourning throughout his country, but the fact that he had held eleven dictatorships and enjoyed four triumphs,* rendered his death an object of general notice. The courage of the enemy, too, was raised by it, as if the power of the Carthaginians had expired with their general. The people of Sicily, therefore, applying, in consequence of the perpetual depredations of the Carthaginians, to Leonidas, the brother of the king of Sparta, for aid, a grievous war broke out, which continued, with various success, for a long period.

During the course of these transactions, ambassadors came to Carthage from Darius king of Persia, bringing an edict, by which the Carthaginians were forbidden to offer human sacrifices, and to eat dog's flesh, and were commanded to burn the

* He calls a Carthaginian office by a Roman name. *Suffetes* was the Punic word for their two chief magistrates. As for triumphal processions, the Africans, according to Servius, Æn. iv. 37, were the first people that had them, long before they were introduced at Rome.

bodies of the dead rather than bury them in the earth;* and requesting, at the same time, assistance against Greece, on which Darius was about to make war.† The Carthaginians declined giving him aid, on account of their continual wars with their neighbours, but, that they might not appear uncompliant in every thing, willingly submitted to the decree.

II. Hamilcar, meanwhile, was killed in battle in Sicily, leaving three sons, Himilco, Hanno, and Gisco. Hasdrubal also had the same number of sons, Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Sappho.‡ By these the affairs of the Carthaginians were managed at this period. War was made upon the Moors, a contest was maintained with the Numidians, and the Africans were compelled to remit the tribute paid for the building of the city. At length, however, as so numerous a family of commanders was dangerous to the liberty of the state, since they themselves managed and decided every thing, a hundred judges were chosen out of the senate, who were to demand of the generals, when they returned from war, an account of their proceedings, in order that, under this control, they might exercise their command§ in war with a regard to the judicature and laws at home.

* *Mortuorumque corpora cremare potius quàm terrâ obruere, à rege jubebantur.*] As the Persians did not *burn*, but *bury*, the bodies of the dead, thinking that fire was polluted by corpses, Freinshemius, on Curt. ii. 13, 15, would reject the words *à rege jubebantur*, and make the infinitives *cremare* and *obruere* depend on *prohibebantur*, which precedes; so that the sense may be, "they were forbidden to burn the dead rather than bury them in the earth;" that is, they were commanded to bury rather than burn them. Whoever thinks this construction harsh, may perhaps be better pleased with the correction of Gronovius, *mortuorumque corpora cremare* [prohibebantur] *quæ potius terrâ obruere à rege jubebantur.—Lemaire.* But Gronovius's construction is not less harsh than that of Freinshemius. Kirchmann, de Fun. Rom. i. 2, would make *cremare* and *obruere* change places; an alteration which Berneccerus and Vorstius approve. But perhaps Justin or Trogus merely made a mistake.

† He was prevented by death. See ii. 10.

‡ A name that does not occur in any other author. It is perhaps corrupt. In one manuscript it was written *Sapho*. Should we read *Psapho?* This certainly is a Punic name. See the "Proverbs" of Apostolius and the "Apophthegms" of Arsenius.—*Vossius.* Vossius's emendation is approved by Grævius, Scheffer, Faber, and Wetzel.

§ *Imperia agitarent.*] I read *agitarent* with Bongarsius, Berneccerus, Vorstius, and Faber, not *cogitarent*, which is in the oldest editions. The alteration, says Bongarsius, was made by G. Major.

In Sicily, Himilco succeeded as general in the room of Hamilcar, but, after fighting several successful battles, both by land and sea, and taking many towns, he suddenly lost his army by the influence of a pestilential constellation.* When the news of this arrived at Carthage, the country was overwhelmed with grief, and all places rung with lamentations, as if the city had been taken by an enemy; private houses were closed, the temples of the gods were shut, all religious ceremonies were intermitted, and all private business suspended. They all then crowded to the harbour, and inquired of the few that came out of their ships, survivors of the calamity, respecting their relatives. But when, after wavering hope, dread attended with suspense, and uncertain apprehensions of bereavement, the loss of their relatives became known to the unhappy inquirers, the groans of mourners, and the cries and sorrowful lamentations of unhappy mothers, were heard along the whole shore.

III. In this state of things, the bereaved general came out of his ship, ungirt, and in a mean dress like that of a slave, at sight of whom the troops of mourners gathered into one body. He, lifting up his hands to heaven, sometimes bewailed his own lot, sometimes the misfortune of the state, and sometimes complained of "the gods, who had deprived him of such honours obtained in the field, and the glory of so many victories, who, after he had taken so many cities, and had defeated the enemy by land and sea, had destroyed his victorious army, not by war, but by a pestilence. Yet he brought," he said, "this important consolation to his countrymen, that though the enemy might rejoice at their ill-success, they could assume no glory from it, as they could neither say that those who had died were slain by them, nor that those who had returned had been put to flight. That the plunder which they had taken in their deserted camp was not what they could exhibit as the spoils of a conquered enemy, but what they had seized, as falling to them for want of owners, through the accidental deaths of its possessors. That, as far as the enemy was concerned, they had come off conquerors; as

* *Pestilentis sideris.*] The disease was thought to have been an infliction from heaven on the Carthaginians, because they had plundered the temples of Ceres and Proserpine. See Diod. Sic. xiv. 70—72.

to the pestilence, they were certainly conquered; but that, for himself, he took nothing more to heart than that he could not die among the brave, and was reserved, not to enjoy life, but to be the sport of calamity. However, as he had brought the wretched remains of his army to Carthage, he would follow his fellow soldiers, and prove to his country that he had not prolonged his life to that day because he was desirous to live, but that he might not desert by his death, and abandon to the army of the enemy, those whom the horrible disease had spared." When he had walked, with such lamentations, through the city, and had arrived at the entrance to his own house, he dismissed the crowd that followed him, as if it were the last time that he should speak to them, and then, locking his door and admitting no one, not even his sons, to his presence, he put an end to his life.

BOOK XX.

Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, makes an expedition to Magna Græcia; Greek origin of many people of Italy, I.—Of Metapontum; Crotona; Locri, II.—War between Crotona and Locri, III.—Pythagoras at Crotona; his death, IV.—Dionysius attacks Crotona; embassy of the Gauls to him; settlements of the Gauls in Italy; Dionysius recalled to Sicily; his death, V.

I. DIONYSIUS, after expelling the Carthaginians from Sicily, and making himself master of the whole island, thinking that peace might be dangerous to his power, and idleness in so great an army fatal to it, transported his forces into Italy; with a wish, at the same time, that the strength of his soldiers might be invigorated by constant employment, and his dominions enlarged. His first contest was with the Greeks, who occupied the nearest parts of the coast on the Italian sea; and, having conquered them, he attacked their neighbours, looking upon all of Grecian origin who were inhabitants of Italy, as his enemies; and these settlers had then spread, not merely through a part of Italy, but through almost the whole of it. Many Italian cities, indeed, after so long a lapse of time, still exhibit some traces of Greek manners; for the Etrurians, who occupy the shore of the Tuscan sea, came from Lydia: and Troy, after it was taken and overthrown, sent thither the Veneti (whom we see on the coast of the Adriatic), under the

leadership of Antenor. Adria, too, which is near the Illyrian sea, and which gave name also to the Adriatic, is a Greek city; and Diomede, being driven by shipwreck, after the destruction of Troy, into those parts, built Arpi. Pisæ, likewise, in Liguria, had Grecian founders; and Tarquinii, in Etruria, as well as Spina in Umbria, has its origin from the Thessalians; Perusia was founded by the Achæans. Need I mention Cære?* Or the people of Latium, who were settled by Æneas? Are not the Falisci, are not Nola and Abella, colonies of the Chalcidians? What is all the country of Campania? What are the Bruttii† and Sabines? What are the Samnites?‡ What are the Tarentines,§ whom we understand to have come from Lacedæmon, and to have been called Spurii? The city of Thurii they say that Philoctetes built; and his monument is seen there to this day, as well as the arrows of Hercules, on which the fate of Troy depended, laid up in the temple of Apollo.

II. The people of Metapontum, too, show in their temple of Minerva, the iron tools with which Epeus, by whom their city was founded, built the Trojan horse. Hence all that part of Italy was called Greater Greece.‖ But soon after they were settled, the Metapontines, joining with the Sybarites and Crotonians, formed a design to drive the rest of the Greeks from Italy. Capturing, in the first place, the city Siris, they slew, as they were storming it, fifty young men that were embracing the statue of Minerva, and the priest of the goddess dressed in his robes, between the very altars. Suffering, on this account, from pestilence and civil discord, the Crotonians, first of all, consulted the oracle at Delphi, and answer was made to them, that "there would be an end of their troubles, if they appeased the offended deity of Minerva, and the manes of the slain." After they had begun, accordingly, to make statues of proper size for the young men, and especially for Minerva, the Metapontines, learning what the oracle was, and thinking it expedient to anticipate them

* It is said by Strabo to have been settled by the Pelasgi.

† They are said to have sprung from the Lucanians, xxiii. 1, and on the coast of Lucania were many Greek towns.

‡ I know not why he intimates that either of these peoples were of Greek origin. Strabo regards the Sabines as autochthones of Italy.

§ See iii. 4.

‖ *Major Græcia*, or more commonly *Magna Græcia*, Great Greece.

in pacifying the manes of the goddess, erected to the young men smaller images of stone, and propitiated the goddess with offerings of bread.* The plague was thus ended in both places, one people showing their zeal by their magnificence, and the other by their expedition. After they had recovered their health, the Crotonians were not long disposed to be quiet; and being indignant that, at the siege of Siris, assistance had been sent against them by the Locrians, they made war on that people. The Locrians, seized with alarm, had recourse to the Spartans, begging their assistance with humble entreaties. But the Spartans, disliking so distant an expedition, told them "to ask assistance from Castor and Pollux." This answer, from a city in alliance with them, the deputies did not despise, but going into the nearest temple, and offering sacrifice, they implored aid from those gods. The signs from the victims appearing favourable, and their request, as they supposed, being granted, they were no less rejoiced than if they were to carry the gods with them; and, spreading couches for them in the vessel, and setting out with happy omens, they brought their countrymen comfort though not assistance.

III. This affair becoming known, the Crotonians themselves also sent deputies to the oracle at Delphi, asking the way to victory and a prosperous termination of the war. The answer given was, that "the enemies must be conquered by vows, before they could be conquered by arms." They accordingly vowed the tenth of the spoil to Apollo, but the Locrians, getting information of this vow, and the god's answer, vowed a ninth part, keeping the matter however secret, that they might not be outdone in vows. When they came into the field, therefore, and a hundred and twenty thousand Crotonians stood in arms against them, the Locrians, contemplating the smallness of their own force (for they had only fifteen thousand men), and abandoning all hope of victory, devoted themselves to certain death; and such courage, arising out of despair, was felt by each, that they thought they would be as conquerors, if they did not fall without avenging themselves. But while they sought only to die with honour, they had the good fortune to gain the victory; nor was there any other

* *Panificiis.*] We might, with Ostertagius, read *pannificiis* (cloths or garments), which were more appropriate to Minerva.—*Wetzel.*

cause of their success but their desperation. While the Locrians were fighting, an eagle constantly attended on their army, and continued flying about them till they were conquerors. On the wings, also, were seen two young men fighting in armour different from that of the rest, of an extraordinary stature, on white horses and in scarlet cloaks; nor were they visible longer than the battle lasted. The incredible swiftness of the report of the battle made this wonderful appearance more remarkable; for on the same day on which it was fought in Italy, the victory was published at Corinth, Athens, and Lacedæmon.

IV. After this event the Crotonians ceased to exercise their valour, or to care for distinction in the field. They hated the arms which they had unsuccessfully taken up, and would have abandoned their former way of life for one of luxury, had not Pythagoras arisen among them. This philosopher was born at Samos, the son of Demaratus, a rich merchant, and after being greatly advanced in wisdom, went first to Egypt, and afterwards to Babylon, to learn the motions of the stars and study the origin of the universe, and acquired very great knowledge. Returning from thence, he went to Crete and Lacedæmon, to instruct himself in the laws of Minos and Lycurgus, which at that time were in high repute. Furnished with all these attainments, he came to Crotona, and, by his influence, recalled the people, when they were giving themselves up to luxury, to the observance of frugality. He used daily to recommend virtue, and to enumerate the ill effects of luxury, and the misfortunes of states that had been ruined by its pestilential influence; and he thus produced in the people such a love of temperance, that it was at length thought incredible that any of them should be extravagant. He frequently gave instruction to the women apart from the men, and to the children apart from their parents. He impressed on the female sex the observance of chastity, and submission to their husbands; on the rising generation, modesty and devotion to learning. Through his whole course of instruction he exhorted all to love temperance, as the mother of every virtue; and he produced such an effect upon them by the constancy of his lectures, that the women laid aside their vestments embroidered with gold, and other ornaments and distinctions, as instruments of luxury, and, bringing them

into the temple of Juno, consecrated them to the goddess, declaring that modesty, and not fine apparel, was the true adornment of their sex. How much he gained upon the young men, his victory over the stubborn minds of the women may serve to indicate. Three hundred of the young men, however, being united by an oath of fraternity, and living apart from the other citizens, drew the attention of the city upon them, as if they met for some secret conspiracy; and the people, when they were all collected in one building, proceeded to burn them in it. In the tumult about sixty lost their lives; the rest went into exile.

Pythagoras, after living twenty years at Crotona, removed to Metapontum, where he died; and such was the admiration of the people for his character, that they made a temple of his house, and worshipped him as a god.

V. Dionysius the tyrant, who, we have said, had transported an army from Sicily into Italy, and made war upon the Greeks there, proceeded, after taking Locri by storm, to attack the Crotonians, who, in consequence of their losses in the former war, were scarcely recovering their strength in a long peace. With their small force, however, they resisted the great army of Dionysius more valiantly than they had before, with so many thousands, resisted the smaller number of the Locrians. So much spirit has weakness in withstanding insolent power; and so much more sure, at times, is an unexpected than an expected victory. But as Dionysius was prosecuting the war, ambassadors from the Gauls, who had burned Rome some months before,* came to him to desire an alliance and friendship with him; observing that "their country lay in the midst of his enemies, and could be of great service to him, either by supporting him in the field, or by annoying his enemies in the rear when they were engaged with him." The embassy was well received by Dionysius, who, having made an alliance with them, and being reinforced with assistance from Gaul, renewed the war as it were afresh.

The causes of the Gauls' coming into Italy, in quest of new settlements, were civil discords and perpetual contentions at home; and when, from impatience of those feuds, they had

* *Ante menses.*] As a number seems to be wanting, Scheffer would read *ante menses sex*, taking the last word from Florus, i. 13. Vossius would read *ante mensem*. But the longer period seems the more eligible.

sought refuge in Italy, they expelled the Tuscans from their country, and founded Milan,* Como, Brescia, Verona, Bergamo, Trent, and Vicenza. The Tuscans, too, when they were driven from their old settlements, betook themselves, under a captain named Rhætus, towards the Alps, where they founded the nation of Rhætia, so named from their leader.

An invasion of Sicily by the Carthaginians obliged Dionysius to return thither; for that people, having recruited their army, had resumed the war, which they had broken off in consequence of the plague, with increased spirit. The leader in the expedition was Hanno the Carthaginian, whose enemy Juniatus, the most powerful of the Carthaginians at that time, having, from hatred to him, given friendly notice to Dionysius, in a letter written in Greek, of the approach of the army and the inactivity of its leader, was found, through the letter being intercepted, guilty of treason; and a decree of the senate was made, "that no Carthaginian should thenceforward study the Greek literature or language, so that no one might be able to speak with the enemy, or write to him, without an interpreter." Not long after, Dionysius, whom a little before neither Sicily nor Italy could hold, being reduced and weakened by continual wars, was at last killed by a conspiracy among his own subjects.

BOOK XXI.

Dionysius the younger becomes tyrant of Syracuse, I.—His cruelties; is expelled from Syracuse, and received at Locri, II.—His conduct there; is driven from the place, and regains the government at Syracuse, III.—Usurpation of Hanno at Carthage; his death, IV.—Dionysius is again driven from Syracuse, and leads a mean life at Corinth, V.—The Carthaginians are alarmed at the conquests of Alexander the Great; the unjust execution of Hamilcar, VI.

I. When Dionysius the tyrant was cut off in Sicily, the army elected in his room Dionysius the eldest of his sons, both in accordance with the law of nature, and because they thought the power would be more secure, if it continued in the hands of one son, than if it were divided among several.

* I have given the modern names. The ancient were Mediolanum, Comum, Brixia, Verona, Bergomum, Tridentum, Vicentia.

Dionysius, at the commencement of his reign, was eager to remove the uncles of his brothers,* as being his rivals in the government, and as having encouraged the young men to ask for a division of power. But concealing his inclinations for a while, he applied himself first to gain the favour of his subjects, as being likely to cause the atrocity, which he had resolved on committing, to be regarded with more indulgence, if he previously made himself popular. He therefore released three thousand prisoners from the gaols, remitted the people the taxes for three years, and sought the affection of all by whatever blandishments he could use. Then, proceeding to execute his determination, he put to death, not only the relatives of his brothers, but his brothers themselves; so that he left to those, to whom he owed a share of power, not even a share of life, and commenced cruelty upon his kindred before he exercised it upon strangers.

II. When his rivals were removed, he fell into indolence, and contracted, from excessive indulgence at table, great corpulence of body, and a disease in his eyes, so that he could not bear the sunshine, or dust, or even the brightness of ordinary daylight. Suspecting that, for these weaknesses, he was despised by his subjects, he proceeded to inflict cruelties upon them; not filling the gaols, like his father, with prisoners, but the whole city with dead bodies. Hence he became not more contemptible than hateful to every one. The Syracusans, in consequence, resolving to rebel against him, he long hesitated whether he should lay down the government or oppose them in arms; but he was compelled by the soldiery, who hoped for plunder from sacking the city, to march into the field. Being defeated, and trying his fortune again with no better success, he sent deputies to the people of Syracuse, with promises that "he would resign the government, if they would send persons to him with whom he might settle terms of peace." Some of the principal citizens being

* *Avunculos fratrum suorum.*] Among these was Dion, who was not the uncle of Dionysius himself, but of his brothers; for Dionysius the elder had Hipparinus and Nysæus by Aristomache, the sister of Dion, and Dionysius by another wife named Doris. See Corn. Nep. Vit. Dion. c. i.; Diod. Sic. xvi. 6; Plutarch. Dion. c. 3. Dion had wished to ask Dionysius the elder, when he was on his death-bed, to bequeath his sister's sons a share of the kingdom. Corn. Nep. Dion. c. 2.—*Wetzel.*

accordingly sent for that purpose, he put them in close confinement, and then, when all were off their guard, having no fear of hostilities, he despatched his army to devastate the city. A contest, in consequence, which was long doubtful, took place in the town itself, but the townsmen overpowering the soldiery by their numbers, Dionysius was obliged to retire, and fearing that he should be besieged in the citadel, fled away secretly, with all his king-like paraphernalia, to Italy. Being received, in his exile, by his allies the Locrians, he took possession of the citadel as if he were their rightful sovereign, and exercised his usual outrages upon them. He ordered the wives of the principal men to be seized and violated; he took away maidens on the point of marriage, polluted them, and then restored them to their betrothed husbands; and as for the wealthiest men, he either banished them or put them to death, and confiscated their property

III. In process of time, when a pretext for plunder was wanting, he over-reached the whole city by an artful stratagem. The Locrians, being harassed in war by Leophron the tyrant of Rhegium, had vowed, if they were victorious, to prostitute their maidens on the festal day of Venus; and as, on neglecting to perform the vow, they were unsuccessful in another war with the Lucanians, Dionysius called them to an assembly, and advised them "to send their wives and daughters, as richly dressed as possible, to the temple of Venus; out of whom a hundred, chosen by lot, should fulfil the public vow, and, for religion's sake, offer themselves for prostitution during the space of a month, the men previously taking an oath not to touch any one of them; and, in order that this should be no detriment to the women who released the state from its vow, they should make a decree, *that no other maiden should be married till these were provided with husbands.*" This proposal, by which regard was shown both to their superstitious observances and to the honour of their virgins, being received with approbation, the whole of the women, in most expensive dresses, assembled in the temple of Venus, when Dionysius, sending in his soldiers, took off their finery, and made the ornaments of the matrons a spoil for himself. The husbands of some of them too, who were of the richer class, he put to death; others he tortured to make them discover their husbands' wealth. After reigning in this manner for six years,

he was driven from Locri by a conspiracy of the people, and returned to Sicily; where, while all, after so long an interval of peace, were free from apprehension, he possessed himself of Syracuse by surprise.

IV. While this affair occurred in Sicily, Hanno, a leading man among the Carthaginians, in Africa, employed his power, which surpassed that of the government, to secure the sovereignty for himself, and endeavoured to establish himself as king by killing the senate. For the execution of this atrocity he fixed on the day of his daughter's marriage, in order that his nefarious plot might be the better concealed in the pomp of religious ceremonies. He accordingly prepared a banquet for the common people in the public porticoes, and another for the senate in his own house, so that, by poisoning the cups, he might take off the senate privately and without witnesses, and then more easily seize the government, when none were left to prevent him.* The plot being disclosed to the magistrates by his agents, his destructive intentions were frustrated, but not punished, lest the matter, if publicly known, should occasion more trouble, in the case of so powerful a man, than the mere design of it had caused. Satisfied, therefore, with putting a stop to it, they merely set bounds by a decree to the expenses of marriage entertainments, and ordered the decree to be obeyed, not by him alone, but universally, that nothing personal to him, but the general correction of an abuse, might seem to be intended. Prevented by this measure, he, for a second attempt, raised the slaves, and appointing another day for the massacre of the senate, but finding himself again betrayed, he threw himself, for fear of being brought to trial, into a strong fortress with a body of twenty thousand armed slaves. Here, while he was soliciting the Africans, and the king of the Moors, to join him, he was captured, and after being scourged, having his eyes put out, and his arms and legs broken, as if atonement was to be exacted from every limb, he was put to death in the sight of the people, and his body, mangled with stripes, was nailed to a cross. All his children and relations, too, though guiltless, were delivered to the executioner, that no member of so nefarious a family might survive either to imitate his villainy, or to revenge his death.

* *Orbamque rempublicam—invaderet.*] *Orbam*, destitute of defenders or supporters.

V. Dionysius, in the meantime, being re-established in Syracuse, and becoming every day more oppressive and cruel to the people, was assailed by a new band of conspirators Laying down the government, therefore, he delivered up the city and army to the Syracusans, and, being allowed to take his private property with him, went to live in exile at Corinth; where, looking on the lowest station as the safest, he humbled himself to the very meanest condition of life. He was not content with strolling about the streets, but would even stand drinking in them; he was not satisfied with being seen in taverns and impure houses, but would sit in them for whole days. He would dispute with the most abandoned fellows about the merest trifles, walk about in rags and dirt, and afford laughter to others more readily than he would laugh at them. He would stand in the shambles, devouring with his eyes what he was not able to purchase; he would wrangle with the dealers before the ædiles, and do everything in such a manner * as to appear an object of contempt rather than of fear. At last he assumed the profession of a schoolmaster, and taught children in the open streets, either that he might continually be seen in public † by those who feared him, or might be more readily despised by those who did not fear him; for though he had still plenty of the vices peculiar to tyrants, yet his present conduct was an affectation of vices,‡ and not the effect of nature, and he adopted it rather from cunning than from having lost the self-respect becoming a sovereign, having experienced how odious the names of tyrants are, even when they are deprived of power. He strove, therefore, to diminish the odium incurred from his past by the contemptiblencss of his present life, not looking to honourable but to safe practices. Yet amidst all these arts of dissimulation, he was accused of aspiring to the sovereignty, and was left at liberty only because he was despised.

VI. During these proceedings, the Carthaginians, alarmed at the rapid successes of Alexander the Great, and fearing that he might resolve to annex Africa to his Persian empire,

* *Omnia ita facere.*] Wetzel injudiciously reads *ista.*

† He never thought that he made himself sufficiently contemptible, because he never thought himself sufficiently safe.—*Scheffer.*

‡ *Simulatio vitiorum.*] Referring to his general conduct, not to his assumption of the character of a schoolmaster.

sent Hamilcar, surnamed Rhodanus, a man remarkable for wit and eloquence beyond others, to sound his intentions; for, indeed, the capture of Tyre, their own parent city, and the founding of Alexandria, as a rival to Carthage, on the confines of Africa and Egypt, as well as the good fortune of the king, whose ambition and success seemed to know no limit, raised their apprehensions to an extreme height. Hamilcar, obtaining access to the king through the favour of Parmenio, represented himself to Alexander as having been banished from his country, and as having fled to him for refuge, offering, at the same time, to serve as a soldier in the expedition against Carthage. Having thus ascertained his views, he sent a full account of them to his countrymen, inscribed on wooden tablets, with blank wax spread over the writing. The Carthaginians, however, when he returned home after the death of Alexander, put him to death, not only ungratefully but cruelly, on pretence that he had offered to sell their city to the king.

BOOK XXII.

Rise of Agathocles in Sicily, I.—Becomes master of Syracuse by the aid of Hamilcar, II.—His wars in Sicily, III.—The Carthaginians besiege Syracuse; Agathocles carries the war against them into Africa, IV.—His speech to his army, promising them the plunder of Carthage, V.—Superstition of the soldiers; Agathocles burns his ships, defeats the Carthaginians, and lays waste the country, VI. VII.—Returns to Sicily, and drives the Carthaginians from it; his farther proceedings, VIII.

I. AGATHOCLES,* tyrant of Sicily, who attained greatness equal to that of the elder Dionysius, rose to royal dignity from the lowest and meanest origin. He was born in Sicily, his father being a potter, and spent a youth not more honourable than his birth; for, being remarkable for beauty and gracefulness of person, he supported himself a considerable time by submitting to the infamous lust of others. When he had

* All that took place in Sicily from the year B.C. 342 to B.C. 316, is omitted by Justin. During that period Timoleon, whom Justin does not even name, expelled the Carthaginians from Sicily, and gave liberty to the whole island. See Plutarch, Cornelius Nepos, and Diodorus Siculus, lib. xvi.

passed the years of puberty, he transferred his services from men to women. Having thus become infamous with both sexes, he next changed his way of life for that of a robber. Some time after, having gone to Syracuse and been received as a citizen among the other inhabitants, he was long without credit, appearing to have as little of property to lose as he had of character to blacken. At last, enlisting in the army as a common soldier, he showed himself ready for every kind of audacity, his life being then not less distinguished by restlessness than it had previously been by infamy. He was noted for activity in the field, and for eloquence in making harangues. In a short time, accordingly, he became a centurion, and soon after a tribune. In his first campaign against the people of Ætna,* he gave the Syracusans great proofs of what he could do; in the next, against the Campanians, he excited such hopes of himself throughout the army, that he was chosen to fill the place of the deceased general, Damascon, whose wife, after the death of her husband, he married, having previously had a criminal connection with her. And, not content that from being poor he was suddenly made rich, he engaged in piracy against his own country. He was saved from death by his companions, who, when apprehended and put to the torture, denied his guilt. Twice he attempted to make himself sovereign of Syracuse, and twice he was driven into exile.

II. By the Murgantines, with whom he took refuge in his banishment, he was first, from hatred to the Syracusans, made prætor, and afterwards general-in-chief. In the war which he conducted for them, he both took the city of the Leontines, and proceeded to besiege his native city, Syracuse; when Hamilcar, general of the Carthaginians, being entreated to aid it, laid aside his hatred as an enemy, and sent a body of troops thither. Thus, at one and the same time, Syracuse was both defended by an enemy with the love of a citizen, and attacked by a citizen with the hatred of an enemy. But Agathocles, seeing that the city was defended with more vigour than it was assailed, entreated Hamilcar, through his deputies, to undertake the settlement of a peace between him and the Syracusans, promising him particular services in return for the favour. Hamilcar, induced by such hopes, and by dread of

* *Adversus Ætnæos.*] Ætna was a town at the foot of Mount Ætna, not far from Catana.

his power, made an alliance with him, on condition that whatever assistance he furnished Agathocles against the Syracusans, he himself should receive as much for the augmentation of his power at home. Not only peace, in consequence, was procured for Agathocles, but he was also appointed prætor at Syracuse; and he then swore to Hamilcar that he would be faithful to the Carthaginians, the [sacred] fires, at the same time, being set forth, and touched by him.* Some time after, having received from Hamilcar five thousand African troops, he put to death the most powerful of the leading citizens; and then, as if intending to re-model the constitution, he ordered the people to be summoned to an assembly in the theatre, convoking the senate, in the meantime, in the Gymnasium, as though he designed to make some previous arrangements with them. His measures being thus taken, he sent his troops to surround the people, and caused the senate to be massacred, and, when he had finished the slaughter of them, cut off the richest and boldest of the commoners.

III. These things being done, he made choice of troops, and embodied a regular army; with which he suddenly attacked several of the neighbouring cities when they were under no apprehension of hostilities. He also disgracefully harassed, with the connivance of Hamilcar, certain allies of the Carthaginians, who, in consequence, sent complaints to Carthage, not so much against Agathocles as against Hamilcar, accusing "the former, indeed, as an oppressor and tyrant, but the latter as a traitor, by whom the possessions of their allies, under a settled compact, were betrayed to the bitterest of enemies; for as, at first, Syracuse (a city always hostile to the Carthaginians, and a competitor with Carthage for the

* The text of Wetzel, with the older editions, has *expositis ignibus cereis tactisque*, "ignes cerei" being interpreted "lighted waxen tapers." But it may be doubted whether those two words will fairly bear that sense. Many other editions have *ignibus Cereris*, a conjecture of Sebisius, which Berneccerus, Scheffer, and Faber approve, because Ceres was worshipped in Sicily, and because Juvenal, Sat. xiv., has *Vendet perjuria summâ Exiguâ, Cereris tangens aramque pedemque.* I am better pleased with a conjecture of Peyrarredus, *expositis ignibus sacris, tactisque*, and have translated the passage accordingly. Nic. Heinsius would read *Tunc Hamilcari aris rex positis insigni ceremoniâ, tactisque*, &c.; Grævius, *Tunc Hamilcari aris positis, et ignibus Cereris, tactisque*, &c., on the supposition that *aris* might have been absorbed, as it were, by the preceding *Hamilcari.*

dominion of Sicily) was delivered to Agathocles as a bond of union with Hamilcar, so, at the present time, the cities of the allies of Carthage were given up to the same tyrant under pretence of making peace. They warned them, therefore, that these proceedings would shortly come home to themselves, and that they would feel what mischief they had brought,* not more upon Sicily than upon Africa itself." At these complaints the senate was incensed against Hamilcar, but as he was in command of the army, they gave their votes concerning him secretly, and caused their several opinions, before they were openly read, to be put in an urn, and sealed up, until the other Hamilcar, the son of Gisco, should return from Sicily. But the death of Hamilcar prevented all effects from these subtle contrivances and suppressed judgments,† and he, whom his fellow citizens had unjustly condemned unheard, was freed from danger of punishment by the kindness of destiny. The proceeding furnished Agathocles with a pretext for making war on the Carthaginians. His first engagement was with Hamilcar, the son of Gisco, by whom he was defeated, and retired to Syracuse to prepare himself for war with fresh vigour. But the result of his second encounter was the same as that of the first.

IV. The victorious Carthaginians, in consequence, having invested Syracuse with a close siege, Agathocles, perceiving that he was neither a match for them in the field, nor provided for enduring a blockade, and being deserted, moreover, by his allies, who were disgusted at his cruelties, resolved to transfer the war into Africa; a resolution formed with wonderful audacity, that he should make war on the city of a people for whom he was not a match in his own city; that he who could not defend his own country should invade that of others; and that one who had been conquered should brave his conquerors. Nor was the secrecy of his plan less striking than the contrivance of it. Stating merely to the people, that "he had found out a way to victory, and that they had only to prepare their minds to endure a short siege, or that, if any of them were dissatisfied with their present circumstances, he gave them full liberty to depart," he proceeded, after one thousand

* Namely, by sending out Hamilcar.

† *Sententias inauditas.*] Justin means the secret votes, of which he had just spoken, and which were sealed up in an urn.—*Vorstius.*

six hundred had left him, to furnish the rest with provisions and money for the necessities of a blockade, taking away with him only fifty talents for present use, and intending to get further supplies rather from his enemies than his friends. He then obliged all the slaves that were of age for war, after receiving their freedom, to take the military oath, and put them and the greater part of the soldiers, on ship-board, supposing that, as the condition of both was made equal, there would be a mutual emulation in bravery between them.

V. In the seventh year of his reign, therefore, accompanied by his two grown-up sons, Archagathus and Heraclides, he directed his course towards Africa, not one of his men knowing whither he was sailing; but while they all supposed that they were going to Italy or Sardinia for plunder, he landed his army on the coast of Africa, and then for the first time made known his intentions to them all. He reminded them in what condition Syracuse was, "for which there was no other remedy but that they should inflict on the enemy the distresses that they themselves were suffering. Wars," he said, "were conducted in one way at home and in another abroad; at home, a people's only support was what the resources of their country supplied; but abroad, the enemy might be beaten by their own strength, while their allies fell off, and from hatred of their long tyranny, looked about for foreign aid. To this was added, that the cities and fortresses of Africa were not secured with walls, or situate on eminences, but lay in level plains without any fortifications, and might all be induced, by the fear of destruction, to join in the war against Carthage. A greater war, in consequence, would blaze forth against the Carthaginians from Africa itself than from Sicily, as the forces of the whole region would combine against a city greater in name than in power, and he himself would thus gain from the country the strength which he had not brought into it. Nor would victory be only in a small degree promoted by the sudden terror of the Carthaginians, who, astonished at such daring on the part of their enemies, would be in utter consternation. Besides, there would be the burning of country houses, the plundering of fortresses and towns that offered resistance, and siege laid to Carthage itself; from all which disasters they would learn that wars were practicable not only for them against others, but for

others against them. By these means the Carthaginians might not only be conquered, but Sicily might be delivered from them; for they would not continue to besiege Syracuse, when they were suffering from a siege of their own city. Nowhere else, therefore, could war be found more easy, or plunder more abundant, for, if Carthage were taken, all Africa and Sicily would be the prize of the victors. The glory, too, of so honourable an enterprise, would be so celebrated through all ages, that it could never be buried in oblivion; for it would be said that they were the only men in the world who had carried abroad against their enemies a war which they could not withstand at home; who, when defeated, had pursued their conquerors, and besieged the besiegers of their own city. They ought all accordingly, to prosecute, with equal courage and cheerfulness, an enterprise, than which none could offer them a more noble reward if they were victorious, or greater honour to their memory if they were conquered."

VI. By these exhortations the courage of the soldiers was excited; but the superstitious influence of an omen had spread some dismay among them; for the sun had been eclipsed* during their voyage. But with regard to this phænomenon Agathocles was at no less pains to satisfy them than he had been with regard to the war; alleging that, "if it had happened before they set out, he should have thought it a portent unfavourable to their departure, but since it had occurred after they had set sail, its signification was directed against those to whom they were going. Besides," he said, "the eclipses of the heavenly bodies always presaged a change in the present state of things, and it was therefore certain that an alteration was foretold in the flourishing condition of the Carthaginians and in their own adverse circumstances." Having thus pacified his soldiers, he ordered all the ships, with the consent of the army, to be set on fire, in order that, the means of flight being taken away, they might understand that they must either conquer or die.

While they were devastating the country wherever they went, and laying farm-houses and fortresses in ashes, Hanno advanced to meet them with thirty thousand Carthaginians.

* In the third year of the 117th olympiad, B.C. 309, on the 15th of August, at two in the afternoon, according to the calculations of astronomers.—*Wetzel.*

When they came to a battle, two thousand of the Sicilians, and three thousand of the Carthaginians, with their general himself, were left on the field. By this victory the spirits of the Sicilians were elated, and those of the Carthaginians depressed. Agathocles, taking advantage of his success, stormed several towns and forts, took a vast quantity of plunder, and killed many thousands of the enemy. He then pitched his camp at the distance of five miles from Carthage, that they might view from the walls of the city the destruction of their most valuable possessions, the devastation of their lands, and the burning of their houses. At the same time a great rumour of the destruction of the Carthaginian army, and of the capture of their cities, was spread through all Africa, and astonishment fell upon every one, wondering how so sudden a war could have surprised so great an empire, especially from an enemy already conquered. This wonder was gradually changed into a contempt for the Carthaginians; and not long after, not only the populace of Africa, but the most eminent cities, out of fondness for change, revolted to Agathocles, and furnished the victorious army with corn and money.

VII. To these disasters of the Carthaginians, and as if to crown their evil fortune, was added the destruction of their army and its general in Sicily. For after the departure of Agathocles from the island, the Carthaginians, prosecuting the siege of Syracuse with less vigour, were reported to have been utterly cut off by Antander, the brother of Agathocles. The fortune of the Carthaginians, therefore, being similar at home and abroad, not only their tributary towns, but even princes that were in alliance with them, began to fall off, estimating the obligations of confederacy not by the standard of honour but by that of fortune. Among these was Opheltas, king of Cyrene, who, grasping, with extravagant hopes, at the dominion of all Africa, made an alliance with Agathocles through ambassadors, arranging that, when the Carthaginians were subdued, the government of Sicily should fall to Agathocles, and that of Africa to himself. But when he came, accordingly, with a numerous army, to take a share in the war, Agathocles, after throwing him off his guard by the affability of his address and the abjectness of his flattery, and after they had supped together several times, and he had been adopted

by Opheltas as a son, put him to death, and taking the command of his forces, defeated the Carthaginians, who were renewing the war with all their might, in a second great battle, but with much loss to both armies. At this result of the contest, such despair was felt by the Carthaginians, that, had not a mutiny occurred among the troops of Agathocles, Bomilcar, the Carthaginian general,* would have gone over to him with his army. For this treachery he was nailed to a cross by the Carthaginians in the middle of the forum, that the place which had formerly been the distinguished scene of his honours might also bear testimony to his punishment. Bomilcar, however, bore the cruelty of his countrymen with such fortitude, that from his cross, as if he had been on a judgment-seat, he inveighed against the injustice of the Carthaginians, upbraiding them sometimes with "having cut off Hanno,† on a false charge of aspiring to sovereignty;" sometimes with "having banished the innocent Gisco;"‡ and sometimes with "having secretly condemned his uncle Hamilcar,§ merely because he wished to make Agathocles their ally rather than their enemy." After uttering these charges with a loud voice, in a numerous assembly of the people, he expired.

VIII. Agathocles, meanwhile, having overcome all opposition in Africa, left the command of his army to his son Archagathus, and went back to Sicily, thinking that all he had done in Africa was as nothing, if Syracuse was still to be besieged; for after the death of Hamilcar, the son of Gisco, a fresh army had been sent thither by the Carthaginians. Immediately on his arrival, all the cities of Sicily, having previously heard of his achievements in Africa, unanimously submitted to him; and being thus enabled to drive the Carthaginians from Sicily, he made himself master of the whole island. Returning afterwards to Africa, he was received by his army in a state of mutiny; for the discharge of their arrears of pay had been deferred by the son till the arrival of his father. Summoning them, therefore, to a general assem-

* *Bomilcar, rex Pœnorum.*] He was one of the *suffetes*. See the first note on xix. 1.

† See xxi. 4.

‡ Concerning his banishment nothing has been said before — *Wetzel.*

§ See the 2nd and 3rd chapters of this book.

bly, he proceeded to pacify them with soothing words, saying that "pay was not to be asked of him, but to be taken from the enemy; that they must gain a common victory, and common spoil; and that they must continue to support him for a short time, till what remained of the war was finished, as they were certain that the capture of Carthage would satisfy all their desires." The mutiny being thus allayed, he led the army, after an interval of some days, against the camp of the enemy, but commencing an engagement too rashly, lost the greater part of his force. Retreating to his camp, therefore, and finding the odium of his rash engagement affecting his character, and dreading, at the same time, a revival of the former murmurs at his failure in paying the arrears, he fled from his camp at midnight, attended only by his son Archagathus. When the soldiers heard of his departure, they were in no less consternation than if they had been captured by the enemy, exclaiming that "they had been twice deserted by their leader in the midst of the enemy's country, and that the care of their lives had been abandoned by him by whom not even their burial should have been neglected." As they were going to pursue Agathocles, they were met by some Numidians, and returned to the camp, but not without having seized and brought back Archagathus, who, through mistaking his way in the night, had been separated from his father. Agathocles, with the ships in which he had returned from Sicily, and the men that he had left to guard them, arrived safe at Syracuse; affording a signal instance of dishonourable conduct, a prince deserting his army, and a father abandoning his children.

In Africa, meanwhile, after the flight of Agathocles, his soldiers, making a capitulation with the enemy, and putting to death the sons of Agathocles, surrendered themselves to the Carthaginians. Archagathus, when he was going to be killed by Arcesilaus, a former friend of his father, asked him "what he thought Agathocles would do to the children of him by whom he was rendered childless?" Arcesilaus replied, that "he felt no concern, since he knew that his children would certainly survive those of Agathocles." Some time after, the Carthaginians sent new commanders into Sicily, to terminate what remained of the war there, and Agathocles made peace with them on equal terms.

BOOK XXIII.

Agathocles goes to war with the Bruttii in Italy; some account of that people, I.—Agathocles returns to Sicily, and dies; Sicily again occupied by the Carthaginians, II.—Acts of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, in Sicily and Italy, III.—History and character of Hiero, IV.

I. AGATHOCLES, sovereign of Sicily, having concluded a peace with the Carthaginians, reduced, by force of arms, a part of the cities which, presuming upon their strength, had thrown off their allegiance to him. Then, as if he were confined within too narrow limits in an island (a part of the dominion of which, even when he first began to rise, he could scarcely have hoped to obtain), he proceeded, after the example of Dionysius,* who had subdued many cities of Italy, to cross over into that country. His first enemies there were the Bruttii, who, at that period, seem to have been the bravest and most powerful people of the country, and to have been extremely ready to attack their neighbours; for they had driven the inhabitants of many of the Greek cities from Italy, and had conquered in war the Lucanians their founders, and made peace with them on equal terms; such being the fierceness of their nature, that they had no respect even for those to whom they owed their origin.

The Lucanians were accustomed to breed up their children with the same kind of education as the Spartans; for, from their earliest boyhood, they were kept in the wilds among the shepherds, without any slaves to attend them, and even without clothes† to wear or to sleep upon, that, from their first years, they might be accustomed to hardiness and spare diet, having no intercourse with the city. Their food was what they took in hunting, and their drink milk or water. Thus were they prepared for the toils of war.

Fifty of these people, who, at first, used to plunder the lands of their neighbours, but who, as numbers flocked to join

* See xx. 1.

† *Sine veste.*] J. G. Grævius thinks it possible that we ought to read *unâ veste*, in conformity with what Justin, iii. 3, says of the Spartans: *Juvenibus non amplius unâ veste uti toto anno permisit.* Or *sine veste* may, as Scheffer suggests, be taken for *without any outer garment*, as he was called *nudus* among the Romans who was clad only with the *tunica*.

them, increased in strength, and were tempted by hopes of greater booty, disturbed the whole of the neighbouring country; and Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, being wearied with complaints from his allies, had sent six hundred Africans to put a stop to their ravages. But the marauders, having seized a fort which the Africans had built, and which was betrayed into their hands by a woman named Bruttia, proceeded to build a city there for the shepherds, who, at the report of a new settlement, came in numbers to join them; and, from the name of the woman, they called themselves Bruttii.

Their first war was with the Lucanians, from whom they sprung. Encouraged by a victory over them, and making peace on equal terms, they subdued the rest of their neighbours by force of arms, and acquired, in a short time, such extraordinary strength, that they were thought formidable even by princes. After some time, Alexander, king of Epirus,* coming into Italy with a great army to the aid of the Greek cities, was cut off by them with all his force; and their natural fierceness, increased by this success, was for a long time terrible to all around them. At last Agathocles, being importuned to come over, set sail, with the hope of enlarging his dominions, from Sicily to Italy.

II. At the first news of his arrival, the Bruttii, alarmed at his name, sent ambassadors to solicit alliance and friendship with him. Agathocles, inviting them to an entertainment, that they might not see his army shipped over, and appointing the next day for giving them audience, went off immediately after the banquet in a vessel, and left them in the lurch. But what followed this deceit was unhappy for him; for the violence of a disease† which he contracted obliged him a few days after to return to Sicily. Being affected by the distemper through his whole body, and a pestilential humour spreading through all his nerves and joints, he was tormented, as it were, by an intestine war among all his members. As his life was despaired of, a contention arose between his son and grandson, each claiming the right of succession to his

* See xii. 1, 2; xviii. 1, 2.

† Occasioned by poison prepared for him and his son Agathocles by Mænon, who wished to secure for Archagathus (son of that Archagathus who was killed in Africa, xxii. 8) the succession to his grandfather's throne. See Diod. Sic. xxi. fragm. 19.—*Wetzel*

power as if he were already dead; and the grandson, after killing the son, got possession of the supreme dignity. Agathocles, therefore, when the pain of his disease and his anxiety of mind were grown intolerable, the one being increased by the severity of the other, resolved on embarking his wife Texena, and two infant sons* that he had by her, with all his treasure, and servants, and regal furniture (in which no king at that time was richer), and sending her back to Egypt, from whence he had received her, fearing that they would find the usurper of his power their enemy. His wife, however, long entreated that she might not be separated from her sick husband, that the affliction of her departure might not be added to the atrocities of his grandson, and that she might not be made to appear as cruel in forsaking her husband as he in attacking his grandfather; saying that, "by marrying him, she not only engaged to share his good fortune, but all his fortune; nor would she unwillingly purchase, with the hazard of her own life, the privilege of receiving her husband's last breath, and of performing, with all the care of conjugal duty and affection, the last offices at his funeral, which, when she was gone, no one would take upon himself to discharge." The little children, at parting, embraced and clung to their father with doleful lamentations; while the wife, who was to see her husband no more, could not desist from kissing him. Nor were the tears of the old man less moving; the children wept for their dying father, the father for his banished children. They bewailed the forlorn condition of their parent, a sick old man; he lamented that his offspring, born to the prospect of a throne, should be left in want. At the same time the whole palace resounded with the cries of those who were witnesses to so cruel a separation. The necessity for departure, however, at length put a stop to their weeping, and the death of the prince followed the leave-taking of his children.

During these occurrences, the Carthaginians, learning the state of affairs in Sicily, and thinking that an opportunity was afforded them of securing the whole island, crossed over to it with a great force, and reduced several cities.

III. At this time, too, Pyrrhus was engaged in a war with the Romans, and, being entreated by the Sicilians, as has been said,

* Lest his grandson should put them to death.

to come to their assistance,* and crossing, in consequence, over to Syracuse, and taking several cities, received the title of king of Sicily as well as of Epirus. Elated by this success, he destined for his son Helenus the kingdom of Sicily, as an inheritance from his grandfather (for he was the son of Agathocles's daughter), and to Alexander that of Italy. He then fought many successful battles with the Carthaginians; but, after a time, ambassadors came to him from his Italian allies, announcing that "they could no longer withstand the Romans, and that, unless he gave them assistance, they must submit." Alarmed at this danger from another quarter, and uncertain what to do, or whither first to direct his efforts, he took time, while he was in suspense between the two, for consideration. As the Carthaginians threatened him on one side, and the Romans on the other, it seemed hazardous not to transport a force into Italy, and more hazardous to withdraw troops from Sicily, lest the one should be lost by not receiving assistance, or the other by being deserted. In this conflict of perils, the safer determination seemed to be, to bring the struggle to an end, by exerting his utmost strength in Sicily, and then, after having subdued the Carthaginians, to carry his victorious army into Italy. He therefore fought a battle; but, though he had the advantage, yet, as he quitted Sicily, he seemed to flee as one defeated; and his allies, in consequence, revolted from him, and he lost his dominion in Sicily as speedily and easily as he had obtained it.

Experiencing no better success in Italy, he returned to Epirus. His fortune, indeed, good and bad, was wonderful for the examples which it gave of both. For as, at first, his good fortune, when his attempts succeeded even beyond his wishes, had procured him empire in Italy and Sicily, and so many victories over the Romans; so now his adverse fortune, overthrowing all that he had raised, as if to afford an illustration of human instability, added to his failure in Sicily the destruction of his fleet at sea, loss of honour in a battle with the Romans, and an ignominious retreat out of Italy.

IV. When Pyrrhus had withdrawn from Sicily, Hiero was made governor of it; and such was the prudence he displayed in his office, that, by the unanimous consent of all the cities,

* See xviii. 2,

he was first made general against the Carthaginians, and soon after king. The fortune of Hiero, in his infancy, had been as it were a presage of his future dignity. He was the son of Hierocles, a man of high rank, whose descent was traced from Gelo an ancient prince of Sicily. His extraction on the mother's side, however, was so mean as to be even dishonourable; for he was the child of a female slave, and was in consequence exposed by his father as a disgrace to his family. But, when he was thus left destitute of human aid, bees for several days fed him with honey, which was heaped round him as he lay. Hence his father, admonished by a communication from the soothsayers, who signified that sovereign power was foreboded to the infant, took him home again, and brought him up most carefully with the hope that he would attain the promised honour. As he was learning his lesson at school, too, among his equals in age, a wolf, that suddenly appeared in the midst of the boys, snatched from him his book. And when he was grown up, and commencing his first campaign, an eagle settled on his shield, and an owl upon his spear; a prodigy which indicated that he would be prudent in counsel, active in the field, and a king. He fought frequently, moreover, with persons that challenged him, and always gained the victory; and he was presented by king Pyrrhus with many military gifts. The handsomeness of his person was remarkable, and his bodily strength wonderful. He was affable in his address, just in his dealings, moderate in command; so that nothing kingly seemed wanting to him but a kingdom.

BOOK XXIV.

Disturbances in Greece; war between Sparta and the Ætolians; end of disputes between the pretenders to the throne of Macedonia, I.—Marriage of Ptolemy and Arsinoë, and its consequences, II. III.—Irruption of the Gauls into Macedonia; incaution of Ptolemy, IV.—Defeat and death of Ptolemy; rise of Sosthenes, V.—The Gauls march to Delphi; description of Delphi, VI.—The Gauls halt in sight of Delphi, and are cut off by the Greeks, VII. VIII.

I. During the course of these proceedings in Sicily, the kings, Ptolemy Ceraunus* and Antigonus, quarrelling and going to war with one another in Greece, almost all the cities of that country, under the Spartans as leaders, encouraged as it were by the opportunity thus offered to entertain hopes of recovering their liberty, and sending to each other ambassadors by whom leagues might be formed to unite them, broke out into hostilities; and, that they might not seem to commence war with Antigonus, under whose dominion they were, they attacked his allies the Ætolians, making it a pretext for war with them, that they had taken possession of the Cirrhæan plain, which by the unanimous consent of Greece had been dedicated to Apollo. For their general in this war they selected Areus, who, drawing together an army, laid waste the towns and corn-fields lying in the plain, and burnt whatever he was unable to carry off. When the shepherds of the Ætolians beheld this destruction from their mountains, about five hundred of them assembling together, attacked the enemy as they were dispersed, and knew not what was the number of their assailants (for the sudden alarm, and the smoke of the fires, prevented them from ascertaining), and having killed about nine thousand† of the depredators, put the rest to flight. And when the Spartans afterwards renewed the war, many of the states refused them their support, thinking that they sought dominion for themselves, and not liberty for Greece.

In the meantime the war between the princes that contended

* He had made himself king of Macedonia after the death of Lysimachus, xvii. 2; and hence Antiochus and Antigonus Gonnatas became his enemies, *ib.*

† A large number to be killed by five hundred. But the editions do not vary.

for the throne of Macedonia was concluded, for Ptolemy, having routed Antigonus and made himself master of the whole country, arranged a peace with Antiochus, and contracted an affinity with Pyrrhus by giving him his daughter in marriage.

II. Having thus freed himself from the fear of foreign enemies, he turned his impious and unprincipled mind to the perpetration of wickedness at home, and contrived a plot against his sister Arsinoë,* to deprive her sons of life, and herself of the possession of the city of Cassandrea. His first stratagem was to pretend love to his sister, and to seek her hand in marriage, for he was unable to come at his sister's sons, whose throne he had usurped, otherwise than by counterfeiting affection for their mother. But the criminal intentions of Ptolemy were understood by his sister. As she expressed distrust of him, therefore, he assured her that "he wished to share the kingdom with her children, against whom he had not taken arms because he wished to wrest the kingdom from them, but that he might have it in his power to present them with a portion of it. She might therefore send a person to receive an oath from him, in whose presence he would bind himself, before the gods of their country, by whatever execrations she pleased." Arsinoë, not knowing what to do, was afraid that if she sent any one, she would be deceived by a false oath, and that, if she did not send, she would provoke her brother's fury and cruelty. Fearing, therefore, less for herself than her children, whom she thought she might protect by the marriage, she sent Dion, one of her friends, to him. Ptolemy, after conducting him into the most sacred temple of Jupiter, held in high veneration from of old among the Macedonians, took hold of the altar, and, touching the images and couches of the gods, vowed, with unheard-of and most solemn imprecations, that "he sought a marriage with his sister in true sincerity, and that he would give her the title of Queen, nor would, to her dishonour, have any other wife, or any other children than her sons." Arsinoë, being thus filled with hope, and relieved from apprehensions, held a conference with her brother in person, and as his looks and flattering glances promised no less sincerity than his oath, she agreed to marry

* The widow of Lysimachus; see xvii. 2, and c. 3 of this book.

him, though her son Lysimachus* exclaimed that "there was treachery at the bottom."

III. The nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence and general rejoicings. Ptolemy, before the assembled army, placed a diadem on his sister's head, and saluted her with the title of Queen. Arsinoë, overjoyed at the name, as having regained what she had lost by the death of Lysimachus her former husband, invited Ptolemy to her city Cassandrea; to get possession of which city the plot was laid. Going thither before her husband, she appointed a festival in the city against his arrival, ordering the houses, temples, and all other places, to be magnificently decorated, altars and victims to be everywhere kept in readiness, and her sons, Lysimachus who was sixteen years old, and Philip three years younger, both remarkable for their comeliness, to go to meet him with crowns on their heads. Ptolemy, to conceal his treachery, caressing them with eagerness, and beyond the warmth of real affection, persisted for a long time in kissing them. But as soon as he arrived at the gate, he ordered the citadel to be seized, and the boys to be slain. They, fleeing to their mother, were slain upon her lap, as she was embracing them; while Arsinoë exclaimed, "What monstrous crime had she committed,† either in marrying or since her marriage?" She several times offered herself to the assassins in the room of her children, and, embracing them, covered their bodies with her own, endeavouring to receive the wounds intended for them. At last, deprived even of the dead bodies of her sons, she was dragged out of the city, with her garments torn and her hair dishevelled, and with only two attendants, and went to live in exile in Samothracia; sorrowing the more, that she was not allowed to die with her children. But the crimes of Ptolemy were not unpunished; for soon after (the immortal gods inflicting vengeance on him for so many perjuries, and such cruel murders), he was driven from his throne and taken prisoner by the Gauls, and lost his life, as he had merited, by the sword.

IV. The Gauls, when the land that had produced them was unable, from their excessive increase of population, to contain them, sent out three hundred thousand men, as *a sacred spring*,‡

* Most other editions have *Ptolemæus*.

† *Sc.* To deserve such punishment.

‡ *Velut ver sacrum.*] To vow *a sacred spring* was customary among

to seek new settlements. Of these adventurers part settled in Italy, and took and burnt the city of Rome; and part penetrated into the remotest parts of Illyricum under the direction of a flight of birds (for the Gauls are skilled in augury beyond other nations), making their way amidst great slaughter of the barbarous tribes, and fixed their abode in Pannonia. They were a savage, bold, and warlike nation, and were the first after Hercules (to whom that undertaking procured great admiration for his valour, and a belief in his immortality), to pass the unconquered heights of the Alps, and places uninhabitable from excess of cold. After having subdued the Pannonians, they carried on various wars with their neighbours for many years. Success encouraging them, they betook themselves, in separate bands, some to Greece, and some to Macedonia, laying waste all before them with the sword. Such indeed was the terror of the Gallic name, that even kings, before they were attacked, purchased peace from them with large sums of money. Ptolemy alone, the king of Macedonia, heard of the approach of the Gauls without alarm, and, hurried on by the madness that distracted him for his unnatural crimes, went out to meet them with a few undisciplined troops, as if wars could be despatched with as little difficulty as murders. An embassy from the Dardanians, offering him twenty thousand armed men for his assistance, he spurned, adding insulting language, and saying that "the Macedonians were in a sad condition, if, after having subdued the whole east without assistance, they now required aid from the Dardanians to defend their country; and that he had for soldiers the sons of those who had served under Alexander the Great, and had been victorious throughout

the Italians; for when in great peril they used to vow that they would sacrifice whatever animals should be born in their country in the following spring. But as it seemed cruel to sacrifice children, they allowed them to grow up, and then threw a veil over them, and conducted them beyond the boundaries of the country. *Festus, sub* "ver sacrum;" see also *sub* "Mamertius." This custom was not confined to the Italians, but prevailed, says Dionys. Halicar. i. 5, "among many people, Greek and barbarian." It seems to have been not uncommon among the Romans; Liv. xxii. 9; xxxiv. 44. See also Plin. H. N. iii. 13. *Ver sacrum*, it should be observed, is an emendation of Pithœus (Adversar. i. 6) for *peregrinatum*, concerning the justice of which no editor has doubted, though Wetzel has thought proper to retain *peregrinatum* in his text.

the world." This answer being repeated to the Dardanian prince, he observed that "the famous kingdom of Macedonia would soon fall a sacrifice to the rashness of a raw youth."*

V. The Gauls, under the command of Belgius, sent deputies to Ptolemy to sound the disposition of the Macedonians, offering him peace if he liked to purchase it; but Ptolemy boasted to his courtiers that the Gauls sued for peace from fear of war. Nor was his manner less vaunting before the ambassadors than before his own adherents, saying that "he would grant peace only on condition that they would give their chiefs as hostages, and deliver up their arms; for he would put no trust in them until they were disarmed." The deputies bringing back this answer, the Gauls laughed, and exclaimed throughout their camp, that "he would soon see whether they had offered peace from regard for themselves or for him." Some days after a battle was fought, and the Macedonians were defeated and cut to pieces. Ptolemy, after receiving several wounds, was taken, and his head, cut off and stuck on a lance, was carried round the whole army to strike terror into the enemy. Flight saved a few of the Macedonians; the rest were either taken or slain.

When the news of this event was spread through all Macedonia, the gates of the city were shut, and all places filled with mourning. Sometimes they lamented their bereavement, from the loss of their children; sometimes they were seized with dread, lest their cities should be destroyed; and at other times they called on the names of their kings, Alexander and Philip, as deities, to protect them; saying that "under them they were not only secure, but conquerors of the world;" and begging that "they would guard their country, whose fame they had raised to heaven by the glory of their exploits, and give assistance to the afflicted, whom the insanity and rashness of Ptolemy had ruined." While all were thus in despair, Sosthenes, one of the Macedonian chiefs, thinking that nothing would be effected by prayers, assembled such as were of age for war, repulsed the Gauls in the midst of their exultation at their victory, and saved Macedonia from devastation. For these

* *Immaturi juvenis.*] Although Ptolemy was rash, he could not be called *immaturus*, for he was the eldest son of Ptolemy Lagides, who died at a great age, B.C. 283. Diod. Siculus, however, xii. fragm 8. agrees in opinion with Justin respecting this king — *Wetzel.*

great services, he, though of humble extraction, was chosen before many nobles that aspired to the throne of Macedonia. But though he was saluted as king by the army, he made the soldiers take an oath to him, not as king, but as general.

VI. In the meantime Brennus, under whose command a part of the Gauls had made an irruption into Greece, having heard of the success of their countrymen, who, under the leadership of Belgius, had defeated the Macedonians, and being indignant that so rich a booty, consisting of the spoils of the east, had been so lightly abandoned, assembled an army of a hundred and fifty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse, and suddenly invaded Macedonia. As he was laying waste the fields and villages, Sosthenes met him with his army of Macedonians in full array, but being few in number, and in some consternation, they were easily overcome by the more numerous and powerful Gauls; and the defeated Macedonians retiring within the walls of their cities, the victorius Brennus, meeting with no opposition, ravaged the lands throughout the whole of Macedonia. Soon after, as if the spoils of mortals were too mean for him, he turned his thoughts to the temples of the immortal gods, saying, with a profane jest, that "the gods, being rich, ought to be liberal to men." He suddenly, therefore, directed his march towards Delphi, regarding plunder more than religion, and caring for gold more than for the wrath of the deities, "who," he said, "stood in no need of riches, as being accustomed rather to bestow them on mortals."

The temple of Apollo at Delphi is situate* on Mount Parnassus, on a rock steep on all sides. A concourse of people, who, collecting from the parts around, through veneration† for the majesty of the god, settled on the rock, formed a city there. Thus, not walls, but precipices, not defences formed by the hand, but by nature, protect the temple and the city; so that it is utterly uncertain whether the strength of the

* Concerning the temple of Apollo at Delphi, see Pausan. x. 6; Diod. Sic. xvi. 26, the former of whom places this expedition of the Gauls into Greece in Olymp. 125, 2, or B.C. 278. See also the "Travels of Anacharsis," vol. iii.—*Wetzel.*

† *Ad affirmationem majestatis* is in the text of Wetzel, but he observes that *admiratione*, the reading of Aldus, and *ad admirationem*, that of the Juntæ, are "not less good." I have adopted the latter, which is sanctioned by Vorstius and Scheffer.

place, or the influence of the deity residing in it, attracts more admiration. The central part of the rock falls back in the shape of an amphitheatre; and, in consequence, if ever shouts are raised, or if the noise of trumpets is mingled with them, the sound, from the rocks echoing and re-echoing to one another, is heard many times repeated, and louder than it was made at first. This effect, on those who are ignorant of its cause, and are struck with wonder at it, produces a greater awe of the power of the god. In the winding of the rock, about half way up the hill, there is a small plain, and in it a deep fissure in the ground, which is open for giving oracles; for a cold exhalation, driven upwards by some force, as it were by a wind, produces in the minds of the priestesses a certain madness, and compels them, filled with the influence of the god, to give answers to such as consult them. Hence many rich presents of kings and nations are to be seen there, which, by their magnificence, testify the grateful feelings of those that have paid their vows, and their belief in the oracles given by the deity.

VII. Brennus, when he came within sight of the temple, deliberated for some time, whether he should at once make an attempt upon it, or should allow his soldiers, wearied with their march, a night to refresh themselves. Two of the captains, Emanus and Thessalorus, who had joined him for a share in the booty, advised that "no delay should be made," while the enemy were unprovided for defence, and the alarm at their coming still fresh; that in the interval of a night, the courage of the enemy would perhaps revive, and assistance come to them; and that the approaches, which were now open, might be blocked up." But the common soldiers, when, after a long endurance of scarcity, they found a country abounding with wine and other provisions, had dispersed themselves over the fields, rejoicing as much at the plenty as if they had gained a victory, and leaving their standards deserted, wandered about to seize on everything like conquerors. This conduct gave some respite to the Delphians. At the first report that the Gauls were approaching, the country people are said to have been prohibited by the oracle from carrying away their corn and wine from their houses. The salutariness of this prohibition was not understood, until, through this abundance of wine and other provisions being thrown in the way of the Gauls, as

a stop to their progress, reinforcements from their neighbours had time to collect. The Delphians, accordingly, supported by the strength of their allies, secured their city before the Gauls, who clung to the wine-skins, on which they had seized, could be recalled to their standards. Brennus had sixty-five thousand infantry, selected from his whole army; of the Delphians there were not more than four thousand; in utter contempt of whom, Brennus, to rouse the courage of his men, pointed to the vast quantity of spoil before them, declaring that the statues, and four-horse chariots, of which a great number were visible at a distance, were made of solid gold, and would prove greater prizes when they came to be weighed than they were in appearance.

VIII. The Gauls, animated by these assertions, and disordered, at the same time, with the wine which they had drunk the day before, rushed to battle without any fear of danger. The Delphians, on the other hand, placing more confidence in the god than in their own strength, resisted the enemy with contempt, and, from the top of the hill, repelled the Gauls as they climbed up, partly with pieces of rock, and partly with their weapons. Amidst this contest between the two, the priests of all the temples,* as well as the priestesses themselves, with their hair loose, and with their decorations and fillets, rushed, trembling and frantic, into the front ranks of the combatants, exclaiming that "the god was come; that they had seen him leap down into his temple through the opening roof; that, while they were all humbly imploring aid of the deity, a youth of extraordinary beauty, far above that of mortals, and two armed virgins, coming from the neighbouring temples of Diana and Minerva, met them; that they had not only perceived them with their eyes, but had heard also the sound of a bow and the rattling of arms;" and they therefore conjured them with the strongest entreaties, "not to delay, when the gods were leading them on, to spread slaughter among the enemy, and to share the victory with the powers of heaven." Incited by these exhortations, they all rushed eagerly to the field of battle, where they themselves also soon perceived the presence of the divinity; for a part of the mountain, broken off by an earthquake, overwhelmed a

* *Universorum templorum.*] Those of Apollo, Diana, and Minerva, as appears from what follows.

host of the Gauls, and some of the densest bodies of the enemy were scattered abroad, not without wounds, and fell to the earth. A tempest then followed, which destroyed, with hail and cold, those that were suffering from bodily injuries. The general Brennus himself, unable to endure the pain of his wounds, ended his life with his dagger. The other general,* after punishing the advisers of the war,† made off from Greece with all expedition, accompanied with ten thousand wounded men. But neither was fortune more favourable to those who fled; for in their terror, they passed no night under shelter, and no day without hardship and danger; and continual rains, snow congealed by the frost, famine, fatigue, and, what was the greatest evil, the constant want of sleep, consumed the wretched remains of the unfortunate army. The nations and people too, through whom they marched, pursued their stragglers, as if to spoil them. Hence it happened that, of so great an army, which a little before, presuming on its strength, contended even against the gods, not a man was left‡ to be a memorial of its destruction.

BOOK XXV.

The Gauls, who had been left behind by Brennus, proceed to attack Antigonus Gonnatas, I.—Massacre of the Gauls; their valour; Gallograecia, II.—Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, expels Antigonus from Macedonia, III.—Pyrrhus goes to war with the Spartans, IV.—Is killed at Argos; his character, V.

I. AFTER peace was made between the two kings, Antigonus and Antiochus, a new enemy suddenly started up against Antigonus as he was returning to Macedonia. The Gauls, who had been left behind by their general Brennus, when he marched into Greece, to defend the borders of their country, armed fifteen thousand foot and three thousand horse (that they alone might not seem idle), and having routed the forces of the Getæ and Triballi, and preparing to invade Macedonia, sent ambassadors to Antigonus to offer him peace if he would pay

* *Alter ex ducibus*] That is, the other of *the two* generals; we are not told his name.

† *Punitis belli auctoribus.*] Those who had persuaded and impelled the Gauls to this attack on Delphi.—*Wetzel.*

‡ This is contradicted by Justin himself, xxxii. 3.—*Dübner.*

for it, and to play the part of spies, at the same time, in his camp. Antigonus, with royal munificence, invited them to a banquet, and entertained them with a sumptuous display of luxuries. But the Gauls were so struck with the vast quantity of gold and silver set before them, and so tempted with the richness of such a spoil, that they returned more inclined to war than they had come. The king had also ordered his elephants to be shown them, as monsters unknown to those barbarians, and his ships laden with stores to be displayed; little thinking that he was thus exciting the cupidity of those to seize his treasures, whom he sought to strike with terror by the ostentation of his strength. The ambassadors, returning to their countrymen, and exaggerating every thing excessively, set forth at once the wealth and unsuspiciousness of the king; saying that "his camp was filled with gold and silver, but secured neither by rampart nor trench, and that the Macedonians, as if they had sufficient protection in their wealth, neglected all military duties, apparently thinking that, as they had plenty of gold, they had no use for steel."

II. By this statement, the desires of a covetous people were sufficiently stimulated to take possession of such spoil. The example of Belgius, too, had its influence with them, who, a little before, had cut to pieces the army of the Macedonians and their king. Being all of one mind, therefore, they attacked the king's camp by night; but he, foreseeing the storm that threatened him, had given notice to his soldiers to remove all their baggage, and to conceal themselves noiselessly in a neighbouring wood; and the camp was only saved because it was deserted. The Gauls, when they found it destitute not only of defenders, but of sentinels, suspecting that there was not a flight, but some stratagem on the part of the enemy, were for some time afraid to enter the gates. At last, leaving the defences entire and untouched, and more like men come to explore than to plunder, they took possession of the camp; and then, carrying off what they found, they directed their course towards the coast. Here, as they were incautiously plundering the vessels, and fearing no attack, they were cut down by the sailors, and a part of the army that had fled thither with their wives and children; and such was the slaughter among them that the report of this victory procured Antigonus peace, not

only from the Gauls, but from his other barbarous neighbours.

The nation of the Gauls, however, was at that time so prolific, that they filled all Asia as with one swarm. The kings of the east then carried on no wars without a mercenary army of Gauls; nor, if they were driven from their thrones, did they seek protection with any other people than the Gauls. Such indeed was the terror of the Gallic name, and the unvaried good fortune of their arms, that princes thought they could neither maintain their power in security, nor recover it if lost, without the assistance of Gallic valour. Hence, being called by the king of Bithynia to his aid, and having gained him the victory over his enemies, they shared his kingdom with him, and called their part of it Gallogræcia.

III. During these transactions in Asia, Pyrrhus, having been defeated by the Carthaginians in a sea-fight on the coast of Sicily, sent ambassadors to Antigonus king of Macedonia, to ask for a supply of troops, saying that, "unless he sent him some, he should be obliged to return to his kingdom, and to seek that enlargement of his dominions from him,* which he had wished to gain from the Romans." The ambassadors bringing word that his request was refused, he pretended to be suddenly obliged to depart, but concealed his reasons for doing so. Meanwhile he directed his allies to prepare for war, and committed the citadel of Tarentum to the guardianship of his son Helenus and his friend Milo. Returning to Epirus, he immediately invaded Macedonia; Antigonus met him with an army, but was defeated in battle, and put to flight. Pyrrhus then allowed the Macedonians to surrender on terms; and as if, by the acquisition of Macedonia, he had made up for his loss of Sicily and Italy, he sent for his son and his friend, whom he had left at Tarentum. Antigonus, divesting himself at once of all the marks of royalty, repaired with a few horsemen, that attended him in his flight, to Thessalonica, there to watch what would follow on the loss of his throne, and to renew the war with a hired army of Gauls. But being utterly defeated, a second time, by Ptolemy the son of Pyrrhus, he fled

* *De ipso.*] He signified that if Antigonus did not send him succour he should be obliged to return home, and that he would then make war on Antigonus, with a view to that enlargement of his dominions which he had wished to make at the cost of the Romans.—*Lemaire.*

with only seven followers, and no longer indulged hopes of recovering his kingdom, but sought only hiding places for safety and solitary ways for flight.

IV. Pyrrhus, being raised to such a height of royal power, and not content with what had once been the object of his wishes, began to contemplate the subjugation of Greece and Asia. He had no greater delight in ruling than in warfare; nor was any power able to withstand him, wheresoever he directed his attack. But irresistible as he was deemed in conquering kingdoms, he also easily lost those which he subdued and acquired, so much better did he manage to gain dominion than to keep it.

Having led his army into the Peloponnesus,* he was met by embassies from the Athenians, Achæans, and Messenians; and all Greece, indeed, struck with admiration at his name, and at the glory of his achievements against the Romans and Carthaginians, was eagerly looking for his arrival. His first contest was with the Spartans, in which, being resisted with greater spirit by the women than by the men, he lost his son Ptolemy and the flower of his army; for, when he proceeded to attack the city, such a number of women assembled to defend their birth-place, that he retreated, overcome not more by bravery on their part than by shame on his own.

As for his son Ptolemy, he is said to have been so brave and enterprising that he took the city of Corcyra† with only sixty men. In a naval engagement, too, he is reported to have leaped from a boat, with seven men, into a fifty-oared galley, and to have taken and kept possession of it. At the attack on Sparta he rode into the very middle of the city, and was there slain in a crowd that gathered around him. When his body was carried to his father, he exclaimed, it is said, "that he had not been killed so soon as he had feared, or his own rashness deserved."

V. Pyrrhus, on being repulsed by the Spartans, marched to Argos, where, while he was endeavouring to capture Antigonus

* *Cherroneson.*] The old reading was *Cherroneso*, which was considered as a dative, and is still retained in some modern editions. J. F. Gronovius altered it to *Cherroneson*, the preposition *in* being understood.

† The chief town of the island of Corcyra. See Pausanias in Att. c. ii. 6, where the attack on this island is mentioned.

who was shut up in the city, and was fighting furiously among the thickest of the assailants, he was struck with a stone from the walls, and killed. His head was carried to Antigonus, who, using his victory with moderation, sent back his son Helenus, who surrendered to him with several Epirots, into his own country, and gave him the bones of his father, not having yet received the rites of burial, to carry home with him.

It is pretty generally stated by authors, that no king, either of that or the former age, was to be compared to Pyrrhus; and that there has seldom been seen, either among princes, or other illustrious men, a man of more upright life or of stricter justice; and that he had such knowledge of the military art, that though he fought against such great princes as Lysimachus, Demetrius, and Antigonus, he was never conquered. In his wars too with the Illyrians, Sicilians, Romans, and Carthaginians, he never came off inferior, but generally victorious; and he rendered his country, which was before but mean and obscure, renowned throughout the world by the fame of his exploits and the glory of his name.

BOOK XXVI.

The Peloponnesus given up to Antigonus; Aristotimus, tyrant of Elis, killed by Hellanicus, I.—Antigonus defeats the Gauls; Alexander, king of Epirus, drives him from Macedonia; Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, recovers it, and expels Alexander from Epirus, II. —Alexander re-established on his throne; death of Magas, king of Cyrene; death of Demetrius, III.

I. AFTER the death of Pyrrhus, there were great warlike commotions, not only in Macedonia, but in Asia and Greece; for the Peloponnesians were betrayed into the power of Antigonus; and while partly concern, partly exultation, prevailed variously among the inhabitants, as any city had either expected aid from Pyrrhus or conceived apprehensions of him, they either entered into alliance with Antigonus, or, impelled by mutual animosity, plunged into hostilities with one another Amidst these tumults in the disturbed provinces, the sovereignty over the city of the Epeans* was usurped by an emi-

* *Epiorum urbs.*] Called by the Greeks Ἐπειοί, from Epeus, a king

nent man named Aristotimus; and when many of the leading persons had been slain by him, and more driven into banishment, and the Ætolians sent ambassadors to ask him "to give up the wives and children of the exiles," he at first refused, but afterwards, as if relenting, he gave all the married women leave to go to their husbands, and fixed a day for their departure. They, as being about to spend their lives in banishment with their husbands, were going to carry all their most valuable property with them; but, when they assembled at one of the gates of the city, intending to go forth in a body, they were despoiled of all that they had, and confined in the public prison, the infants having been first killed in the arms of their mothers, and the young women carried off for violation. The people being all amazed at such cruel tyranny, Hellanicus, the chief of them, an old man and without children, and consequently having no fear either for life or offspring, assembled the most faithful of his friends in his house, and encouraged them to attempt the delivery of their country. But as they hesitated to remove a public evil at their own private risk, and demanded time for deliberation, Hellanicus, calling for his attendants, ordered the doors to be locked, and a message to be carried to the tyrant, requesting him "to send officers to seize a band of conspirators in Hellanicus's house;" and he told all of them, with reproaches, that "since he could not be the deliverer of his country, he would at least take revenge for the abandonment of its cause." Being thus placed between two perils, they chose the more honourable course, and conspired to kill the tyrant; and thus Aristotimus was cut off in the fifth month after he had usurped the government.

II. In the meantime Antigonus, being harassed with wars, of varied aspect, from the Spartans and King Ptolemy, and perceiving that a new enemy, an army from Gallogræcia, was coming upon him, left a few troops as a semblance of a camp, to amuse his other assailants, and proceeded with all the rest of his force against the Gauls; who, becoming aware of his approach, as they were preparing for battle, sacrificed victims

of Elis, contemporary with Pelops, Hom. Odyss. xiii. 275; xv. 297; so that the Epeans, in this passage, are only the Eleans under their old name.—*Wetzel.* Bongarsius and Gronovius would read *Eliorum*, referring to Pausanias, Eliac. and Plutarch, de Virt. Mul. c. 24.

to take presages for the event; and as, from the entrails, great slaughter and destruction of them all was portended, they were moved, not to fear, but to fury, and thinking that the anger of the gods might be appeased by the slaughter of their kindred, butchered their wives and children, commencing hostilities with the murder of their own people; for such rage had possessed their savage breasts, that they did not spare even that tender age which an enemy would have spared, but made deadly war on their own children and their children's mothers, in defence of whom wars are wont to be undertaken. As if, therefore, they had purchased life and victory by their barbarity, they rushed, stained as they were with the fresh blood of their relatives, into the field of battle, but with success no better than their auspices: for, as they were fighting, the furies, the avengers of murder, overwhelmed them sooner than the enemy, and the ghosts of the slain rising up before their eyes, they were all cut off with utter destruction. Such was the havoc among them, that the gods seemed to have conspired with men to annihilate an army of murderers.

In consequence of the result of this battle, Ptolemy and the Spartans, avoiding the victorious army of the enemy, retreated to safer ground; and Antigonus, when he heard of their departure, turned his arms against the Athenians, while the ardour of his men was yet fresh from their recent victory. But during the time that he was thus engaged, Alexander, king of Epirus, longing to avenge the death of his father Pyrrhus, laid waste the frontiers of Macedonia. Antigonus returned from Greece to give him battle, but being deserted by his men, who went over to the enemy, he lost both the throne of Macedonia and his army. His son Demetrius, however, though but a boy, collecting an army in the absence of his father, not only recovered Macedonia, which had been lost, but drove Alexander from the throne of Epirus. Such was the fickleness of the soldiers, or the mutability of fortune, that kings were seen one day in the character of sovereigns, and the next in that of exiles.

III. Alexander, after fleeing, on his expulsion, to the Acarnanians, was restored to his throne, with not less eagerness on the part of the Epirots than exertion on the part of his allies. About the same time died Magas,* king of Cyrene,

* Wetzel has *Agas* in his text, but says in his note that "we should

who, before he fell sick, had betrothed his only daughter Berenice to his brother Ptolemy's son, in order to end all disputes with him. But after the death of the king, Arsinoë, the mother of the girl, resolving to break off a marriage which had been contracted against her will, sent for Demetrius, the brother of King Antigonus, from Macedonia, to marry the damsel, and occupy the throne of Cyrene. Nor did Demetrius delay to comply with her wishes. But having speedily arrived, by the aid of a favourable wind, at Cyrene, he began, from the very first, through presuming on his handsome person (with which he had already made too much impression on his mother-in-law*), to conduct himself haughtily and overbearingly both to the royal family and the army. He also transferred his desire to please from the daughter to the mother; a fact which was first suspected by the damsel, and at last drew odium upon him from the people and the army. The affections of all, therefore, being set on the son of Ptolemy, a conspiracy was formed against Demetrius, and assassins were sent to kill him, when he was gone to bed with his mother-in-law. Arsinoë, hearing the voice of her daughter, standing at the door, and desiring them "to spare her mother," covered her paramour a while with her own person. He was however slain, and Berenice, by his death, both took revenge for the licentiousness of her mother, without violation of her duty to her, and, in choosing a husband, followed the judgment of her father.

BOOK XXVII.

Seleucus II., king of Syria, puts to death Berenice, his mother-in-law; Ptolemy Euergetes invades Syria, but is recalled home, I.—Seleucus recovers himself, and makes war on Ptolemy unsuccessfully; he calls to his aid his brother Antiochus, surnamed Hierax, II.—Antiochus, defeated by Fumenes and Seleucus, takes to flight; deaths of Antiochus and Seleucus, III.

I. On the death of Antiochus, king of Syria, his son Seleucus, succeeding in his stead, commenced his reign with murder in

rather read *Magas*, as the name is written by Polyænus, Athenæus and Pausanias, i. 6, 8." *Magas* is also approved by Vossius, Vorstius, Faber, and almost all the other commentators.

* Arsinoë.

his own family, his mother Laodice, who ought to have restrained him, encouraging him to it. He put to death his step-mother Berenice, the sister of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, together with his little brother, her son. By perpetrating this cruelty, he both incurred the stain of infamy, and involved himself in a war with Ptolemy. As for Berenice, when she heard that assassins were sent to despatch her, she shut herself up in Daphne; and it being reported throughout the cities of Asia, that she and her little son were besieged there, they all, commiserating her undeserved misfortunes from their recollection of the high character of her father and her ancestors, sent her assistance. Her brother Ptolemy, too, alarmed at the danger of his sister, left his kingdom, and hastened to her support with all his forces. But Berenice, before succour could arrive, was surprised by treachery, as she could not be taken by force, and killed. The deed was regarded by every one as an atrocity; and all the cities, in consequence, which had revolted (after having equipped a vast fleet), being suddenly alarmed at this instance of cruelty, and wishing to take revenge for her whom they had meant to defend, gave themselves up to Ptolemy, who, if he had not been recalled to Egypt by disturbances at home, would have made himself master of all Seleucus's dominions. Such hatred did an unnatural crime bring upon Seleucus; or so much good feeling did the death of a sister, dishonourably killed, excite in behalf of Ptolemy!

II. After the departure of Ptolemy, Seleucus, having prepared a great fleet against the cities that had revolted, lost it in a storm that suddenly arose, as if the gods themselves had taken vengeance on him for his murder; nor did fortune leave him anything, of all his mighty armament, except his body and life, and a few companions amid the wreck. It was indeed a lamentable occurrence, and yet such as Seleucus might have desired; for the cities, which from hatred to him had gone over to Ptolemy, being moved, by a sudden change in their feelings, to compassionate his loss at sea (as if, in the judgment of the gods, satisfaction had been made them), put themselves again under his government. Rejoiced at his misfortune, therefore, and enriched by his loss, he made war upon Ptolemy, as being now a match for him in strength; but as though he had been born only for a sport to fortune,

and had received the power of a king only to lose it, he was defeated in a battle, and fled in trepidation to Antioch, not much better attended than after his shipwreck. From this place he despatched a letter to his brother Antiochus, in which he implored his aid, and offered him that part of Asia within Mount Taurus, as a recompense for his services. But Antiochus, though he was but fourteen years old, yet, being greedy of dominion beyond his years, caught at the opportunity, not with the kindly feeling with which it was offered, but, like a robber, desiring to take the whole kingdom from his brother, assumed, boy as he was, a manly and unprincipled audacity. Hence he was called Hierax,* because, in taking away the possessions of others, he conducted himself, not like a man, but like a bird of prey

Ptolemy Euergetes, in the meantime, learning that Antiochus was coming to the aid of Seleucus, and not wishing to have to contend with two enemies at once, made peace with Seleucus for ten years. But the peace that was granted Seleucus by his enemy, was broken by his own brother, who, having hired an army of Gauls, brought hostilities instead of succour, and showed himself, though he had been implored for aid, an enemy instead of a brother. In the battle that followed Antiochus was victor, indeed, through the prowess of the Gauls; but they, thinking that Seleucus had fallen on the field, began to turn their arms against Antiochus himself, in the hope of ravaging Asia with greater freedom, if they destroyed the whole royal family. Antiochus, seeing their design, purchased peace from them, as from robbers, with a sum of money, and formed an alliance with his own mercenaries.

III. Meanwhile Eumenes, king of Bithynia, when the brothers were divided and exhausted by civil war, attacked both the victorious Antiochus and the Gauls, as if he intended to take possession of Asia while it was left without a master. Nor did he find any difficulty in overthrowing them, as they were weakened by their previous conflicts, and he himself was fresh and vigorous. At that period, indeed, every war was intended for the reduction of Asia; whoever was stronger than his neighbours was ready to seize on Asia for his prey. The brothers, Seleucus and Antiochus, went to war for the sovereignty of Asia; Ptolemy, king of Egypt, under pretext of

* Ἱέραξ, a hawk or falcon.

avenging his sister, was eager to secure Asia. On the one side Eumenes of Bithynia, on the other the Gauls (an army of mercenaries always ready to support the weaker), laid waste Asia, while no one, among so many robbers, was found to be its protector.

When Antiochus was overthrown, and Eumenes had possessed himself of the greater part of the country, the two brothers, though the prize for which they had fought was lost, could not even then come to an agreement, but, leaving their foreign enemies unmolested, continued the war for the destruction of each other. Antiochus, being again defeated, and exhausted with a flight of many days' continuance, arrived at last at the palace of Artamenes, his father-in-law, king of Cappadocia. Being kindly received by him at first, but learning, after some days, that treacherous designs were forming against him, he sought safety by again taking to flight. When he was thus a fugitive, and found nowhere a place of security, he betook himself to his enemy Ptolemy, whose faith he thought more to be trusted than that of his brother, whether he reflected on what he would have done to his brother, or what he had deserved from him. But Ptolemy, not more friendly to him when he came to surrender, than when he had been an open foe, ordered that he should be kept in the closest confinement. From hence however he escaped, eluding his keepers by the aid of a courtesan, with whom he had been familiar, and was slain in his flight by some robbers. Seleucus too, about the same time, lost his kingdom, and was killed by a fall from his horse. Thus these two brothers, as if brothers also in fate, both became exiles; and both, after losing their dominions, died a death merited by their crimes.

BOOK XXVIII.

Proceedings in Epirus; the Acarnanians request aid from the Romans against the Ætolians, I.—Reply of the Ætolians to the Roman ambassadors, II.—Extinction of the royal race in Epirus; death of Demetrius in Macedonia, and administration of Antigonus Doson, III.—War of Antigonus with Sparta; Cleomenes, king of Sparta, seeks refuge in Egypt, and is killed there; death of Antigonus, IV.

I. When Olympias, daughter of Pyrrhus king of Epirus, had lost her husband Alexander, who was also her brother,* she took upon herself the guardianship of her sons Pyrrhus and Ptolemy, whom she had by him, and the administration of the kingdom; and finding that the Ætolians wanted to take from her a part of Acarnania, which the father of the boys had received as a recompense for assisting them in war,† she addressed herself to Demetrius king of Macedonia, and gave him her daughter Phthia in marriage (though he was already united to a sister of Antiochus king of Syria), that she might secure by right of relationship the assistance which she could not obtain from his compassion. A marriage was accordingly solemnized, by which Demetrius gained the love of a new wife, and the hatred of his former one; who, as if divorced, went off to her brother Antiochus, and excited him to make war upon her husband.

The Acarnanians also, fearing to trust for support to the Epirots, requested of the Romans assistance against the Ætolians, and prevailed on the senate to send ambassadors to order the Ætolians "to withdraw their garrisons from the cities of Acarnania, and allow those to be free, who alone, of all the people of Greece, had not contributed aid to the Greeks against the Trojans, the authors of the Roman race."

II. But the Ætolians listened to the embassy of the Romans with haughtiness, upbraiding them with their fortune against the Carthaginians and Gauls, by whom they had been fearfully slaughtered in so many wars, and saying that "their gates, which the terror of the Punic war had closed,‡ should

* Compare xviii. 1; xxvi. 2. His death is not mentioned before.

† *In portionem belli.*] He had become an ally to the Ætolians when they were carrying on some war.—*Wetzel.*

‡ *Quas clauserit metus Punici belli.*] The author seems to have been

be opened to meet the Carthaginians, before their arms were brought into Greece." They then desired them to remember "who they were that threatened, and whom they threatened. That the Romans had not been able to defend their city against the Gauls; and, when it was taken, had recovered it,* not by the sword, but with gold; but that when that people entered Greece, in considerably greater numbers, they themselves had utterly destroyed them, not only without the assistance of any foreign power, but without even calling into action the whole of their own force, and had made that a place for their graves which they had intended for the seat of their cities and empire; while Italy, on the other hand, when the Romans were still trembling at the recent burning of their city, was almost entirely occupied by the Gauls. That they should therefore have expelled the Gauls from Italy before they threatened the Ætolians, and have defended their own possessions before they sought those of others. And what sort of men were the Romans? mere shepherds, who occupied a territory wrested from its lawful owners by robbery; who, when they were unable to procure wives, from the baseness of their origin, seized them by open force; who, moreover, had founded their very city in fratricide, and sprinkled the foundation of their walls with the blood of their king's brother But that the Ætolians had always been the chief people of Greece, and, as they surpassed others in dignity, excelled them also in bravery; that they were the only nation who had always despised the Macedonians, even when flourishing in possession of the empire of the world; who had felt no dread of king Philip, and who had spurned the edicts of Alexander the Great, after he had conquered the Persians and Indians, and when all trembled at his name. That they therefore advised the Romans to be content with their present fortune, and not provoke the arms by which they knew that the Gauls had been cut to pieces, and the Macedonians set at nought."

thinking of the second Punic war, which Hannibal commenced, A.U.C. 534, and ended in 551. If so, he inadvertently makes the Acarnanians, before A.U.C. 522, speak of matters which did not take place till more than twelve years afterwards.—*Wetzel.*

* The text, in all the editions, stands thus: *Captamque non ferro defendisse, sed auro redemisse.* As *captam urbem defendere* is nonsense, I have, in accordance with the judgment of Scheffer, omitted the word *defendisse* in the translation.

They thus dismissed the Roman embassy, and, that they might not seem to speak more boldly than they acted, laid waste the borders of Epirus and Acarnania.

III. Olympias* had now given up her dominions to her sons, and Ptolemy had succeeded in the room of his deceased brother Pyrrhus. Ptolemy, as he was marching to meet the enemy with his army in array, was seized with a fit of sickness, and died on his route. Olympias too, afflicted with her double bereavement in the death of her sons, and dragging on a suffering existence, did not long survive her offspring. The young princess Nereis, and her sister Laodamia, being then the only survivors of the royal family, Nereis married Gelo, the son of the king of Sicily;† and Laodamia, fleeing for refuge to the altar of Diana, was killed in a tumult‡ of the populace; a crime which the immortal gods punished by a series of disasters, and almost the total destruction of the people; for after suffering from barrenness and famine, and being harassed by civil discord, they were at length nearly cut off by foreign wars; and Milo, the assassin of Laodamia, becoming mad, and lacerating his flesh,§ sometimes with the sword, sometimes with stones, and at last with his teeth, died the twelfth day afterwards.

While these things were occurring in Epirus, king Demetrius in Macedonia died, leaving a son named Philip, quite a child; and Antigonus, being appointed his guardian, and marrying his mother, did his utmost‖ to get himself made king. But some time after, being besieged in the palace by an alarming insurrection of the Macedonians, he walked forth publicly unattended by his guards, and throwing his diadem and purple robe among the mob, bade them "give those to somebody else, who either knew not how to rule them,¶ or

* See note at the commencement of this book.

† Hiero, who reigned from B.C. 263 to 214. Gelo died three years before his father. Liv. xxiii. 30.—*Wetzel.*

‡ The cause of this disturbance does not appear.

§ *Visceribus.*] "Viscera" signifies all that is under the skin. "Viscera sunt quicquid inter ossa et cutem est." Servius ad Virg. Æn. vii. 253; Lucret. i. 836.

‖ *Laborabat.*] And succeeded.

¶ *Qui aut imperare illis nesciat.*] That is, whom they might rule (as he says at the end of his speech), if the reading be correct. But some of the old editions have *sciat*, which Vorstius adopted. Scheffer would

whom they knew how to obey; for that he had found regal authority enviable,* not for its pleasures, but for its toils and dangers." He then mentioned his own services; "how he had punished the defection of their allies; how he had put down the Dardanians and Thessalians, when they were in exultation at the death of king Demetrius; how he had not only maintained the honour of the Macedonians, but added to it. Yet, if they were displeased at such services, he was ready to resign the government, and to return what they had conferred upon him; and they themselves might look out for a prince whom they could govern." The people, overcome with shame, bade him resume the regal authority; but he refused to do so till the leaders of the insurrection were delivered up to punishment.

IV. After this occurrence he made war upon the Spartans, who were the only people that, during the wars of Philip and Alexander, had set at nought the power of the Macedonians, and those arms which were dreaded by every other nation. Between these two most remarkable peoples war was prosecuted with the greatest vigour on both sides, the one fighting to support the old glory of the Macedonians, and the other, not only to secure their hitherto unviolated liberty, but even their lives. The Lacedæmonians being worsted, not only the men, but their wives and children, endured their adverse fortune with magnanimity. As no man had shrunk from exposing his life in the field, so no woman wept for her lost husband; the old men extolled the honourable deaths of their sons, and the sons rejoiced over their fathers that were slain in battle; and all who survived lamented their lot, in not having died for the liberty of their country. All received the wounded with open doors, dressed their wounds, and recruited them in their exhaustion. In this condition of affairs, there was no noise or hurry in the city, and every one lamented the public suffering more than his own private troubles. In the course of these proceedings, king Cleomenes returned, with his whole body wet, after the great slaughter that he had made among the enemy, with his own blood and that of his adversaries, and, entering the city, did not rest himself on

read *qui aut imperare illis, aut cui parere ipsi sciant* "sciat" being understood after "imperare."

* That is, if it were to be envied at all.

the ground, or call for meat or drink, or even relieve himself from the weight of his armour, but leaning against a wall, and finding that only four thousand men survived the battle, exhorted them "to reserve themselves for the better times that would come to their country." He then set out with his wife and children to Egypt to Ptolemy, by whom he was honourably received, and lived a long time in the highest esteem with that monarch. After the decease of Ptolemy, he was put to death, with all his family, by Ptolemy's son.

Antigonus, when the Spartans were thus reduced, pitying the distress of so famous a city, prohibited his soldiers from plundering it, and granted pardon to all who survived, observing that "he had engaged in war, not with the Spartans, but with Cleomenes, with whose flight all his resentment was terminated; nor would it be less glory to him, if Sparta should be recorded to have been saved by him by whom alone it had been taken; and that he accordingly spared the ground and buildings of the city, scarcely any inhabitants being left for him to spare." Not long afterwards Antigonus died, and left the throne to his ward Philip, who was then fourteen years old

BOOK XXIX.

Changes in the kingdoms of Syria, Cappadocia, Egypt; Lycurgus at Sparta; Hannibal at Carthage; conduct of Philip, who attacks the Ætolians, I.—Philip, persuaded by Demetrius, king of Illyria, resolves to go to war with the Romans, and makes peace with the Ætolians, II.—His professed motives, III.—He commences hostilities, and is ignominiously compelled to make peace, IV.

I. About this time almost all the kingdoms of the world underwent alterations, in consequence of a succession of new princes. In Macedonia, Philip, on the death of Antigonus his guardian, who was also his father-in-law, assumed the government at the age of fourteen. In Asia, after Seleucus was killed,* Antiochus, though still in his minority, was made king. In Cappadocia, the father of Ariarathes, yet a boy, had resigned the sovereignty to him. Of Egypt Ptolemy had made himself master, after putting to death his father and

* *Interfecto Seleuco.*] See the end of book xxviii. This was Seleucus II., named Callinicus.

mother; from which crime he had afterwards the surname of Philopator.* As for the Spartans, they had elected Lycurgus in the room of Cleomenes. And that no changes might be wanting at that period, Hannibal, at a very early age, was appointed general of the Carthaginians, not for want of older men, but because of his hatred to the Romans, with which they knew that he had been imbued from his boyhood; the mischief that he did, however, was not so pernicious to the Romans as to Africa itself. In these youthful rulers, although they had no directors of maturer years, yet, as each was anxious to tread in the steps of his predecessors, great talent and ability appeared. Ptolemy was the only exception, who, reckless as he had been in the attainment of power, was equally remiss in the administration of it. As to Philip, the Dardanians, and all the neighbouring people, who cherished, as it were, an immortal hatred to the kings of the Macedonians, were perpetually molesting him in contempt of his youth. He, on the other hand, after repulsing his enemies, was not content with having defended his own dominions, but manifested the greatest eagerness to make war upon the Ætolians.

II. While he was meditating this enterprise, Demetrius king of the Illyrians, who had lately been conquered by Æmilius Paulus, the Roman consul, applied to him with earnest entreaties for aid, and complaints of the injustice of the Romans, "who," he said, "not content within the limits of Italy, but grasping, with presumptuous hopes, at the empire of the whole world, made war upon all kings. Thus, aspiring to the dominion of Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain, and finally to that of all Africa, they had engaged in a war with the Carthaginians and Hannibal; and that hostilities had been directed against himself too, for no other reason than that he appeared to lie near Italy, as if it were unlawful for any king to be on the borders of their empire. And that Philip also himself must take warning by his case, since the nearer † and more valuable his kingdom, the more determined enemies would he find the Romans to be." In addition, he said, that "he would give up his kingdom, which the Romans had seized, to Philip himself.

* *Father-loving*, ironically.

† Wetzel has *promptius* in his text, with most other editors, but in his note, prefers *propius*, which appears in some editions.

as he should be better pleased to see his ally, rather than his enemies, in possession of his dominions." With such representations as these, he prevailed upon Philip to lay aside his designs on the Ætolians, and to make war upon the Romans; Philip supposing that there would be the less difficulty in the undertaking, as he had heard that they had already been beaten by Hannibal at the lake Trasimenus. Not to be distracted, therefore, with more than one war at the same time, he concluded a peace with the Ætolians, not as if intending to carry war elsewhere, but as if he wished to promote the tranquillity of Greece, "which," he asserted, "had never been in greater danger, as the new empires of the Carthaginians and Romans were rising in the west, who forbore from attacking Greece and Asia only till they should decide their dispute for the sovereignty by the sword, when the superior power of the two would immediately invade the east.

III. "He contemplated therefore," he said, "that cloud of cruel and sanguinary war which was rising in Italy; he contemplated the storm roaring and thundering from the west, which, to whatever parts of the world the tempest of victory might carry it, would pollute everything with a vast shower of blood. That Greece had frequently felt great disturbances at one time from the wars of the Persians, at another from those of the Gauls, at another from those of the Macedonians, but that they would think all those to have been but trifling, if the force, which was now collecting in Italy, should once pour itself forth from that country. He saw what cruel and bloody conflicts those two powers were maintaining with each other, with all the strength of their forces, and all the abilities of their generals; and that such fury could not end with the destruction of one party only, without ruin to the neighbouring people. That the cruel resolutions of the conquerors, it was true, were less to be dreaded by Macedonia than by Greece; for Macedonia was both more remote, and better able to defend itself; but he knew that those who contended with such spirit would not be content with Greece as a limit to their conquests, and that he himself should have to fear a conflict with the party that should get the advantage." Concluding, on this pretext, the war with the Ætolians, and thinking of nothing else but the contest of the Carthaginians and Romans, he carefully weighed

the strength of each. But neither did the Romans, with the Carthaginians * and Hannibal on their necks, appear free from apprehension of Macedonia; indeed, both the ancient valour of the Macedonians, their glory in having conquered the east, and the character of Philip, who was fired with the ambition of rivalling Alexander, and whom they knew to be active and eager for the field, gave them sufficient cause for alarm.

IV. Philip, as soon as he heard that the Romans had been defeated by the Carthaginians in a second battle, openly declared himself their enemy, and began to build ships for transporting an army into Italy. He then sent a deputy to Hannibal with a letter, with the view of forming an alliance with him. This deputy was taken prisoner, and brought before the senate, but released unharmed; not from respect to the king, but that one who appeared still undetermined might not be rendered a decided enemy. But afterwards, when news was brought to the Romans that Philip was preparing to transport troops into Italy, they despatched the prætor Lævinus, with a well appointed fleet, to hinder him from crossing.

Lævinus, sailing over to Greece, prevailed on the Ætolians, by making them numerous promises, to take up arms against Philip, who, on his side, solicited the Achæans to go to war with the Romans. Meanwhile the Dardanians began to ravage the country of Macedonia, and, carrying off twenty thousand prisoners, recalled Philip from his war with the Romans to defend his own territories. At the same time the prætor Lævinus, having made an alliance with king Attalus, proceeded to lay waste Greece; of which the several states, dismayed at such calamities, importuned Philip with embassies for succour; while the princes of the Illyrians, sticking close to his side, demanded, with constant solicitations, the performance of his promises to them. In addition, the plundered Macedonians called on him for vengeance. Beset by such and so many difficulties, he was in doubt to what he should first turn his attention; but he promised them all to send them assistance shortly; not that he was able to do what he promised, but in order to keep them, by feeding them with hopes, in the bond of alliance

* All the editions have *Sed nec Romani, tametsi Pœni et Hannibal in cervicibus erant*, &c. But *tametsi*, as Wetzel notices, has no place here. Six of the old editions, he adds have *cuibus* instead of it.

with him. His first expedition, however, was against the Dardanians, who, watching for his absence, were ready to fall on Macedonia with a still heavier force. He made peace, too, with the Romans, who were well content to put off war with Macedonia for a time. He laid a plot, moreover, for the life of Philopœmen, strategus of the Achæans, who, he understood, was soliciting some of his allies to join the Romans; but Philopœmen, having discovered and escaped the plot, induced the Achæans, by the influence which he had with them, to abandon Philip's cause.

BOOK XXX.

War between Antiochus III. and Ptolemy Philopator; treaty of peace; licentiousness of Ptolemy, I.—His bad government; at his death his son is placed under the guardianship of the Romans, II.—Rupture between Philip and the Romans, III.—Philip is defeated by Flamininus, and makes peace on humiliating terms; the Ætolians stimulate Antiochus to make war on the Romans, IV.

I. WHILE Philip was intent on great exploits in Macedonia, the conduct of Ptolemy in Egypt was of an opposite character; for having got the throne by parricide, and added the murder of his brother to that of both his parents, he resigned himself, as if all had gone happily with him, to the attractions of luxury; and the whole court had followed the manners of their king. Not only his personal friends, and chief officers, but the whole of the army had laid aside military exercises, and grown corrupt and enervated in idleness.

Antiochus, king of Syria, when he heard of this state of things, and while the old animosity between the two kingdoms incited him, captured many cities belonging to Ptolemy by a sudden attack, and carried his arms into Egypt itself. Ptolemy was accordingly in consternation, and endeavoured to retard Antiochus, by sending embassies, until he could get troops in readiness. Having then hired a large army in Greece, he fought a battle with good success, and would have driven Antiochus from his throne, if he had supported his fortune with suitable spirit. But, content with recovering the cities that he had lost, and making peace, he eagerly seized the opportunity of sinking again into sloth, and, returning to

his former licentious habits, he put to death his wife Eurydice, who was also his sister, and gave himself up to the caresses of a mistress named Agathoclia; and thus, forgetful of all the greatness of his name and dignity, he passed his nights in wantonness, and his days in the pleasures of the table. As ministrations to his luxury, timbrels and tabors* were introduced; and the king, no longer a mere spectator, but a leader of the revels, produced music from stringed instruments himself. Such were at first the secret and latent pests of a tottering court.

II. Licentiousness subsequently increasing, the audacity of his mistress could no longer be confined within the walls of the palace; for the daily debaucheries of the king, which he shared with her brother Agathocles, a corrupt youth of captivating beauty, rendered her still more shameless. To all this was added, too, the influence of their mother Œnanthe, who, by the charms of her two children, kept the monarch quite enthralled. Not content with enslaving the king, they made themselves rulers of the kingdom; they showed themselves in public places, received salutations, and were followed by a train of attendants. Agathocles, attaching himself closely to the king's side, assumed the administration of the state; women disposed of offices, governments, and commissions; nor had any one less power in the kingdom than the king himself. In the midst of this state of things the king died, leaving a son, five years old, by his sister Eurydice; but his death, while the women were seizing on the royal treasures, and endeavouring, by forming a confederacy with some desperate characters, to get the government into their own hands, was for a long time kept secret. But the truth becoming known, Agathocles was killed by a rising of the people, and the women nailed on crosses to avenge the death of Eurydice.

After the king's decease, and when the infamy of the kingdom was expiated, as it were, by the punishment of the courtezans, the people of Alexandria sent ambassadors to the Romans, requesting them "to take on themselves the guardianship of the orphan, and to defend the kingdom of Egypt,

* *Tympana et crepundia.*] It is impossible to ascertain exactly what musical instruments are meant by *crepundia*. Lemaire supposes them to be something like the Egyptian *sistra*, used in the ceremonies of Isis.

which, they said, Philip and Antiochus had already portioned out between them by a treaty made for the purpose."

III. This embassy was acceptable to the Romans, who were seeking a pretence for making war upon Philip, for having formed designs against them in the time of the Punic war. To this feeling was added the circumstance, that, since the Carthaginians and Hannibal were conquered, there was no one of whose arms they had a greater dread, considering what a commotion Pyrrhus, with but a small force, had excited in Italy, and what exploits the Macedonians had achieved in the east. Ambassadors were accordingly despatched to warn Philip and Antiochus "to make no attempt upon Egypt." Marcus Lepidus was also sent into Egypt, to govern the orphan's kingdom in the character of guardian. During the course of these proceedings, embassies from king Attalus, and from the Rhodians, arrived at Rome, to complain of injuries that they had suffered from Philip. These representations removed from the minds of the senate all hesitation about going to war with Macedonia; and forthwith, under pretence of taking the part of their allies, war was declared against Philip, and some legions, with one of the consuls, were sent off to Macedonia. Not long after, too, the whole of Greece, stimulated by confidence in the Romans, and the hope of recovering their ancient liberty, to rise against Philip, made war upon him; and thus, being assailed on every side, he was compelled to beg for peace. But when the terms of it were set forth by the Romans, both Attalus and the Rhodians, as well as the Achæans and Ætolians, began to demand that the places belonging to them should be restored. Philip, on the other hand, allowed that "he might be induced to submit to the Romans, but that it was intolerable that the Greeks, who had been subdued by his ancestors Philip and Alexander, and brought under the yoke of the Macedonian empire, should dictate articles of peace to him, as if they were conquerors; and that they ought to give an account of their conduct in their state of slavery, before they sought to recover their liberty." At last, on his request, a truce was allowed for two months, that the peace, on which they could not come to terms in Macedonia, might be obtained from the senate at Rome.

IV. In the same year* a concussion of the earth happened

* No: for it was several years before that this commotion of the

between the islands Thera* and Therasia, in the midst of the sea at an equal distance from either shore, where, to the astonishment of those that were sailing past, an island rose suddenly from the deep, the water being at the same time hot. In Asia too, on the same day, the same earthquake shattered Rhodes,† and many other cities, with a terrible ruin; some it swallowed up entire. As all men were alarmed at this prodigy, the soothsayers predicted that "the rising power of the Romans would swallow up the ancient empire of the Greeks and Macedonians."

In the meantime, Philip, as his terms of peace were rejected by the senate, prevailed on the tyrant Nabis‡ to join him in prosecuting the war. Having then led out his army into the field, he began to encourage his men, while the enemy stood in array on the opposite side, by saying that "the Persians, Bactrians, and Indians, and all Asia to the utmost boundaries of the east, had been subdued by the Macedonians; and that this war was more bravely to be maintained than those which had preceded it, in proportion as liberty was more precious than empire." Flamininus, too, the Roman consul, animated his men to battle by representing what had lately been achieved by the Romans, observing that "Carthage and Sicily on one side, and Italy and Spain on the other, had been thoroughly reduced by Roman valour; and that Hannibal,

earth took place, namely, in the first year of the 139th Olympiad, as is apparent from Polybius, v. 88, and the Chronicon of Eusebius. But Pliny, H. N. ii. 87, says that Automata or Hiera, the island here signified, arose between Thera and Therasia in the second year of the 156th Olympiad; how this can be correct, I do not understand.—*Is. Vossius.* Vossius, however, is not quite right in his computation. Pliny says that Thera and Therasia sprung from the sea in the fourth year of the 135th Olympiad, and that Automata or Hiera arose one hundred and thirty years afterwards; this would be in the third year of the 167th Olympiad. Concerning the rise of this island from the deep, see Strabo, i. 3; Sen. Nat. Quæst. vi. 21; ii. 26; it is also noticed by Livy, xxxix. 56, and Amm. Marcell. xvii. 6. Other islands have since risen in these parts. See Virlet, Bull. de la Soc. Geol. de France, tom. iii.

* The largest of the Sporades in the Ægean Sea, now called *Santorin*. Therasia lies near it. Hiera is not *exactly* between the two islands, as Justin represents.

† Diodorus, xviii. 8, assigns this island to Europe. ne epitome of the 78th book of Livy, however, gives it to Asia.—*Berneccerus.*

‡ Tyrant of Sparta. He began to reign B.C. 206.

by whose expulsion from Italy they had become masters of Africa, a third part of the world, was not to be thought inferior to Alexander the Great. Nor were the Macedonians to be estimated by their ancient reputation, but by their present power; for that the Romans were not waging war with Alexander the Great, whom they had heard called invincible, or with his army, which had conquered all the east, but with Philip, a youth of immature years,* who could scarcely defend the frontiers of his dominions against his neighbours, and with those Macedonians who were not long ago a prey to the Dardanians. That they might recount the achievements of their forefathers, but that he could relate those of his own soldiers; since Hannibal and the Carthaginians, and almost all the west, had not been conquered by any other army, but by those very troops which he had with him in the field." The soldiers on both sides, roused by these exhortations, rushed to the encounter, the one army exulting in their conquest of the east, the other in that of the west; the one carrying to the battle the ancient and fading glory of their ancestors, the other the flower of valour fresh from recent exertions. But the fortune of Rome was superior to that of the Macedonians; and Philip, exhausted by his efforts in war, and suing for peace from Flamininus, the consul, was allowed to retain indeed the name of king; but, being deprived of all the cities of Greece, as being parts of his dominion beyond the bounds of its ancient territory, he preserved only Macedonia. The Ætolians, however, were displeased, because Macedonia was not taken from the king at their suggestion, and given to themselves as a reward for their service in the war, and sent ambassadors to Antiochus, to induce him, by flattering his greatness, to engage in a war with the Romans, in the hope of securing the alliance of all Greece.

* *Puero immaturæ ætatis.*] Why does he call him *puero*, a youth, when, in the year B.C. 220, in which he succeeded Antigonus, he had completed his fourteenth year? See xxvii. 4. In this year, therefore, B.C. 198, he was in his thirty-sixth year.—*Wetzel.* So that Philip had now attained a greater age than Alexander the Great lived to attain. Scheffer would strike out *puero*, asking whether there are also *pueri maturæ ætatis?*

BOOK XXXI.

Commencement of the war between Antiochus and the Romans; Flamininus is commissioned to act against Nabis, I.—Hannibal flees from Carthage, and takes refuge with Antiochus, II.—Nabis is conquered; conduct of the Achæan league; Hannibal's advice to Antiochus, III.—Antiochus incites the Carthaginians to go to war with the Romans; the Romans make Antiochus suspicious of Hannibal, IV.—Hannibal's further counsel to Antiochus, V.—Antiochus defeated, VI.—He rejects the conditions of peace offered him by the Romans, VII.—Is defeated again, and accepts them, VIII.

I. PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR, king of Egypt, being dead, and the youthful age of his son (who, left with the prospect of wielding the sceptre, was a prey even to his own domestics), being held in contempt, Antiochus, king of Syria, resolved to get possession of Egypt. As he attacked Phœnice, accordingly, and several cities, which, though situate in Syria, belonged of right to Egypt,* the senate despatched ambassadors to him, to warn him "not to molest the dominions of an orphan, who had been recommended to their protection by the last prayers of his dying father." This embassy being disregarded, another arrived some time after, which, saying nothing on behalf of the orphan, ordered that "the cities, which had fallen to the Roman people by the right of war, should be restored to their former condition." On his refusal to comply with this mandate, war was declared against him, which he, after lightly undertaking it, prosecuted with ill success.

At the same time, the tyrant Nabis had taken possession of several cities † of Greece. The senate, in consequence, that the Roman forces might not be distracted by two wars at once, sent orders to Flamininus, that "he should, if he thought it expedient, deliver Greece from Nabis, as he had delivered Macedonia from Philip."‡ To this end, his term of command was prolonged. The name of Hannibal, indeed, rendered a war with Antiochus an object of dread; for Hannibal's enemies, by secret communications to the Romans, accused him

* *Phœnicen, cæterasque Syriæ quidem,* &c.] By Phœnice is meant the country of Phœnicia; by the other cities, cities in Cœlesyria, which bordered on Phœnicia.

† *Multas civitates.*] Argos only is specified in the accounts of Nabis. See Plutarch, Lives of Flamininus and Philopœmen; Liv. xxxii. 40.

‡ See xxx. 4.

of having entered into a league with Antiochus, saying that "he, who was accustomed to command, and to extravagant military licentiousness, was unable to live patiently under the control of laws; and that, from disgust at the quiet of the city, he was always looking about for occasions for war." These charges, though false, passed for true with such as were timid.

II. At length the senate, struck with alarm, sent Cnæus Servilius, in the character of ambassador, into Africa, to watch the proceedings of Hannibal, giving him secret instructions "to compass his death, if he could, by the agency of his enemies, and deliver the Roman people from the terror of his hated name." But this circumstance did not long escape the knowledge of Hannibal, a man sagacious in foreseeing and guarding against dangers, and not less thoughtful of adversity in prosperity than of prosperity in adversity. Having shown himself in public, therefore, during the whole day, in the forum of Carthage, before the face of the chief personages and the Roman ambassador, he mounted his horse, on the approach of evening, and galloped off to a farm which he had in the suburbs, near the sea-coast, his attendants, who knew nothing of his intentions, being directed to wait for his return at the gate of the city. He had vessels, with rowers, concealed in an unfrequented inlet on the coast; and he had also a large sum of ready money at his farm, so that, when occasion should require, neither difficulty* nor want of resources might retard his escape. Selecting the most vigorous of his slaves, therefore, the number of whom a body of Italian prisoners augmented, he went on board a ship, and directed his course towards the dominions of Antiochus. The next day the city looked for their chief, who was then consul,† in the forum; and when intelligence was brought that he was gone, they were all in as much trepidation as if the city had been taken, and foreboded that his flight would prove fatal to them; while the Roman ambassador, as if war was already

* All the texts have *facultas*. Grævius and Vorstius think that we should read *difficultas*. Scheffer is of opinion that *facultas* may stand, in the sense of *want of opportunity*, but this does not suit well with the *inopia* which follows.

† *Consulem.*] He was one of the *suffetes*, the two chief magistrates of Carthage. See Corn. Nep. Life of Hannibal, c. 7.

commenced on Italy by Hannibal, returned privately to Rome, carrying the alarming news with him.

III. In Greece, meanwhile, Flamininus, having formed an alliance with several cities, defeated Nabis the tyrant in two successive battles, and left him sadly humbled, with his resources apparently exhausted, in his own dominions. But after liberty was restored to Greece, the garrisons withdrawn from the cities, and the Romans returned to Italy, Nabis, as if tempted afresh by the deserted state of the country, possessed himself of several cities by sudden attacks; when the Achæans, alarmed at his proceedings, and fearing that the evils in their neighbourhood might reach themselves, determined upon war against him, and appointed to the command in it their strategus Philopœmen, a man of extraordinary energy, and whose merit was so eminent in the contest, that he was thought equal, in public opinion, to the Roman general Flamininus.

Hannibal, arriving about the same time at the court of Antiochus, was received by him as a gift from the gods; and such ardour, in consequence of his coming, was added to the courage of the king, that he thought less of the mode of conducting the war, than of the prizes of victory. But Hannibal, to whom the spirit of Rome was well known, said that the Romans could not be subdued any where but in Italy. To accomplish their overthrow, he asked for himself a hundred ships, ten thousand foot, and a thousand cavalry, promising that "with this force he would revive in Italy no less a war than he had formerly carried on there, and would secure to the king, remaining quiet in Asia, either a triumph over the Romans, or equitable conditions of peace. To the Spaniards," he added, "who were burning with ardour for war, nothing was wanting but a leader; that Italy was better known to him now than in past times; and that Carthage would not rest in peace, but join him as an ally without delay."

IV. As this counsel pleased the king, one of the attendants of Hannibal was despatched to Carthage, to encourage the Carthaginians, already forward enough of themselves, to take up arms, acquainting them that "Hannibal would support them with an army," and saying that "nothing was wanting, on the side of the Carthaginians, but resolution, as Asia would supply both troops and money for the enterprise." When

this announcement arrived at Carthage, the messenger was seized by Hannibal's enemies, and being asked, when he was brought before the senate, "to whom he was sent," he replied, with Punic subtlety, that "he was sent to the whole senate, as this was not the concern of a few individuals only, but of the entire people." As they spent several days in deliberating, whether they should send him to Rome *to clear them from guilt as a nation*, he, in the meanwhile, went secretly on board his vessel, and returned to Hannibal. As soon as this was discovered, the Carthaginians sent intelligence of the matter to Rome by an ambassador. The Romans also sent ambassadors to Antiochus, who, under colour of delivering a message, were to watch the preparations of the king, and either to soften Hannibal's feelings towards the Romans, or, by frequent association with him, to render him suspected and unpopular with Antiochus. The ambassadors, accordingly, meeting with Antiochus at Ephesus, made their communication from the senate, and, while they waited for an answer, were every day constantly visiting Hannibal, and observing that, "he had withdrawn from his country under needless apprehension, as the Romans would with the greatest honour observe a peace which was made not so much with his government as with himself; and that they knew he had made war upon the Romans, less from hatred to them, than from love to his country (to which every honourable man owed life itself), since the reasons for going to war were public ones between the nations, and not private ones between the generals." They then extolled his exploits; and he, pleased with their conversation, talked frequently and readily with them, not being aware that by his familiarity with the Romans, he was incurring the dislike of the king; for Antiochus, supposing that by such frequent intercourse a good understanding had been effected between him and the Romans, communicated nothing to him as he had been used to do, and began to detest him, when he had excluded him from his councils, as an enemy and a traitor to him. This distrust ruined the mighty preparations for war, the skill of a leader being wanting to conduct it. The communication from the senate was, that "Antiochus should confine himself within the limits of Asia, lest he should lay on them the necessity of invading that

country." Slighting this message, he resolved not to wait for war, but to commence it.

V. It is said, that after the king had frequently held councils concerning the war, from which Hannibal was excluded, he at length desired that he should be called in, not that he might act in any respect according to his advice, but that he might not appear entirely to disregard him; and that, when all the rest had been asked their opinions, he in conclusion inquired his. Hannibal, understanding what Antiochus's feelings were, observed that "he was aware he was asked to attend, not because the king wished for his advice, but to make up the full number of votes; yet, from his hatred towards the Romans, and regard for the king, with whom alone a secure retreat was left him in his exile, he would explain the method in which the war should be conducted." Then, requesting indulgence for the freedom with which he was going to speak, he said, that "he approved none of the present suggestions or proceedings; nor did he like Greece as a seat of the war, when Italy was a far more advantageous field for it; for the Romans could not be conquered but by their own arms, nor Italy subdued but by the resources of Italy; since that people differed from others, and their mode of warfare from that of other nations. In other wars, it was of the greatest importance to have been the first to take advantage of any ground or opportunity, to have ravaged the lands, or to have captured towns, but that, with the Romans, whether you took their cities, or defeated them, you would still have to struggle with the enemy even when vanquished and fallen. If any one should attack them in Italy, therefore, he might conquer them with their own strength,* their own resources, their own arms, as he himself had done; but if any one left Italy to them, which was the fountain-head, as it were, of their power, he would act just as absurdly, as a man who should attempt, not to exhaust rivers at their sources, but to alter their channels or dry them up when great floods of water had collected in them. He had entertained this," he said, "as his private opinion, and had readily offered his advice to that effect; and that he repeated it now, in the presence of

* *Suis opibus.*] That is, with the strength and resources of the country.

his friends, that they might all understand the way to go to war with the Romans, who, though invincible abroad, might be reduced at home; for they might be deprived of their city sooner than of their empire, and of Italy sooner than of their provinces; since they had lost their city to the Gauls, and been almost crushed by him; nor was he ever defeated till he had quitted their country, but that, when he returned to Carthage, the fortune of the war was immediately changed with the seat of it."

VI. The king's courtiers were all opposed to this advice, not regarding the advantages of the plan, but fearing that Hannibal, if his counsel were approved, would gain the first place in the king's favour. As for Antiochus, he did not so much dislike the scheme as the proposer of it, in the apprehension that whatever glory resulted from its success would be given to Hannibal, and not to himself. All proceedings were therefore rendered ineffectual by the various flatteries of those who sought to please the king; nothing was conducted with judgment or reason. Antiochus himself, resigning himself to luxury during the winter, was every day engaged in celebrating some new marriage.* Acilius the Roman consul, on the other hand, who had been appointed to command in this war, provided forces, arms, and every thing necessary for the contest, with the utmost activity: he animated the confederate cities, and drew to his interest such as were undecided. Nor was the result of the conflict at variance with the preparations of each party for it; for, in the first engagement, when the king saw his men giving ground, he did not support those who were in distress, but put himself at the head of those that fled, and left his rich camp a prey to the conquerors. But having reached Asia in his flight, while the Romans were busied about the spoil, he began to repent of having neglected Hannibal's counsel, and, taking that general again into his friendship, conducted every thing according to his directions. In the mean time intelligence was brought that Æmilius,† the Roman general, was approaching with

* *Novis quotidie nuptiis deditus erat.*] An exaggeration. He had, however, married his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy Epiphanes, Liv. xxxv. 13; he gave another daughter to Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, and was going to give a third to Eumenes, king of Pergamus, but he refused her. See Diod. Sic. xxix. 3.— *Wetzel.*

† Lucius Æmilius Regillus, prætor, B.C. 191 (Liv. xxxvii. 26, 30

eighty ships of war, having been despatched by the senate to carry on the war by sea. This news gave him hopes of retrieving his fortune; and accordingly he resolved to fight a battle by sea before any of the cities in alliance with him could revolt to the enemy, hoping that the defeat which he had suffered in Greece might be compensated by a new victory. The fleet was therefore entrusted to Hannibal, and a battle was fought; but neither were the Asiatic soldiers a match for the Romans, nor their vessels equal to the beaked ships of the enemy. The loss, however, was rendered less than it would otherwise have been, by the able management of the general. The report of the victory had not yet reached Rome,* and therefore the city was in suspense about the consuls to be chosen.

VII. But to oppose Hannibal, what fitter leader could be appointed than the brother of Africanus, since it was the business of the Scipios to conquer the Carthaginians? Lucius Scipio was therefore made consul, and his brother Africanus appointed to be his lieutenant-general, to let Antiochus see that he had not more confidence in the conquered Hannibal than the Romans in the victorious Scipio. As the Scipios were transporting their army into Asia, news reached them that the war, both by land and sea, was almost at an end; as Antiochus had been defeated in a battle by land, and Hannibal in a battle by sea. As soon as they arrived, Antiochus sent ambassadors to them, desiring peace, and having with them, as an offering to Africanus individually, the son of that general, whom the king had captured as he was crossing in a small boat. But Africanus replied, "that private favours were distinct from public concerns; that the obligations of a father, and the claims of one's country, were things entirely different; claims which were to be preferred not only to children, but even to life itself. That he, however, thankfully accepted the kindness, and would make a return to the king's generosity at

xxxvi. 45); the battle was fought between Myconnesus and the promontory of Corycus, and Æmilius triumphed for the victory in the following year; but Antiochus appointed Polyxenides, not Hannibal, to command against him. See Liv. xxxvii. 26; Florus, ii 8.—*Wetzel.* Livy mentions Polyxenides only; Florus both Polyxenides and Hannibal.

* Justin seems here to have abridged his author too much.

his own individual expense; but as to what related to war and peace, nothing could be allowed to private favour, or cut off from the interests of his country." He had never, indeed, either treated about the ransom of his son, or allowed the senate to treat about it, but, as became his dignity, said that "he would recover his son by force of arms." The terms of peace were then specified to the ambassadors: "that the king should give up Asia to the Romans; that he should confine himself to his kingdom of Syria; that he should give up all his ships, with the prisoners and deserters, and repay the Romans all the expenses of the war." These terms being repeated to Antiochus, he said that "he was not yet so utterly reduced, as that he should suffer himself to be despoiled of his dominions; and that such proposals were provocations to war, not invitations to peace."

VIII. Preparations for a contest were in consequence made on both sides; and when the Romans, having entered Asia, had reached Troy, mutual gratulations took place between the Trojans and the Romans; the Trojans observing that "Æneas, and the other leaders that accompanied him, had gone forth from them;" the Romans telling them that "they were their children;" and such joy was among them all as is wont to be between parents and children met after a long separation. The Trojans were delighted that their descendants, after having conquered the west and Africa, were now laying claim to Asia as their hereditary domain, remarking that "the ruin of Troy had been an event to be desired, since it was so happily to revive again." On the other hand, an insatiable longing to gaze on their ancient home, the birth-place of their ancestors, and the temples and images of the gods, had taken possession of the Romans.

As the Romans were coming from Troy, king Eumenes met them with some auxiliary troops; and soon after a battle was fought with Antiochus; in which one of the Roman legions, on the right wing, being beaten back, and fleeing to their camp with more disgrace than danger, Marcus Æmilius, a military tribune, who had been left to defend the camp, ordered his men to arm themselves, and advance without the rampart, and to threaten the fugitives with their swords drawn, saying that "they should be put to death unless they returned to the field, and should find their own camp more hostile to

them that of the enemy." The legion, alarmed at such peril on both sides, returned to the battle, their fellow soldiers, who had stopped their flight, accompanying them, and, making great havoc among the enemy, were the first cause of the victory. Fifty thousand of the enemy were slain, and eleven thousand taken prisoners. Antiochus suing for peace, nothing was added to the former articles, Africanus observing that "the spirit of the Romans was never broken if they were defeated, and, if they were victorious, they were not rendered tyrannical by success." The cities that were taken they divided among their allies, deeming that glory was more desirable for the Romans* than dominions merely for pleasure; and that the honour of victory was worthy of being attached to the Roman name, but that the luxuries of wealth might be left to their adherents.

BOOK XXXII.

The Ætolians are deprived of their liberty by the Romans; war between the Messenians and Achæans; death of Philopœmen; defeat of the Messenians, I.—Death of Antiochus; Philip oppresses Greece; the Romans pardon him for the sake of his son Demetrius; Demetrius killed through the artifices of his brother Perseus, II.—Death of Philip; Emigration of the Gauls; the Tectosages, Istrians, Dacians, III.—Prusias, assisted by Hannibal, defeats Eumenes; death of Hannibal, IV.

I. THE Ætolians, who had persuaded Antiochus to make war on the Romans, were left, after he was defeated, to oppose them by themselves, unequal in force, and unsupported by assistance. Being soon after, in consequence, subdued, they lost that liberty which they alone, among so many states of Greece, had preserved inviolate against the power of the Athenians and Spartans. This state of things was the more grievous to them, as it was later in befalling them; for they reflected on those times in which they had withstood the mighty power of the Persians by their own strength, and had

* Wetzel's text has *Romani*; but *Romanis*, the conjecture of Grævius, is much more to the purpose.

humbled, in the Delphic war, the violent spirit of the Gauls that was dreaded by Asia and Italy; and these glorious recollections increased their grief at the loss of their liberty.

During the course of these occurrences, a dispute at first, and afterwards a war, arose between the Messenians and Achæans, to determine which of the two should rule the other. In this struggle Philopœmen, the famous general of the Achæans, was taken prisoner, not from having been fearful of exposing his life in the field, but from having fallen from his horse in leaping a ditch, as he was rallying his men for the contest, and being overpowered by a host of enemies. The Messenians, whether from fear of his valour, or respect for his dignity, did not venture to kill him as he lay on the ground; but, as if they had ended the war by capturing him, they led him prisoner through their whole city as in triumph, while the people poured forth to meet him, as if it were their own general, and not that of the enemy, that was coming; nor would the Achæans have more eagerly beheld him victorious than the enemy saw him under defeat. They ordered him accordingly to be led into the theatre, that every one might see him whose capture seemed incredible to every one. Being then conducted to prison, they gave him, from respect for his high character,* poison to drink, which he received with pleasure, just as if he had been conqueror, first asking "whether Lycortas," a general of the Achæans, whom he knew to be next to himself in the art of war, "had got off safe?" Hearing that he had escaped, he observed that "things were not utterly desperate with the Achæans," and expired. The war being renewed shortly after, the Messenians were conquered, and made some atonement for putting Philopœmen to death.

II. In Syria, meanwhile, king Antiochus, being burdened, after he was conquered by the Romans, with a heavy tribute under his articles of peace, and being impelled by want of money or stimulated by avarice, brought up his army one night, and made an assault upon the temple of Jupiter in Elymais,† hoping that he might more excusably commit sacri

* *Verecundiâ magnitudinis ejus.*] They did not make him die the death of a slave or malefactor, but allowed him a mode of dying suitable to his rank.

† *Elymæi Jovis*] Or rather Belus, who had a temple in Elymais full

lege under plea of wanting money to pay his tribute. But the affair becoming known, he was killed by a rising of the people who dwelt about the temple.*

At Rome, as many cities of Greece had sent thither, to complain of injuries received from Philip king of Macedonia, and as a dispute arose in the senate-house between Demetrius, Philip's son, whom his father had sent to justify him to the senate, and the deputies of the cities, the young prince, confounded at the number of accusations brought forward, suddenly became speechless; when the senate, moved at his modesty, which had been admired by every one when he was a hostage at Rome, suffered the controversy to terminate in his favour. Thus Demetrius, by his modesty, obtained pardon for his father, which was granted, not to the justice of his defence, but from respect for his bashfulness; and this was particularly signified in the decree of the senate, that it might be known that it was not so much the king that was acquitted, as the father that was excused for the sake of the son. The circumstance, however, procured Demetrius no thanks for his embassy at home, but rather odium and detraction; for envy drew upon him hatred from his brother Perseus, and with his father, the cause of the indulgence shown him, as soon as he knew it, become a source of dislike towards him, as he was indignant that the character of his son should have had more weight with the senate than his own authority as a father or his dignity as a king. Perseus, in consequence, observing his father's chagrin, laid before him, day after day, accusations against Demetrius in his absence, and rendered him first an object of hatred, and afterwards of suspicion, charging him at one time with friendship for the Romans, and at another with treachery to his father. At last he pretended that a plot was laid for his own life by Demetrius, and, to prove the charge, brought forward informers, suborned witnesses, and committed the very crime † of which he accused his brother. Impelling

of gold, silver, and valuable offerings, as is said by Diod. Sic. xxix. fragm. 15. A different account of this king's death is given in Aurel. Viet. liv. 5, and 1 Maccab. c. vi.—*Wetzel.*

* *Concursu insularium.*] A temple, as a building standing by itself, might be called *insula;* the people who dwelt in and about it *insulares. Insularium* is a conjecture of Isaac Vossius; the previous reading was *incolarum.*

† He accused his brother of intending to be a fratricide; he

his father, by these artifices, to put his son to death, he filled the whole palace with mourning.

III. After Demetrius was killed, and his rival removed, Perseus grew not only more careless in his behaviour towards his father, but even more insolent, conducting himself, not as heir to the crown, but as king. Philip, offended at his manner, became every day more concerned for the death of Demetrius, and began at length to suspect that he had been deceived by treachery, and put to the torture all the witnesses and informers. Having, by this means, come to the knowledge of the deception, he was not less afflicted at the dishonesty of Perseus than at the execution of the innocent Demetrius, whom he would have avenged, had he not been prevented by death; for shortly after he died of a disease contracted by mental anxiety, leaving great preparations for a war with the Romans, of which Perseus afterwards made use. He had induced the Scordiscan Gauls to join him, and would have had a desperate struggle with the Romans, had not death carried him off.

The Gauls, after their disastrous attack upon Delphi, in which they had felt the power of the divinity more than that of the enemy, and had lost their leader Brennus, had fled, like exiles, partly into Asia, and partly into Thrace, and then returned, by the same way by which they had come, into their own country. Of these, a certain number settled at the conflux of the Danube and Save, and took the name of Scordisci. The Tectosagi, on returning to their old settlements about Toulouse, were seized with a pestilential distemper, and did not recover from it, until, being warned by the admonitions of their soothsayers, they threw the gold and silver, which they had got in war and sacrilege, into the lake of Toulouse; all which treasure, a hundred and ten thousand pounds of silver, and fifteen hundred thousand pounds of gold, Cæpio, the Roman consul, a long time after, carried away with him. But this sacrilegious act subsequently proved a cause of ruin to Cæpio and his army. The rising of the Cimbrian war, too, seemed to pursue the Romans as if to avenge the removal of that devoted treasure. Of these Tectosagi, no small number, attracted by the charms of plunder, repaired

himself became a fratricide by causing his father to put his brother to death.

to Illyricum, and, after spoiling the Istrians, settled in Pannonia.

The Istrians, it is reported, derive their origin from those Colchians who were sent by king Æetes in pursuit of the Argonauts, that had carried off his daughter,* who, after they had sailed from the Pontus Euxinus into the Ister, and had proceeded far up the channel of the river Save, pursuing the track of the Argonauts, conveyed their vessels upon their shoulders over the tops of the mountains, as far as the shores of the Adriatic sea, knowing that the Argonauts must have done the same before them, because of the size of their ship.† These Colchians, not overtaking the Argonauts, who had sailed off, remained, whether from fear of their king or from weariness of so long a voyage, near Aquileia, and were called Istrians from the name of the river up which they sailed out of the sea.

The Dacians are descendants of the Getæ. This people having fought unsuccessfully, under their king Oroles, against the Bastarnæ, were compelled by his order, as a punishment for their cowardice, to put their heads, when they were going to sleep, in the place of their feet,‡ and to perform those offices for their wives which used previously to be done for themselves. Nor were these regulations altered, until they had effaced, by new exertions in the field, the disgrace which they had incurred in the previous war.

IV. Perseus, having succeeded to the throne of his father Philip, applied to all these nations to join him in a war against the Romans. In the meanwhile a war broke out between king Prusias, to whom Hannibal had fled when peace was granted

* *Argonautas raptoresque filiæ.*] Four of the old editions have *raptoremque*, i. e. Jason — *Wetzel.*

† *Propter magnitudinem navis.*] Bongarsius thinks that *navis* is to be understood in the sense of *navigationis;* but this is absurd. We must simply understand that the river Save would not admit a ship of that size, and that they were consequently obliged to take it on their shoulders and carry it to the shores of the Adriatic. The story is well known.—*Vossius.* As to the carrying of the Argo on the shoulders of her crew, see Apoll Rhod. iv. 1383, *seqq.* Scheffer would read *navigationis* instead of *navis.*

‡ Similar military punishments, rather ignominious than painful, are noticed in Diod. Sic. xii. 16; Plutarch. Ages. c. 51; Liv. xxvii. 15· Tacit. xiii. 36; Suet. Aug. c. 24; Val. Max. xi. 7, 9, and 15; Frontin. iv. 1; Plato, Legg. ix. *sub init.*—*Bernecccrus.*

Antiochus by the Romans, and Eumenes ; a war which Prusias was the first to begin, having broken his treaty with Emenes through confidence in Hannibal.

Hannibal, when the Romans, among other articles of peace, demanded from Antiochus that he should be surrendered to them, received notice of this demand from the king, and, taking to flight, went off to Crete. Here, when he had long led a quiet life, but found himself envied for his great wealth, he deposited some urns, filled with lead, in the temple of Diana, as if thus to secure his treasure. The city,* in consequence, being no longer concerned about him, as they supposed that they had his wealth in pledge, he betook himself to Prusias, putting his gold into some statues which he carried with him, lest his riches, if seen, should endanger his life. Prusias being subsequently defeated in a battle by land, and transferring the war to the sea, Hannibal, by a new stratagem, was the cause of procuring him a victory ; for he ordered serpents of every kind to be enclosed in earthen pots, and to be thrown, in the hottest of the engagement, into the enemy's ships. This seemed at first ridiculous to the Pontic soldiers,† that the enemy should fight with earthen pots, as if they could not fight with the sword.‡ But when the ships began to be filled with serpents, and they were thus involved in double peril, they yielded the victory to the enemy.

When the news of these transactions was brought to Rome, ambassadors were despatched by the senate to require the two kings to make peace, and demand the surrender of Hannibal. But Hannibal, learning their object, took poison, and frustrated their embassy by his death.

This year was rendered remarkable by the deaths of the three greatest generals then in the world, Hannibal, Philopœmen, and Scipio Africanus. Of these three it is certain that Hannibal, even at the time when Italy trembled at him, thundering in the war with Rome, and when, after his return to Carthage, he held the chief command there, never reclined

* *Civitate.*] That is, the city of Gortyn in which he resided. See Corn. Nep. Life of Hannibal.

† *Ponticis.*] Rather *Pergamenis,* says Wetzel, Eumenes being king of Pergamus.

‡ *Qui ferro nequeant* is the reading of all the editions, but it should surely be *quasi ferro nequeant.*

at his meals, or indulged himself with more than one pint* of wine at a time; and that he preserved such continence among so many female captives, that one would be disposed to deny that he was born in Africa. Such, too, was his prudence in command, that though he had to rule armies of different nations, he was never annoyed by any conspiracy among his troops, or betrayed by their want of faith, though his enemies had often attempted to expose him to both.

BOOK XXXIII.

War of the Romans with Perseus, I.—Perseus defeated and made prisoner; treatment of Macedonia and Ætolia by the Romans, II.

I. The Romans carried on the Macedonian war with less disturbance to their country than the Punic war, but with more renown, as the Macedonians surpassed the Carthaginians in honour, and were animated, moreover, by their glory in having conquered the east, and supported also by the auxiliary forces of all the neighbouring princes.† The Romans, accordingly, both raised a greater number of legions, and called for assistance from Masinissa, king of Numidia, and all the rest of their allies; while notice was also given to Eumenes, king of Bithynia, to aid them in the war with his whole force. Perseus, besides his Macedonian army, which had had the reputation of being invincible, had supplies for a ten years' war, collected by his father, in his treasures and magazines. Elevated by these resources, and forgetful of his father's fortune, he bade his soldiers think of the past glory of Alexander.

The first engagement was one of cavalry only; and Perseus, being victorious in it, attracted the favourable regard of all who had previously been in suspense. Yet he sent ambassadors to the consul to ask for peace, which the Romans had granted to his father even when conquered, offering to defray the expenses of the war, as if he had been defeated. But the

* *Sextario.*] The *sextarius* was nearly a pint, being the sixth part of the *congius*, which was equal to 5·9471 pints.

† *Omnium regum.*] A hyperbolical expression, such as our author often uses. Previously, xxxii. 3, he mentions only the Gauls as auxiliaries of Perseus; Livy, xlii. 29, adds Cotys, king of the Odrysæ. —*Wetzel.*

consul Sulpicius offered him terms not less harsh than he would have offered to a vanquished enemy. In the meantime, the Romans, under the dread of so formidable a war, created Æmilius Paulus consul, and conferred upon him, out of due course,* the command in the Macedonian war.

Æmilius, when he had reached the camp, lost no time in coming to a battle. The night before it was fought, the moon was eclipsed; a phænomenon which all interpreted unfavourably for Perseus, and presaged that the downfal of the Macedonian empire was portended.

II. In this engagement, Marcus Cato, the son of Cato the orator, while he was fighting, with extraordinary bravery, among the thickest of the enemy, fell from his horse, and continued his efforts on foot. A number of the enemy gathered about him when he fell, with loud shouts, as if they would kill him as he lay on the ground, but he, recovering himself sooner than they expected, made great slaughter among them. The enemy flocking round him, however, to overpower him with their numbers, his sword, as he was aiming at a tall fellow among them, fell from his hand among a troop of his opponents; when he, to recover it, plunged in among the points of the enemy's weapons, protecting himself with his shield, while both armies were looking on, and, having regained his sword, though not without receiving many wounds, he got back safe to his friends, amidst a loud shout from the enemy.† The rest of the Romans, imitating his boldness, secured the victory. King Perseus fled, and arrived, with ten thousand talents, at Samothrace; and Cnæus Octavius, being sent by the consul in pursuit of him, took him prisoner, with his two sons Alexander and Philip, and brought him to the consul.

Macedonia, from the time of Caranus, who was the first that reigned in it, to Perseus, had thirty kings; under whose government it continued for nine hundred and twenty-three years, but possessed supreme power for only a hundred and ninety-two.‡ When it fell under the power of the Romans, it

* *Extra ordinem.*] He had his province by lot in the usual way; Macedonia fell to him, and Italy to his colleague Crassus.—*Durand.* See Livy, xliv. 17.

† *Hostium.*] Seven of the old editions have *omnium*, which Scheffer prefers, as it was a shout of congratulation, proceeding from the Romans, not from the enemy.—*Wetzel.*

‡ *Sed verum non nisi centum nonaginta duobus annis potita.*] Mace-

was left free, magistrates being appointed in every city; and it received laws from Paulus Æmilius, which it still uses.

As to the Ætolians, the senators of every city in the country, whose fidelity had been suspected, were sent, together with their wives and children, to Rome; where, to prevent them from raising any disturbance in their country, they were long detained; and it was not without difficulty, and after the senate had been wearied with embassies from the cities for their release, that they were allowed to return to their own country.

BOOK XXXIV.

The Romans make war on the Achæans, I.—Defeat of the Achæans; Corinth demolished; affairs in Egypt; Ptolemy Philometor requests aid from Rome, II.—Embassy from the Romans to Antiochus Epiphanes; his death; he is succeeded by his brother Demetrius Soter, III.—Prusias, king of Bithynia, killed by his son Nicomedes, IV.

I. The Carthaginians and Macedonians being subdued, and the power of the Ætolians weakened by the captivity of their leading men, the Achæans were the only people of all Greece who seemed to the Romans, at that time, to be too powerful; not, indeed, from any extraordinary strength existing in any individual city, but because of a confederacy maintained among all the cities. For the Achæans, though distributed through several towns, like so many different members, yet formed but one body and had but one government, and warded off danger from any single city by the united strength of all. To the Romans, therefore, as they were seeking a pretext for war, fortune opportunely presented the complaints of the Spartans, whose lands the Achæans, in consequence of hatred subsisting

donia attained its height when Alexander conquered Darius, B.C. 329, in which year Justin, x. 3, considers that the Persian empire terminated, and the Macedonian began. Between that year and the defeat of Perseus elapsed only 160 years, and if we would wish to make up our author's number of 192, we must take in thirty-two from the previous period, going back to B.C 361, when Philip was a hostage at Thebes. Hence the reading of Bongarsius's codices, 152, seems preferable; or, to take a round number, 150, the reading of three other copies; and this is the number given by Livy, xlv. 9.—*Wetzel.*

between the two people, had laid waste. Answer was accordingly made by the senate to the Spartans, that "they would send commissioners into Greece, to examine into the affairs of their allies, and to prevent further injury;" but secret directions were at the same time given the commissioners, that "they should dissolve the confederacy among the Achæans, and make each city independent of the rest, that they might thus the more easily be reduced to obedience, while, if any cities were obstinate, they might be humbled by force." The commissioners, in consequence, having summoned the chief men of the cities to meet them at Corinth, read to them the decree of the senate, and signified what their intentions were; declaring it "expedient for all, that each city should have its own independent laws and government." When this communication was known throughout the city, the people being thrown as it were into a fury, massacred all the foreigners that were there, and would have laid violent hands on the Roman commissioners themselves, had they not fled away in haste as soon as they found a disturbance rising.

II. When the news of these occurrences reached Rome, the senate at once decreed war against the Achæans, giving the conduct of it to the consul Mummius, who, conveying over his army with the utmost expedition, and actively providing himself with all necessaries, proceeded to offer the enemy battle. As for the Achæans, as if they had undertaken a matter of no difficulty in going to war with the Romans, every thing was neglected and out of order amongst them. Thinking of plunder, too, and not of fighting, they brought vehicles to carry away the spoils of the enemy, and stationed their wives and children on the hills to view the engagement. But when the battle commenced, they were cut to pieces before the eyes of their kindred, and afforded them only a dismal spectacle and sad remembrances of grief. Their wives and children, also, were changed from spectators into prisoners, and became the prey of the enemy. The city of Corinth itself was razed to the ground, and the inhabitants sold for slaves, that, by such an example, a dread of insurrection might be thrown on other cities.

During these transactions, Antiochus, king of Syria, made war upon Ptolemy* king of Egypt, his elder sister's son, a

* Ptolemy Philometor, who reigned from B.C. 180 to 145 (see Diod.

prince naturally inactive, and so weakened by daily luxurious indulgence, that he not only neglected the duties of his royal station, but even, through excessive gluttony, had lost all human feeling. Being expelled from his throne, he fled to Alexandria to his younger brother Ptolemy,* and, having shared the kingdom with him, they jointly sent ambassadors to the Roman senate, imploring assistance, and the protection of their alliance; and their solicitations prevailed with the senate.

III. Accordingly Popilius was despatched, in the character of ambassador, to Antiochus, to desire him "to refrain from invading Egypt, or, if he had already entered it, to quit it without delay." Having found him in Egypt, and the king having offered to kiss him (for Antiochus, when he was a hostage† at Rome, had been friendly with Popilius among others), Popilius said that "private friendship must be set aside, when the commands of his country stood in the way," and having produced and delivered to him the decree of the senate, but observing that he hesitated, and referred the consideration of it to his friends, he drew a circle round him with a staff which he carried in his hand, so large that it also enclosed his friends, and desired him "to decide on the spot, and not to go out of that ring, till he had given an answer to the senate whether he would have peace or war with Rome." This firmness so daunted the king's spirit, that he replied that "he would obey the senate."

Antiochus, on returning to his kingdom, died, leaving a son quite a boy. Guardians being assigned him by the people, his uncle‡ Demetrius, who was a hostage at Rome, and who had heard of the death of his brother, went to the senate, and said that "he had come to Rome as a hostage while his brother was alive, but that now he was dead, he did not know

Sic. xxx. 15), being the son and successor of Ptolemy Epiphanes, who married the daughter of Antiochus the Great, sister to the Antiochus mentioned in the text.—*Wetzel.*

* Ptolemy Physcon, who became master of Cyrene and Libya in the year B.C. 157, Diod. Sic. xxxi. 26. He succeeded his brother at his death, B.C. 135, and reigned twenty-seven years.—*Wetzel.*

† He had been sent to Rome as a hostage by his father Antiochus the Great, and afterwards by his brother Seleucus IV.—*Wetzel.*

‡ He was not his uncle but his cousin, being the son of Seleucus IV., the brother of Antiochus Epiphanes.—*Bongarsius*

for whom he was a hostage. It was therefore reasonable," he added, "that he should be released to claim the throne, which, as he had conceded it to his elder brother by the law of nations, now of right belonged to himself, as he was superior to the orphan in age." But finding that he was not released by the senate (their private opinion being that the throne would be better in the hands of the young prince than in his), he left the city on pretence of going to hunt, and secretly took ship at Ostia,* with such as attended him in his flight. On arriving in Syria, he was favourably received by the whole people, and the orphan being put to death, the throne was resigned to him by the guardians.

IV. About the same time, Prusias, king of Bithynia, conceived a resolution to kill his son Nicomedes, with a desire to benefit his younger children by a second marriage, whom he had sent to Rome. But the design was betrayed to the young prince by those who had undertaken the execution of it, and who exhorted him, since he had become an object of his father's cruelty, to anticipate his schemes, and turn the villainy on the head of its contriver." Nor was it difficult to prevail upon him; and when, being sent for, he had come† into his father's dominions, he was immediately selected as king. Prusias, deprived of his throne by his son, and reduced to a private station, was forsaken even by his slaves. While he lived in retirement, he was killed by his son, with no less guilt than that with which he himself had ordered his son to be put to death

BOOK XXXV.

Demetrius Soter, king of Syria, dethroned and killed by Alexander Bala, I.—His death avenged by his son Demetrius Nicator, II.

I. DEMETRIUS, having possessed himself of the throne of Syria, and thinking that peace might be dangerous in the unsettled state of his affairs, resolved to enlarge the bordere

* Ostia or Hostia at the mouth of the Tiber.

† From the expression "he had come," *venerat*, it appears that he had previously fled out of the kingdom, though Justin does not mention his flight.

of his kingdom, and increase his power, by making war upon his neighbours. Accordingly, being incensed with Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, for having disdained to marry his sister, he kindly received his brother Orophernes, who had been unjustly deprived of the throne, and who came to him as a suppliant; and, rejoicing that a plausible pretext for war was afforded him, determined to reinstate him in his dominions. But Orophernes, with extreme ingratitude, having entered into a compact with the people of Antioch, at that time enraged against Antiochus, formed a plot to expel him from his throne by whom he was to have been restored to his own. The conspiracy being discovered, Demetrius spared indeed the life of Orophernes, that Ariarathes might not be freed from the dread of war on the part of his brother, but caused him to be apprehended, and kept a close prisoner at Seleucia. Nor were the people of Antioch so alarmed at this discovery as to desist from their rebellion. Being in consequence attacked by Demetrius, but receiving aid from Ptolemy king of Egypt, Attalus king of Asia,* and Ariarathes of Cappadocia, they suborned one Bala, a young man of mean condition, to claim the throne of Syria, on pretence that it had been his father's, by force of arms; and that nothing might be wanting to render him insolent, the name of Alexander was given him, and he was reported to be the son of King Antiochus. And such was the detestation of Demetrius among all classes, that not only royal power, but also nobility of birth, was unanimously attributed to his rival. Alexander, in consequence, amidst this wonderful change of fortune, forgetful of his original meanness, and supported by the strength of almost all the east, made war upon Demetrius, and, having defeated him, deprived him at once of his throne and his life. Demetrius, however, did not want courage to resist him in the field; for he both routed the enemy in the first encounter, and, when the kings renewed the contest, he killed several thousands in the struggle. But at last he fell, with his spirit still unsubdued, and fighting most valiantly, among the thickest of the enemy.

II. At the commencement of the war, Demetrius had entrusted two of his sons to a friend of his at Cnidus, with a

* *Rege Asiæ.*] King of Pergamus, where he reigned twenty years, B.C. 157 to 137.—*Wetzel.*

large quantity of treasure, that they might be removed from the perils of the war, and might be preserved, if fortune should so order it, to avenge their father's death. The elder of the two, Demetrius, who had passed the age of boyhood, hearing of the luxurious life of Alexander (whom his unexpected grandeur, and the fascination of enjoyments to which he was a stranger, held captive as it were in his palace, idling away his days among troops of concubines), fell upon him, with the assistance of some Cretans, when he was quite at his ease, and free from all apprehension of danger. The people of Antioch, too, to atone for their injuries to the father by new services, devoted themselves to him; and his father's soldiers, fired with love for the young prince, and preferring the obligation of their former oath to the haughty rule of the new king, ranged themselves on the side of Demetrius; and thus Alexander, cast down with no less violent a freak of fortune than that with which he had been raised, was defeated and killed in the first battle, paying the penalty of his conduct both to Demetrius whom he had slain, and to Antiochus, from whom he had pretended to derive his birth.

BOOK XXXVI.

Demetrius Nicator made prisoner by the Parthians; rise and fall of Trypho; Antiochus Sidetes subdues the Jews, I.—Origin of the Jews; their departure from Egypt, II.—Account of Palestine; conquerors of the Jews, III.—Character of Attalus of Pergamus; he bequeaths his kingdom to the Romans, who possess themselves of it in spite of Aristonicus, IV.

I. DEMETRIUS, having gained possession of his father's throne, and being spoiled by his good fortune, fell, from the effects of the vices of youth, into habits of indolence, and incurred as much contempt for his slothfulness, as his father had incurred hatred for his pride. As the cities, in consequence, began every where to revolt from his government, he resolved, in order to wipe off the stain of effeminacy from his character, to make war upon the Parthians The people of the east beheld his approach with pleasure, both on account of the cruelty of Arsacides,* king of the Parthians, and because,

* He that Justin calls Arsacides was the sixth of the Arsacidæ, or

having been accustomed to the old government of the Macedonians, they viewed the pride of the new race with indignation. Being assisted, accordingly, by auxiliary troops from the Persians, Elymæans, and Bactrians, he routed the Persians in several pitched battles. At length, however, being deceived by a pretended offer of peace, he was made prisoner, and being led from city to city,* was shown as a spectacle to the people that had revolted, in mockery of the favour that they had shown him. Being afterwards sent into Hyrcania, he was treated kindly, and suitably to the dignity of his former condition.

During the course of these proceedings, Trypho, in Syria, who had exerted his efforts to be made by the people guardian to Antiochus, the step-son of Demetrius, killed his ward, and seized upon the Syrian throne. When he had enjoyed it for some time, and the liking of the people for his new government began at length to wear off, he was defeated in a battle by Antiochus, the brother of Demetrius, who was then quite a boy, and who had been educated in Asia; and the throne of Syria again returned to the family of Demetrius.

Antiochus, remembering that his father had been hated for his pride, and his brother despised for his indolence, was anxious not to fall into the same vices, and having married Cleopatra, his brother's wife, proceeded to make war, with the utmost vigour, on the provinces that had revolted through the badness† of his brother's government, and, after subduing them, re-united them to his dominions. He also reduced the Jews, who, during the Macedonian rule under his father Demetrius, had recovered their liberty by force of arms; and whose strength was such, that they would submit to no Macedonian king after him, but, electing rulers from their own people, harassed Syria with fierce wars.

II. The origin of the Jews‡ was from Damascus, a most

Mithridates I, who reigned from B.C. 173 to 136.—*Wetzel.* Arsacidæ was the common name of the descendants of Arsaces, the founder of the Parthian power.

* *Per ora civitatum.*

† *Vitio.*] Some editions have *initio.*

‡ The confused account which our author, as well as Tacitus, v. 2—14, gives concerning the Jews, and the false statements contained in it, must be corrected from the books of the Old Testament and from Josephus.—*Wetzel.*

famous city of Syria, whence also the Assyrian kings and queen Semiramis * sprung. The name of the city was given it from King Damascus, in honour of whom the Syrians consecrated the sepulchre of his wife Arathis as a temple, and regard her as a goddess worthy of the most sacred worship After Damascus, Azelus, and then Adores, Abraham, and Israhel were their kings. But a prosperous family of ten sons made Israhel more famous than any of his ancestors. Having divided his kingdom, in consequence, into ten governments, he committed them to his sons, and called the whole people Jews from Judas, who died soon after the division, and ordered his memory to be held in veneration by them all, as his portion was shared among them. The youngest of the brothers was Joseph, whom the others, fearing his extraordinary abilities, secretly made prisoner, and sold to some foreign merchants. Being carried by them into Egypt, and having there, by his great powers of mind, made himself master of the arts of magic, he found in a short time great favour with the king; for he was eminently skilled in prodigies, and was the first to establish the science of interpreting dreams; and nothing, indeed, of divine or human law seems to have been unknown to him; so that he foretold a dearth in the land some years before it happened, and all Egypt would have perished by famine, had not the king, by his advice, ordered the corn to be laid up for several years; such being the proofs of his knowledge, that his admonitions seemed to proceed, not from a mortal, but a god. His son was Moses, whom, besides the inheritance of his father's knowledge, the comeliness of his person also recommended. But the Egyptians, being troubled with scabies and leprosy, and moved by some oracular prediction, expelled him, with those who had the disease, out of Egypt, that the distemper might not spread among a greater number. Becoming leader, accordingly, of the exiles, he carried off by stealth the sacred utensils of the Egyptians, who, endeavouring to recover them by force of arms, were obliged by tempests to return home; and Moses, having reached Damascus, the birth-place of his forefathers, took possession of mount Sinai, on his arrival at which, after having

* Wetzel's text has *ex reginâ Semiramide*, but I have thought proper to follow the reading of the Juntine edition, *et reginæ Semiramidi*, which is found in two manuscripts, and which Wetzel himself prefers.

suffered, together with his followers, from a seven days' fast in the deserts of Arabia, he consecrated every seventh day (according to the present custom of the nation) for a fast-day, and to be perpetually called a sabbath, because that day had ended at once their hunger and their wanderings. And as they remembered that they had been driven from Egypt for fear of spreading infection, they took care, in order that they might not become odious, from the same cause, to the inhabitants of the country, to have no communication with strangers; a rule which, from having been adopted on that particular occasion, gradually became a custom and part of their religion. After the death of Moses, his son Aruas* was made priest for celebrating the rites which they brought from Egypt, and soon after created king; and ever afterwards it was a custom among the Jews to have the same chiefs both for kings and priests; and, by uniting religion with the administration of justice, it is almost incredible how powerful they became.

III. The wealth of the nation was augmented by the duties on balm,† which is produced only in that country; for there is a valley, encircled with an unbroken ridge of hills, as it were a wall, in the form of a camp, the space enclosed being about two hundred acres, and called by the name of Hierichus;‡ in which valley there is a wood, remarkable both for its fertility and pleasantness, and chequered with groves of palm and balm-trees. The balm-trees resemble pitch-trees in shape, except that they are not so tall, and are dressed after the manner of vines; and at a certain season of the year they exude the balm. But the place is not less admired for the

* A corruption of Aaron.

† *Opobalsami.*] In Gen. xxxvii. 25; xliii. 11, we find that Canaan produced balm; it is now found only in Arabia Petræa. "The balm-tree (*balsami arbor*) grew," says Origen, "in Judæa, only within a space of about twenty acres, but after the Romans became masters of the country it was propagated over extensive hills. Its stem is similar to that of the vine, and its leaves to those of rue, but whiter and always remaining on the tree." The word *balsamum* properly signifies the tree, and *opobalsamum* (that is, ὀπὸς τοῦ βαλσάμου, as ὀποπάναξ is ὀπος τοῦ πάνακος, juice of *all-heal*, Diosc. iii. 48) the juice; *xylobalsamum* means the wood of the tree. Justin, however, contrary to the practice of other writers, uses *opobalsamum* for the tree, and *balsamum* for the juice.—*Lemaire.*

‡ That is, *Jericho*, which is the reading of the Cologne edition.—*Wetzel.*

gentle warmth of the sun in it, than for its fertility; for though the sun in that climate is the hottest in the world, there is constantly in this valley a certain natural subdued tepidity in the air.*

In this country also is the lake Asphaltites, which, from its magnitude and the stillness of its waters is called the Dead Sea; for it is neither agitated by the winds, because the bituminous matter, with which all its water is clogged, resists even hurricanes; nor does it admit of navigation, for all inanimate substances sink to the bottom; and it will support no wood, except such as is smeared with alum.

The first† that conquered the Jews was Xerxes, king of Persia. Subsequently they fell, with the Persians themselves, under the power of Alexander the Great; and they were then long subject to the kings of Syria, under its Macedonian dynasty. On revolting from Demetrius, and soliciting the favour of the Romans,‡ they were the first of all the eastern people that regained their liberty, the Romans readily affecting to bestow what it was not in their power to give.

IV. During the same period, in which the government of Syria was passing from hand to hand among its new sovereigns, King Attalus in Asia polluted a most flourishing kingdom, which he inherited from his uncle Eumenes, by murders of his friends and executions of his relatives, pretending sometimes that his old mother, and sometimes his wife Berenice, had been destroyed by their wicked contrivances. After this

* *Tepidi aëris naturalis quædam et perpetua apricitas inest.*] Such is the reading of Gronovius and Wetzel, who interpret *apricitas* to signify a moderate warmth or tepidity. Some of the older editions have *opacitas*, which Tauchnitz and Dübner have adopted. "Salmasius, on Solinus, p. 990, says that not every place exposed to the sun is properly called *apricus*, but one which lies open to a gentle and moderate influence of his beams. Hence *aprici colles*, Virg Ecl. ix. 49, are hills turned towards the rising sun, which, not being excessively hot, is well suited for ripening grapes."—*Berneccerus.*

† *Primum Xerxes—domuit.*] This is an error. The kingdom of Israel was overthrown by Shalmaneser, B.C. 722, and that of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 588. The return from captivity, under Cyrus, was B.C. 536. The Jews continued subject to the Persians till the time of Alexander, after whom they were under the rule, sometimes of the Ptolemies, and sometimes of the Seleucidæ, till B.C. 167.—*Dübner.*

‡ *Amicitiâ Romanorum petitâ.*] Judas Maccabæus, B.C. 166, formed an alliance with the Romans; Joseph. Ant. xii. 10.

atrocious outburst of rage, he assumed a mean dress, let his beard and hair grow like those of persons under legal prosecution, never went abroad or showed himself to the people, held no feasts in his palace, and behaved in no respect, indeed, like a man in his senses; so that he seemed to be paying penalty for his crimes to the manes of those whom he had murdered. Abandoning the government of his kingdom, too, he employed himself in digging and sowing in his garden, mixing noxious herbs with harmless ones, and sending them all indiscriminately, moistened with poisonous juices, as special presents to his friends. From this employment he turned to that of working in brass, and amused himself with modelling in wax, and casting and hammering out brazen figures. He then proceeded to make a monument for his mother, but while he was busy about the work, he contracted a disorder from the heat of the sun, and died on the seventh day afterwards. By his will the Roman people was appointed his heir.*

There was however a son of Eumenes, named Aristonicus, not born in wedlock, but of an Ephesian mistress, the daughter of a player on the harp; and this young man, after the death of Attalus, laid claim to the throne of Asia as having been his father's. When he had fought several successful battles against the provinces, which, from fear of the Romans, refused to submit to him, and seemed to be established as king, Asia was assigned by the senate to the command of Licinius Crassus, who, being more eager to plunder the treasures of Attalus than to distinguish himself in the field, and fighting a battle, at the end of the year, with his army in disorder, was defeated, and paid the penalty for his blind avarice by the loss of his life. The consul Perperna being sent in his place, reduced Aristonicus, who was defeated in the first engagement, under his power, and carried off the treasures of Attalus, bequeathed to the Roman people, on ship-board to Rome. Marcus Aquilius, Perperna's successor, envying his good fortune, hastened, with the utmost expedition, to snatch Aristonicus from Perperna's hands, as if he ought rather to grace his own triumph. But the death of Perperna put an end to the rivalry between the consuls.

* See Liv. Epit. lviii.; Vell. Pat. ii. 4; August. Civ. D. xiii. 2 Orosius, v. 8; Florus, ii. 20; Sallust's Hist. Fragm. lib. iv.; Bohn's Cl. Library, p. 242.

Asia, thus becoming a province of the Romans, brought to Rome its vices together with its wealth.

BOOK XXXVII.

The people of Marseilles entreat the Romans in behalf of Phocæa; affairs in Asia, Cappadocia, and Pontus, I.—Of Mithridates, II.—His conquests, III.—His invasion of Paphlagonia; his rupture with the Romans, IV.

I. After Aristonicus was taken prisoner, the people of Marseilles sent ambassadors to Rome to intercede for the Phocæans their friends, whose city and even name the senate had ordered to be destroyed, because, both at that time, and previously in the war against Antiochus, they had taken up arms against the Roman people. The embassy obtained from the senate a pardon for them. Rewards were then bestowed on the princes who had given aid against Aristonicus; to Mithridates* of Pontus was allotted Greater Phrygia; to the sons of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who had fallen in that war, were assigned Lycaonia and Cilicia; and the Roman people were more faithful to the sons of their ally, than their mother was to her children, since by the one the kingdom of the young princes was increased, by the other they were deprived of life. For Laodice, out of six children, all boys, whom she had by king Ariarathes (fearing that, when some of them were grown up, she would not long enjoy the administration of the kingdom), killed five by poison; but the care of their relatives rescued from the barbarous hands of their mother one infant, who, after the death of Laodice (for the people killed her for her cruelty), became sole king.

Mithridates also, being cut off by sudden death, left a son, who was likewise named Mithridates, and whose greatness was afterwards such that he surpassed all kings,† not only of his own but of preceding ages, in glory, and carried on war against the Romans, with various success, for forty-six years, during which, though the most eminent generals, Sylla, Lucullus, and others, and at last, Cnæus Pompey, overcame him, yet it was

* Mithridates surnamed Euergetes, father of Mithridates the Great.

† Justin, or Trogus, seems to prefer him to Alexander the Great.

only so that he rose greater and more glorious to renew the contest, and was rendered even more formidable by his defeats And he died at last, not from being overpowered by his enemies,* but by a voluntary death, full of years and on the throne of his ancestors, and leaving his son his heir.

II. The future greatness of this prince even signs from heaven had foretold; for in the year in which he was born, as well as in that in which he began to reign, a comet blazed forth with such splendour, for seventy successive days on each occasion, that the whole sky seemed to be on fire. It covered a fourth part of the firmament † with its train, and obscured the light of the sun with its effulgence; and in rising and setting it took up the space of four hours.‡ During his boyhood his life was attempted by plots on the part of his guardians, who, mounting him on a restive horse, forced him to ride and hurl the javelin; but when these attempts failed, as his management of the horse was superior to his years, they tried to cut him off by poison. He, however, being on his guard against such treachery, frequently took antidotes, and so fortified himself,‡ by exquisite preventives, against their malice, that when he was an old man, and wished to die by poison, he was unable. But dreading lest his enemies should effect that by the sword which they could not accomplish by drugs, he pretended a fancy for hunting, in the indulgence of which he never went under a roof, for seven years, either in the city or the country, but rambled through the forests, and passed his nights in various places among the mountains, none knowing where he was. He accustomed himself to escape from the wild beasts, or pursue them, by speed of foot, and by this means, while he avoided

* *Non vi hostili.*] Some copies have *victus* after *hostili;* Wetzel omits it.

† *Quartam cœli partem.*] That is, forty-five degrees. There was a similar comet, B.C. 372, which Aristotle, Meteor. i. 6, calls a great comet, and which spread its tail over a third part of the sky, i.e. over sixty degrees. Diod. Siculus also, xv. 50, says that its light was like that of the moon.—*Wetzel.*

‡ *Quum oriretur occumberetque, quatuor horarum spatium consumebat.*] That is, after it touched the horizon, at its rising or setting, four hours elapsed before it wholly appeared or disappeared.

§ *Se—stagnavit.*] Gronovius and Grævius would read *stannavit;* but *stagnare* is used by Vegetius in the sense of securing or fortifying, and Justin has the passive *stagnor*, XXXVI. 3.

the plots laid for him, he inured himself to endure all manner of bodily exertion.

III. When he assumed the government of the kingdom, he turned his thoughts, not so much to the regulation of his dominions, as to the enlargement of them. He in consequence subdued, with extraordinary success, the Scythians, who had previously been invincible, who had cut off Zopyrion, the general of Alexander the Great, with an army of thirty thousand men, who had massacred Cyrus, king of the Persians, with two hundred thousand, and who had routed Philip, king of Macedonia. Having thus increased his forces, he made himself master of Pontus,* and afterwards of Cappadocia. Fixing his thoughts on the conquest of Asia,† he went privately, with some of his friends, out of his kingdom, and travelled through the whole of it without the knowledge of any one, making himself acquainted with the situations of the towns and the nature of the country. He next went into Bithynia, and, as if he were already master of Asia, took note of whatever might aid him in attempting the conquest of it. He then returned into his country, when they had begun to suppose that he was dead, and found an infant son born to him, of whom his wife Laodice, who was also his sister, had been delivered in his absence. But amidst the congratulations that he received on his arrival, and on the birth of his son, he was in danger of being poisoned; for his sister and wife Laodice, believing him dead, had yielded herself to the embraces of his friends, and, as if she could conceal the crime, of which she had been guilty, by a greater, prepared poison for him on his return. Mithridates, however, having notice of her intention from a female servant, avenged the plot upon the heads of its contrivers.

IV. When winter came on, he did not spend his time in feasts, but in the field, not in idleness, but in exercise, not among companions in licentiousness, but contending among his equals in age, either in riding, running, or trials of strength. He inured his army also, by daily exercise, to endure fatigue equally with himself; and thus, while he was himself uncon-

* *Pontum occupavit.*] How Pontus, of which he was already master? —*Wetzel.* But from the words *bella Pontica*, in xxxviii. 7, it may be conjectured that he had to fight before he secured his throne.

† Asia Minor.

querable, he rendered his army unconquerable likewise. Entering then into an alliance with Nicomedes, he invaded Paphlagonia, and divided it, after it was conquered, among his allies. But when information reached the senate that it was in possession of the two kings, they sent ambassadors to both, desiring that "the country should be restored to its former condition." Mithridates, thinking himself now a match for the power of the Romans, haughtily replied, that "the kingdom had belonged to his father by inheritance, and that he wondered that a dispute, which had never been raised against his father, should be raised against himself;" and, not at all alarmed by threats, he seized also on Galatia. As for Nicomedes, he replied that "as he could not maintain that he had any right to the country, he would restore it to its legitimate sovereign;" and, altering his son's name to Pylæmenes, the common name of the Paphlagonian kings, he assigned it to him; and thus, as if he had restored the throne to the royal line, he continued to occupy the country on this frivolous pretext. The ambassadors, when they found themselves thus set at nought, returned to Rome.

BOOK XXXVIII.

Mithridates takes possession of Cappadocia, I.—Disputes between him and Nicomedes; the senate take from them Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, II.—Mithridates forms an alliance with Tigranes; invades Asia, and defeats the Romans and Nicomedes, III.—Speech of Mithridates to his army, IV. V. VI. VII.—Cruelties and excesses of Ptolemy Physcon; he is expelled from Egypt by his subjects, VIII.—Demetrius Nicator, king of Syria, made prisoner by the Parthians, IX.—Antiochus Sidetes, brother of Demetrius, falls in war against the Parthians; Demetrius regains his throne, X.

II. MITHRIDATES having commenced his cruelties by killing his wife, resolved also on removing the sons of his other sister Laodice, (whose husband Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he had treacherously cut off by the agency of a certain Gordius,*) thinking that nothing was gained by the death of the father, if the young princes should possess themselves of his throne, with a desire of which he himself was strongly inflamed. As

* He had been banished; see below.

he was meditating on this scheme, Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, proceeded to occupy Cappadocia, while it was left defenceless by the death of its sovereign; and Mithridates, on receiving intelligence of his movements, sent assistance to his sister, on pretence of affection for her, to enable her to drive Nicomedes out of Cappadocia. But Laodice had already made a compact to marry Nicomedes; and Mithridates, being indignant at this arrangement, expelled the garrisons of Nicomedes from Cappadocia, and restored the throne to his sister's son; an act of the highest merit, had no treachery followed it. But some months after, he pretended that he wished to restore Gordius, whom he had used as his agent in the assassination of Ariarathes, to his country; hoping that, if the young man opposed his recal, he should have a pretext for war, or, that if he consented to it, the son might be taken off by the same instrument by which he had procured the death of the father. When the young Ariarthes understood his intention, he expressed great indignation that the murderer of his father should be recalled from banishment, especially by his uncle, and assembled a great army. Mithridates, after bringing into the field eighty thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and six hundred chariots armed with scythes, (while Ariarathes, by the aid of the neighbouring princes, had no less a force), fearing the uncertain event of a battle, turned his thoughts to treachery, and, inviting the young prince to a conference, and having, at the same time, a weapon concealed in his lower garments, he said to the searcher, who was sent by Ariarathes, after the manner of princes on such occasions, to examine his person, and who was feeling very carefully about his groin, that "he had better take care, lest he should find another sort of weapon than he was seeking." Having thus covered his treachery with a joke, he killed his nephew, (after drawing him aside from his friends as if to confer with him secretly), in the sight of both armies, and bestowed the kingdom of Cappadocia on his own son, a child eight years old, giving him the name of Ariarathes, and appointing Gordius his guardian.

II. The Cappadocians, however, being harassed by the cruelty and licentiousness of their rulers, revolted from Mithridates, and sent for the brother of their king, who was also called Ariarathes, from Asia where he was being educated

Upon this prince Mithridates again made war, defeated him, and drove him from Cappadocia; and not long after the young man died of a disease brought on by anxiety. After his death, Nicomedes, fearing lest Mithridates, from having added Cappadocia to his dominions, should also seize upon Bithynia which was near it, instructed a youth, of extraordinary beauty, to apply for the throne of Bithynia from the senate, as having been his father's, pretending that Ariarathes had not had two sons only, but a third. He sent his wife Laodice, also, to Rome, to testify that her husband had three children born to him. Mithridates, when he heard of this contrivance, despatched Gordius, with equal effrontery, to Rome, to assure the senate that "the young prince, to whom he had assigned the throne of Cappadocia, was the son of that Ariarathes who had fallen in the war against Aristonicus when giving assistance to the Romans." But the senate, perceiving the ambitious designs of the two kings, who were seizing the dominions of others on false pretences, took away Cappadocia from Mithridates, and, to console him, Paphlagonia from Nicomedes; and that it might not prove an offence to the kings, that any thing should be taken from them and given to others, both people were offered their liberty. But the Cappadocians declined the favour, saying that "their nation could not subsist without a king." Ariobarzanes was in consequence appointed their king by the senate.

III. The king of Armenia, at this time, was Tigranes, who had long before been committed as a hostage to the Parthians, but had subsequently been sent back to take possession of his father's throne. This prince Mithridates was extremely desirous to engage as an ally in the war, which he had long meditated, against the Romans. By the agency of Gordius, accordingly, he prevailed upon him to make war, having not the least thought of offending the Romans by the act, on Ariobarzanes, a prince of inactive disposition; and, that no deceit might seem to be intended, gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage. On the first approach of Tigranes, Ariobarzanes packed up his baggage and went off to Rome. Thus, through the instrumentality of Tigranes, Cappadocia was destined to fall again under the power of Mithridates. Nicomedes, too, dying at the same time, his son, who was also named Nicomedes, was driven from his dominions by Mithri-

dates, and, having gone as a suppliant to Rome, it was decreed by the senate that "both the kings should be restored to their thrones;" and Aquilius and Manlius Maltinus* were commissioned to see the decree executed. On being informed of this proceeding, Mithridates formed an alliance with Tigranes, with a resolution at once to go to war with the Romans; and they agreed that the cities and territory that should be taken from the enemy should be the share of Mithridates, and that the prisoners, and all booty that could be carried off, should belong to Tigranes. In the next place, well understanding what a war he was provoking, he sent ambassadors to the Cimbri, the Gallogræcians,† the Sarmatians, and the Bastarnians, to request aid; for all the time that he had been meditating war with the Romans, he had been gaining over all these nations by acts of kindness and liberality. He sent also for an army from Scythia, and armed the whole eastern world against the Romans. Accordingly, without much difficulty, he defeated Aquilius and Maltinus, who had an army wholly composed of Asiatic troops, and having put them to flight, as well as Nicomedes, he was received with great joy by the various cities, in which he found a great quantity of gold and silver, and vast warlike stores, laid up by the care of former princes. Taking possession of these, he remitted the cities all sorts of debts, public and private, and granted them an immunity from tribute‡ for five years.

He then assembled his troops, and animated them, by various exhortations, to pursue the war with the Romans, or in Asia. His speech, on this occasion, I have thought of such importance that I insert a copy of it in this brief work. Trogus Pompeius has given it in the oblique form, as he finds fault with Livy and Sallust for having exceeded the proper

* The commentators are divided respecting these names. Bongarsius and Vorstius, from Appian, and Livy, Epit. lxxvii. think that the first name should be *Manius Aquilius*. The Juntine edition has *Aquilius Manlius et Manius Attilius;* Becharius and Major read *Aquilius Mallius et Maltinus*. But conjecture is useless; the same names are repeated, without any prænomina, in c. 4 of this book. The name *Malthinus* occurs in Horace.

† See xxv. 2.

‡ *Vacationem.*] That this is the sense of *vacatio*, though *tributorum* is not expressed, is generally agreed. For instances of similar immunity, Bernecce:us refers to Tacit. Ann. ii. 56, and Liv. xlv. 18.

limits of history, by inserting direct* speeches in their works only to display their own eloquence.

IV. "It were to be wished," he said, "that it were still in his power to deliberate whether he should choose peace or war with the Romans; but that resistance should be offered against aggressors, not even those doubted who were without hope of victory; for all men draw the sword against robbers, if not to save their lives, at least to take revenge. But since it was not now a question, when they had come to hostilities (not merely in intention but in the field of battle), they must consider in what manner, and with what hopes, they could continue the contest which they had commenced. That he felt certain of victory, if they had but courage; and that the Romans might be conquered, was known, not more to himself than to his soldiers, who had routed both Aquilius in Bithynia and Maltinus in Cappadocia. And if examples from other nations would weigh more with them than their own experience, he had heard that the Romans had been overthrown in three battles by Pyrrhus, when he had with him not more than five thousand Macedonians; he had heard that Hannibal continued victorious in Italy for sixteen years, and that it was not the strength of the Romans, but the violence of his own countrymen's envy and jealousy, that prevented him from taking the city of Rome itself; he had heard that the people of Transalpine Gaul had invaded Italy, and founded many great cities in it, and that the same Gauls had possessed themselves of a larger territory there than in Asia, though Asia was considered by no means a warlike country; he had been informed that Rome was not only taken but conquered by the Gauls, the top of one hill only being left in possession of the inhabitants, and that the enemy was not made to retire by the sword, but by gold. But that the power of the Gauls, which had always so much alarmed the Romans, he himself numbered among his own forces; for that these Gauls, who inhabited Asia, differed only in situation from the Gauls who had settled themselves in Italy; that they had the same extraction, courage, and mode of fighting; and that, as to sagacity, the Asiatic Gauls must have more than the others, inasmuch as they had pursued a longer and more difficult

* Justin has given two examples of direct speeches, xiv. 4; xviii. 7. —*Wetzel.*

march through Illyricum and Thrace, having traversed those territories with almost more labour than it had cost them to acquire those in which they settled. That he had heard that Italy itself, since the time that Rome was built, had never been fairly brought under subjection to her, but that constantly, year after year, some of its people persisted in contending for liberty, and others for a share in the government;* and that, by many states of Italy, armies of the Romans had been cut off by the sword, and by others, with a new species of insult, sent under the yoke?† But that, not to dwell on past instances, all Italy, at the present time, was in arms in the Marsian war, demanding, not liberty, but a participation in the government and the rights of citizenship. Nor was the city more grievously harassed by war from its neighbours in Italy, than by intestine broils among its leading men; and that a civil war, indeed, was much more dangerous to it than an Italian one. At the same time, too, the Cimbri from Germany, many thousands of wild and savage people, had rushed upon Italy like a tempest; and that in wars with such enemies, though the Romans might be able to resist them singly, yet by them all they must be overpowered; so that he thought they would even be too much occupied to make head against his attack.

V. "That they ought therefore to take advantage of the present circumstances, and seize the opportunity of increasing their power, lest, if they remained inactive while the Romans were occupied, they should hereafter find greater difficulty in contending with them, when they were quiet and unmolested. For it was not a question whether they should take up arms or not, but whether they should do so at a time favourable to themselves or to their enemies. That war, indeed, had been commenced against him by the Romans, when they took from him, in his minority, the Greater Phrygia, a country which they had granted to his father as a recompence for the succours which he had afforded them in the war against Aristonicus, and which Seleucus Callinicus had given to his great-grandfather Mithridates, as a dowry with his daughter. When

* Wetzel has *pro jure imperii* in his text, but seems to prefer, in his note on the passage, J. F. Gronovius's reading, *pro vice imperii*, which is found in some MSS.

† By the Samnites; Liv. ix. 5; Vell. Pat. i. 14.

they required him to quit Paphlagonia, too, was not that a renewal of hostility, a possession which had fallen to his father, not by conquest or force of arms, but by adoption in a will,* and as an inheritance on the death of its own sovereigns? That, under the severity of such decrees, he had not been able to soften them by compliance, or to prevent them from assuming harsher measures towards him every day. For in what particular had he not submitted to their requisition? Had not Phrygia and Paphlagonia been given up? Had not his son been removed from Cappadocia, which he had gained, as a conqueror, by the common law of nations? Yet his conquest had been forced from him by those who had nothing themselves but what they had got in war. Was not Christos,† king of Bithynia, on whom the senate had decreed that war should be made, killed by him for their gratification? Yet that whatever Gordius or Tigranes did, was imputed to him; that liberty was readily granted by the senate to Cappadocia (liberty of which they deprived other nations), on purpose to affront him; and that when the people of Cappadocia, instead of the liberty offered them, begged to have Gordius for their king, they did not obtain their request merely because Gordius was his friend. That Nicomedes had made war upon him by their direction; that when he was going to avenge himself, he was obstructed by them; and that their pretence for making war on him at present would be, that he had not given up his dominions to Nicomedes, the son of a public dancer, to be ravaged with impunity.

VI. "That it was not the offences of kings, but their power and majesty, for which they attacked them; and that they had not acted thus against himself alone, but against all other princes at all times. That they had treated his grandfather Pharnaces in the same manner, who, by the arbitration of his relatives, was made successor to Eumenes king of Pergamus; that Eumenes himself, again, in whose fleet they had for the first time been transported into Asia, and by whose

* All the editions have *adoptione testamenti, et regum domesticorum interitu.* Scheffer asks, "What is *adoptione testamenti?* Perhaps," he adds, "adoption made *per testamentum.* But no one has explained this form of adoption; and if it were explained, whence does it appear that any adoption was made in this case *per testamentum?*" He concludes by proposing to read *adoptione, testamento,* &c.

† This Christos is nowhere else mentioned.

army, rather than their own, they had subdued both Antiochus the Great and the Gauls in Asia, and soon after king Perses in Macedonia, had been treated by them as an enemy, and had been forbidden to come into Italy, though they made war, which they thought it would be disgraceful to make upon himself, upon his son Aristonicus.* No king's services were thought more important by them than those of Masinissa, king of Numidia; to him it was ascribed that Hannibal was conquered; to him, that Syphax was made prisoner; to him, that Carthage was destroyed; he was ranked with the two Africani, as a third saviour of the city; yet a war had lately been carried on with his grandson in Africa, so implacably, that they would not save the vanquished prince, for the sake of his grandfather's memory, from being cast into gaol, and led in triumph as a public spectacle. That they had made it a law to themselves to hate all kings, because they themselves had had such kings at whose names they might well blush, being either shepherds of the Aborigines, or soothsayers of the Sabines, or exiles from the Corinthians, or servants and slaves of the Tuscans, or, what was the most honourable name amongst them, the *proud;* and as their founders, according to their report, were suckled by the teats of a wolf, so the whole race had the disposition of wolves, being insatiable of blood and tyranny, and eager and hungry after riches.†

VII. "But as for himself, if he were compared with them as to respectability of descent, he was of more honourable origin than that mixed mass of settlers, counting his ancestors, on his father's side, from Cyrus and Darius, the founders of the Persian empire, and those on his mother's side from Alexander the Great and Selecucus Nicator, who established the Macedonian empire; or, if their people were compared with his own, he was at the head of nations,‡ which were not merely a match for the power of Rome, but had withstood even that of Macedonia. That none of the people under his command had ever endured a foreign yoke, or obeyed any rulers but their own native princes; for whether they looked on Cappadocia or Paphlagonia, Pontus or Bithynia, or the

* See xxxvi. 4.

† *Divitiarumque avidos ac jejunos.*] A confusion of man and wolf.

‡ *Earum se gentium esse.*] Faber observes that *regem* is wanting in the text, and must be supplied.

Greater and Lesser Armenia, they would find that neither Alexander, who subdued all Asia,* nor any of his successors or posterity, had meddled with any one of those nations. That as to Scythia, only two kings before him, Darius and Philip, had ventured, not indeed to reduce it, but merely to enter it, and had with difficulty secured a retreat from it; yet that from that country he had procured a great part of his force to oppose the Romans. That he had entered on the Pontic wars† with much more timidity and diffidence, as he was then young and inexperienced. That the Scythians, in addition to their arms and courage, were defended by deserts and cold, by which was shown the great labour and danger of making war there, while, amidst such hardships, there was not even hope of spoil from a wandering enemy, destitute, not only of money, but of settled habitations. But that he was now entering upon a different sort of war; for there was no climate more temperate than that of Asia, nor any country more fertile or more attractive from the number of its cities; and that they would spend a great part of their time, not as in military service, but as at a festival, in a war of which it was hard to say whether it would be more easy or more gainful, as they themselves might feel assured, if they had but heard of the late riches of the kingdom of Attalus, or the ancient opulence of Lydia and Ionia, which they were not going to acquire by conquest, but to take possession of; while Asia so eagerly expected him,‡ that it even invited him in words, so much had the rapacity of the proconsuls, the sales of the tax-gatherers, and the disgraceful mode of conducting law-suits, possessed the people with a hatred of the Romans. That they had only to follow him bravely, and learn what so great an army might do under his conduct, whom they had seen seizing Cappadocia, after killing its king, not with the aid of any troops, but by his own personal effort, and who alone, of all mankind, had subdued all Pontus and Scythia, which no one before him could safely penetrate or approach. As to his justice and generosity, he was willing to take the soldiers themselves, who had expe-

* That is, all Greater Asia; all the eastern part of Asia.

† *Bella Pontica.*] See xxxvii. 3.

‡ *Tantumque se avida expectet Asia,* &c.] Faber reads tamque se, &c., but even then, as Vorstius observes, the words do not suit the *oratio obliqua,* which requires *avidam expectare Asiam,* &c.

rienced them, as witnesses to what they were; and he had those proofs to bring of the latter, that he alone, of all kings, possessed not only his father's dominions, but foreign kingdoms, acquired by inheritance through his liberality, namely Colchis, Paphlagonia, and the Bosporus."

VIII. Having thus encouraged his troops, he entered upon the war with the Romans,* twenty-three years after his accession to the throne.

In Egypt, meanwhile, on the death of Ptolemy,† the throne, with the queen Cleopatra his sister in marriage, was offered by an embassy to the Ptolemy‡ who was reigning at Cyrene. Ptolemy, rejoiced at having recovered his brother's throne without a struggle (for which he knew that his brother's son was intended, both by his mother Cleopatra and the inclination of the nobles), but being incensed at all that had opposed his interests, ordered, as soon as he entered Alexandria, the partisans of the young prince to be put to death. He also killed the youth himself on the day of his nuptials (when he took his mother to wife), amidst the splendour of feasts, the ceremonies of religion, and in the very embraces of his parent, and thus went to the couch of his sister stained with the blood of her child. Nor was he afterwards more merciful to those of his subjects who had invited him to the throne, for license to use the sword being given to the foreign soldiers, all places daily ran with blood. He divorced his sister, too, offering violence to her daughter, a young maiden, and then taking her in marriage. The people, terrified at these proceedings, fled to other countries, and became exiles from their native soil through fear of death. Ptolemy, in consequence, being left alone with his soldiers in so large a city, and finding himself a king, not of men, but of empty houses, invited, by a proclamation, foreigners to become residents in it. While people were flocking thither, he went out to meet some Roman commissioners, Scipio Africanus, Spurius Mummius, and Lucius Metellus, who had come to inspect the dominions of their allies. But he appeared as ridiculous to the Romans as

* *Romana bella.*] Of which Justin gives no regular account. He touches on the subject, xxxvii. 1, and xxviii. 3; but what he relates of Aquilius and Maltinus in the latter passage occurred twenty-three years after Mithridates commenced the war.

† Philometor. See xxxiv. 2.

‡ Physcon. See xxxiv. 2.

he was cruel to his own subjects; for he was disagreeable in countenance, short in stature, and, from his obesity, more like a beast than a man. This deformity the extraordinary thinness of his apparel, which was even transparent, made more remarkable, just as if that was affectedly obtruded on the sight which by a modest man would have been most carefully concealed. After the departure of the commissioners, (of whom Africanus, as he surveyed the city, was an object of interest to the Alexandrians), finding that he had become hateful even to the foreigners whom he had invited, he withdrew secretly, for fear of plots against his life, into voluntary exile, accompanied by a son that he had by his sister, and by his wife, her mother's rival, and, having collected an army of mercenaries, made war at once upon his sister and his country. He next sent for his eldest son from Cyrene, and put him to death, when the people began to pull down his statues and images, and he, imagining that this was done to please his sister, killed the son that he had by her, and contrived to have the body, divided into portions and arranged in a chest, presented to the mother at a feast on his birth-day. This deed occasioned grief and sorrow, not only to the queen, but also to the whole city, and threw such a gloom over a banquet intended to be most joyous, that the whole palace was suddenly filled with mourning. The attention of the nobility, in consequence, being turned from feasting to a funeral, they exhibited the mangled limbs to the people, and let them see, by the murder of his son, what they were to expect from their king.

IX. Cleopatra, when the mourning for the loss of her son was over, finding herself pressed by war on the part of her brother, sent ambassadors to request aid from Demetrius king of Syria, a prince whose changes of fortune had been numerous and remarkable. After making war, as has been said above,* upon the Parthians, and gaining the victory in several battles, he was suddenly surprised by an ambuscade, and, having lost his army, was taken prisoner. Arsacides,† king of the Parthians, having sent him into Hyrcania, not only paid him, with royal magnanimity, the respect due to a prince, but gave him his daughter also in marriage, and promised to recover for him the throne of Syria, which Trypho had usurped in his absence. After the death of this king, Demetrius, despairing of being

* xxxvi. 1.

† See note on xxxvi. 1.

allowed to return, being unable to endure captivity, and weary of a private, though splendid, life, secretly planned a mode of escaping to his own country. His counsellor and companion in the scheme was his friend Callimander, who, after Demetrius was taken prisoner, had come in a Parthian dress from Syria, with some guides that he had hired, through the deserts of Arabia to Babylon. But Phraates, who had succeeded Arsacides, brought him back, for he was overtaken in his flight by the speed of a party of horse sent after him by a shorter road. When he was brought to the king, not only pardon, but a testimony of esteem for his fidelity, was given to Callimander, but as for Demetrius, he sent him back, after having severely reproached him, into Hyrcania to his wife, and directed that he should be kept in stricter confinement than before. Some time after, when children that were born to him had caused him to be more trusted,* he again attempted flight, with the same friend as his attendant, but was overtaken, with equal ill-fortune, near the borders of his dominions, and being again brought to the king, was ordered out of his sight, as a person whom he could not endure to see. But being then also spared, for the sake of his wife and children, he was remanded into Hyrcania, the country of his punishment, and presented with golden dice, as a reproach for his childish levity. But it was not compassion, or respect for ties of blood, that was the cause of this extraordinary clemency† of the Parthians toward Demetrius; the reason was, that they had some designs on the kingdom of Syria, and intended to make use of Demetrius against his brother Antiochus, as circumstances, the course of time, or the fortune of war, might require.

X. Antiochus, having heard of their designs, and thinking it proper to be first in the field, led forth an army, which he had inured to service by many wars‡ with his neighbours, against the Parthians. But his preparations for luxury were not less than those for war, for three hundred thousand§ camp

* Because Phraates thought that such a tie was likely to attach Demetrius to Hyrcania.—*Lemaire.*

† Wetzel's text, and, I believe, all others, have *mitem clementiam*, but as *mitem* is a useless epithet, I have followed Scheffer's conjecture, *miram clementiam.*

‡ See xxxvi. 1.

§ *Trecenta millia.*] *Triginta millia*, which appears in the Ven. Ald. and Col. editions, is a more probable number.—*Wetzel.*

followers, of whom the greater number were cooks, bakers, and stage-players, attended on eighty thousand armed men. Of silver and gold, it is certain, there was such an abundance that the common soldiers fastened their buskins with gold, and trod upon the metal for the love of which nations contend with the sword. Their cooking instruments, too, were of silver, as if they were going to a banquet, not to a field of battle. Many kings of the east met Antiochus on his march, offering him themselves and their kingdoms, and expressing the greatest detestation of Parthian pride. Nor was there any delay in coming to an engagement. Antiochus, being victorious in three battles, and having got possession of Babylon, began to be thought a great man. All the neighbouring people, in consequence, joining him, nothing was left to the Parthians but their own country. It was then that Phraates sent Demetrius into Syria, with a body of Parthians, to seize the throne, so that Antiochus might be recalled fron Parthia to secure his own dominions. In the meantime, since he could not overthrow Antiochus by open force, he made attempts upon him everywhere by stratagem. On account of the number of his forces, Antiochus had distributed his army, in winter quarters, through several cities; and this dispersion was the cause of his ruin; for the cities, finding themselves harassed by having to furnish supplies, and by the depredations of the soldiers, revolted to the Parthians, and, on an appointed day, conspired to fall upon the army divided among them, so that the several divisions might not be able to assist each other. News of the attack being brought to Antiochus, he hastened with that body of troops which he had in winter-quarters with him, to succour the others that lay nearest. On his way he was met by the king of the Parthians, with whom he himself fought more bravely than his troops; but at last, as the enemy had the superiority in valour, he was deserted, through fear on the part of his men, and killed. Phraates had funeral rites performed for him as a king, and married the daughter of Demetrius, whom Antiochus had brought with him, and of whom he had become enamoured. He then began to regret having sent away Demetrius, and hastily despatched some troops of horse to fetch him back; but they found that prince, who had been in fear of pursuit, already seated on his throne, and, after doing all they could to no purpose, returned to their king.

BOOK XXXIX.

Demetrius dethroned by a pretender named Zabinas; his death; state of his family, I.—Zabinas killed by Antiochus Grypus; a new pretender, Antiochus of Cyzicus, II.—Death of Ptolemy Physcon; state of Egypt and Syria; Antiochus of Cyzicus dethrones his brother Grypus, III.—Cleopatra drives Ptolemy Lathyrus from Egypt, and places on the throne Ptolemy Alexander, by whom she is killed, IV.—Ptolemy Alexander driven from Egypt; Lathyrus recalled; Ptolemy Apion, king of Cyrene, bequeaths his dominions to the Romans; desolation of Egypt and Syria, V.

I. After Antiochus and his army were cut off in Persia, his brother Demetrius, being delivered from confinement* among the Parthians, and restored to his throne, resolved, while all Syria was mourning for the loss of the army, to make war upon Egypt, (just as if his and his brother's wars with the Parthians, in which one was taken prisoner and the other killed, had had a fortunate termination), Cleopatra his mother-in-law promising him the kingdom of Egypt, as a recompence for the assistance that he should afford her against her brother. But, as is often the case, while he was grasping at what belonged to others, he lost his own by a rebellion in Syria; for the people of Antioch, in the first place, under the leadership of Trypho, and from detestation of the pride of their king (which, from his intercourse with the unfeeling Parthians, had become intolerable), and afterwards the Apamenians† and other people, following their example, revolted from Demetrius in his absence. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, too, who was threatened with a war by him, having learned that his sister Cleopatra had put much of the wealth of Egypt on ship-board, and fled into Syria to her daughter and son-in-law Demetrius, sent an Egyptian youth,‡ the son of a merchant named Protarchus, to claim the throne of Syria by force of arms, having forged a story, that he had been admitted into the family of King Antiochus by

* *Obsidione.*] *Obsidio* for *captivitas.*— *Vorstius.* An odd word. But the sense is evident. See xxxvi. 1; xxxviii. 10.

† Apamene was a district of Syria, in which stood the city of Apamia.

‡ Ptolemy spread a report that this youth, to whom he gave the name of Alexander, and who is called Zebennas by Josephus, xiii. 17, and Zabinas by Diod. Sic. xxxiv. fragm. 20, 22, was the son of the Antiochus killed by the Parthians, xxxviii. 8, or rather of Alexander Bala. See xxxv. 1, 2.—*Wetzel.*

adoption, and the Syrians, at the same time, refusing no man for their king, if they might but be freed from the insolence of Demetrius. The name of Alexander was given to the youth, and great succours were sent him from Egypt. Meanwhile the body of Antiochus, who had been killed by the king of the Parthians, arrived in Syria, being sent back in a silver coffin for burial, and was received with great respect by the different cities, as well as by the new king, Alexander, in order to secure credit to the fiction. This show of affection procured him extraordinary regard from the people, every one supposing his tears not counterfeit but real. Demetrius, being defeated by Alexander, and overwhelmed by misfortunes surrounding him on every side, was at last forsaken even by his wife and children. Being left, accordingly, with only a few slaves, and setting sail for Tyre, to shelter himself in the sanctuary of a temple there, he was killed, as he was leaving the ship, by order of the governor of the city. One of his sons, Seleucus, for having assumed the diadem without his mother's consent, was put to death by her; the other, who, from the size of his nose was named Grypus,* was made king by his mother, so far at least that the regal name should belong to him, while all the power of sovereignty was to remain with herself.

II. But Alexander, having secured the throne of Syria, and being puffed up with success, began, with insolent haughtiness, to show disrespect even to Ptolemy himself, by whom he had been artfully advanced to royal dignity. Ptolemy, in consequence, effecting a reconciliation with his sister, prepared, with his utmost efforts, to overthrow that power, which, from hatred to Demetrius, he had procured for Alexander by supplying him with troops. He therefore sent a large force to the aid of Grypus, and his daughter Tryphæna to marry him, that he might induce the people to support his nephew, not only by sharing in the war with him, but by contracting with him this affinity. Nor were his endeavours without effect; for when the people saw Grypus upheld by the strength of Egypt, they began by degrees to fall away from Alexander. A battle then took place between the kings, in which Alexander was defeated, and fled to Antioch. Here,

* *Propter nasi magnitudinem cognomen Grypo fuit.*] But the adjective γρυπός, as Faber observes, means *hooked, aquiline;* and he therefore proposes to read *propter nasi altitudinem*, &c.

being without money, and pay being wanted for his soldiers, he ordered a statue of Victory of solid gold, which was in the temple of Jupiter, to be removed, palliating the sacrilege with jests, and saying that "Victory was lent him by Jupiter." Some days after, having ordered a golden statue of Jupiter himself, of great weight, to be taken away secretly, and being caught in the sacrilegious act, he was forced to flee by a rising of the people, and being overtaken by a violent storm, and deserted by his men, he fell into the hands of robbers, and being brought before Grypus, was put to death.

Grypus, having thus recovered his father's throne, and being freed from foreign perils, found his life endangered by a plot of his own mother; who, after betraying, from desire of power, her husband Demetrius, and putting to death her other son, was discontented at her dignity being eclipsed by the victory of Grypus, and presented him with a cup of poison as he was returning home from taking exercise. But Grypus, having received notice of her treacherous intention, desired her (as if to show as much respect for his mother as she showed for him) to drink herself first, and, when she refused, pressed her earnestly, and at last, producing his informant, charged her with the fact, telling her, "that the only way left to clear herself from guilt, was, that she should drink what she had offered to her son." The queen, being thus disconcerted, and her wickedness turned upon herself, was killed with the poison which she had prepared for another. Grypus, accordingly, having securely established his throne, had peace himself, and secured it for his people, for eight years. At the end of that time a rival for the throne arose, named Cyzicenus, a brother of his own by the same mother, and son of his uncle Antiochus. Grypus having tried to take him off by poison, provoked him the sooner to contend for the throne with him by force of arms

III. During these unnatural contentions in the kingdom of Syria, Ptolemy,* king of Egypt, died, leaving the kingdom of Egypt to his wife, and one of her two sons, whichsoever she herself should choose; as if the condition of Egypt would be more quiet than that of Syria had been, when the mother, by electing one of her sons, would make the other her enemy. Though she was more inclined to fix on the younger of her

* Ptolemy Physcon. See xxxviii. 8.

sons, the people obliged her to nominate the elder, from whom, however, before she gave him the throne, she took away his wife, compelling him to divorce his sister Cleopatra, whom he very much loved, and requiring him to marry his younger sister Selene; a determination as to her daughters not at all becoming a mother, as she took a husband from one, and gave him to the other. But Cleopatra being not so much divorced by her husband, as torn from her husband by her mother, married Cyzicenus in Syria, and that she might not bring him the mere name of a wife, carried over to him, as a dowry, the army of Grypus, which she had induced to desert. Cyzicenus, thinking himself thus a match for the power of his brother, gave him battle, but was defeated and put to flight, and sought refuge in Antioch. Grypus then proceeded to besiege Antioch, in which Cleopatra, the wife of Cyzicenus, was; and, when he had taken it, Tryphæna, the wife of Grypus, desired that nothing should be searched for before his sister Cleopatra, not that she might relieve her in her captivity, but that she might not escape the sufferings of captivity; since she had invaded the kingdom chiefly from envy towards her, and by marrying the enemy of her sister had made herself her enemy.* She also charged her with bringing a foreign army to decide the disputes between the brothers, and with having married out of Egypt, when she was divorced from her brother, contrary to the will of her mother. Grypus, on the other hand, besought her, that "he might not be driven to commit so heinous a crime;" saying, that "by none of his forefathers, in the course of so many civil and foreign wars, had cruelties after victory been inflicted upon women, whom their sex itself protected from the perils of war and from ill-treatment on the part of the conquerors; and that in her case, besides the common practice of people at war, there was added the closest tie of blood, for she was the full sister of her who would treat her so cruelly, his own cousin, and aunt to their children." In addition to these obligations of relationship, he mentioned also the superstitious regard paid to the temple in which she had taken refuge, observing that "the gods were so much the more religiously to be revered by him, as he had been the better enabled to conquer by their

* Cleopatra, by marrying Cyzicenus the enemy of Tryphæna, became herself Tryphæna's enemy.

favour and protection; and that neither by killing her would he diminish the strength of Cyzicenus, nor increase it by restoring her to him." But the more Grypus held back, the more was Tryphæna excited with a womanish pertinacity, fancying that her husband's observations proceeded not from pity but from love. Summoning some soldiers herself, therefore, she despatched a party to kill her sister. They, going into the temple, and not being able to drag her away, cut off her hands while she was embracing the statue of the goddess. Soon after Cleopatra expired, uttering imprecations on her unnatural murderers, and commending the avenging of her fate to the outraged deities. And not long after, another battle being fought, Cyzicenus, being victorious, took Tryphæna, the wife of Grypus, who had just before killed her sister, prisoner, and by putting her to death made atonement to the manes of his wife.

IV. In Egypt, Cleopatra, being dissatisfied at having her son Ptolemy to share her throne, excited the people against him, and taking from him his wife Selene (the more ignominiously, as he had now two children by her), obliged him to go into exile, sending, at the same time, for her younger son Alexander, and making him king in his brother's room. Nor was she content with driving her son from the throne, but pursued him with her arms while he was living in exile in Cyprus. After forcing him from thence, she put to death the general of her troops, because he had let him escape from his hands alive; though Ptolemy, indeed, had left the island from being ashamed to maintain a war against his mother, and not as being inferior to her in forces.

Alexander, alarmed at such cruelty on the part of his mother, deserted her also himself, preferring a life of quiet and security to royal dignity surrounded with danger; while Cleopatra, fearing lest her elder son Ptolemy should be assisted by Cyzicenus to re-establish himself in Egypt, sent powerful succours to Grypus, and with them Selene, Ptolemy's wife, to marry the enemy of her former husband. To her son Alexander she sent messengers to recall him to his country; but while, by secret treachery, she was plotting his destruction, she was anticipated by him and put to death, perishing, not by the course of nature, but by the hand of her son, and having, indeed, well deserved so infamous an end, since she

had driven her mother* from the bed of her father, had made her two daughters† widows by alternate marriages with their brothers, had made war upon one of her sons after sending him into exile,‡ and plotted against the life of the other§ after depriving him of his throne.

V. Neither did so unnatural a murder, on the part of Alexander, go unpunished; for as soon as it was known that the mother had been killed by the wickedness of her son, he was driven, by an insurrection of the people, into banishment, and the crown was restored to Ptolemy, who was recalled, because he had refused to make war against his mother, and to take from his brother by force of arms what he himself had previously possessed. During the course of these proceedings, his natural brother,‖ to whom his father had left the kingdom of Cyrenæ by will, died, appointing the Roman people his heir; for the fortune of Rome, not content with the limits of Italy, had now begun to extend itself to the kingdoms of the east. Thus that part of Africa became a province of the Roman empire; and soon afterwards Crete and Cilicia, being subdued in the war against the pirates, were likewise made provinces. In consequence, the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, which had been accustomed to aggrandize themselves by wars with their neighbours, being now confined by the vicinity of the Romans, and deprived of all opportunity of extending their frontiers, employed their strength to the injury of one another, so that, being exhausted by continual battles, they fell into contempt with their neighbours, and became a prey to the people of Arabia, a nation previously regarded as unwarlike. Their king Erotimus, relying on his seven hundred sons, whom he had had by his concubines, and dividing his forces, infested at one time Egypt, and another Syria, and procured a great name for the Arabians, by exhausting the strength of their neighbours.

* Her mother Cleopatra. See xxxviii. 8, *supra med.*

† Cleopatra and Selene. See c. 3, *init.* and the beginning of this chapter.

‡ As is told in this chapter.

§ As is told in this chapter.

‖ Apion, the son of Ptolemy Philometor, or, as Justin will have it, of Physcon.—*Wetzel.*

BOOK XL.

The Syrians choose Tigranes, king of Armenia, to be their king, I.—A great earthquake in Syria; Syria made a Roman province, II.

I. After the kings and kingdom of Syria had been exhausted by unintermitting wars, occasioned by the mutual animosities of brothers, and by sons succeeding to the quarrels of their fathers, the people began to look for relief from foreign parts, and to think of choosing a king from among the sovereigns of other nations. Some therefore advised that they should take Mithridates of Pontus, others Ptolemy of Egypt, but it being considered that Mithridates was engaged in war with the Romans, and that Ptolemy had always been an enemy to Syria, the thoughts of all were directed to Tigranes king of Armenia, who, in addition to the strength of his own kingdom, was supported by an alliance with Parthia, and by a matrimonial connection with Mithridates. Tigranes, accordingly, being invited to the throne of Syria, enjoyed a most tranquil reign over it for eighteen years, without having occasion to go to war either to attack others or to defend himself.

II. But Syria, though unmolested by enemies, was laid waste by an earthquake, in which a hundred and seventy thousand people, and several cities, were destroyed; a portent which the soothsayers declared "to presage a change in things."

After Tigranes was conquered by Lucullus, Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, was made king of Syria by his authority. But what Lucullus gave, Pompey soon after took away; telling him, when he made application for the crown, that "he would not give Syria, even if willing to accept him, and much less if unwilling, a king, who for eighteen years, during which Tigranes had governed Syria, had lain hid in a corner of Cilicia, and now, when Tigranes was conquered by the Romans, asked for the reward of other men's labours. Accordingly, as he had not taken the throne from Tigranes while he held it, so he would not give Antiochus what he himself had yielded to Tigranes, and what he would not know how to defend, lest he should again expose Syria to the depredations of the Jews and Arabians." He in consequence reduced Syria to the condition of a province, and the whole east, through the dissensions of kings of the same blood, fell by degrees under the power of the Romans.

BOOK XLI.

Origin and growth of the power of the Parthians, I.—Their manners, mode of fighting, and religion, II., III.—Their history to the death of Alexander the Great, IV.—Nature of their country; reign of Arsaces; his successors, V.—State of the Bactrians under Eucratides; victories of the Parthians, VI.

I. The Parthians, in whose hands the empire of the east now is, having divided the world, as it were, with the Romans, were originally exiles from Scythia. This is apparent from their very name; for in the Scythian language exiles are called *Parthi*. During the time of the Assyrians and Medes, they were the most obscure of all the people of the east. Subsequently, too, when the empire of the east was transferred from the Medes to the Persians, they were but as a herd without a name, and fell under the power of the stronger. At last they became subject to the Macedonians, when they conquered the east; so that it must seem wonderful to every one, that they should have reached such a height of good fortune as to rule over those nations under whose sway they had been merely slaves. Being assailed by the Romans, also, in three wars, under the conduct of the greatest generals, and at the most flourishing period of the republic, they alone, of all nations, were not only a match for them, but came off victorious; though it may have been a greater glory to them, indeed, to have been able to rise amidst the Assyrian, Median, and Persian empires, so celebrated of old, and the most powerful dominion of Bactria, peopled with a thousand cities, than to have been victorious in war against a people that came from a distance; especially when they were continually harassed by severe wars with the Scythians and other neighbouring nations, and pressed with various other formidable contests.

The Parthians, being forced to quit Scythia by discord at home, gradually settled in the deserts betwixt Hyrcania, the Dahæ, the Arei, the Sparni* and Marsiani. They then advanced their borders, though their neighbours, who at first made no opposition, at length endeavoured to prevent them,

* Wetzel has *Spartanos* in his text, but observes in his note, that the right reading is unquestionably *Sparnos*, the Sparni being mentioned by Strabo in conjunction with the Dahæ.

to such an extent, that they not only got possession of the vast level plains, but also of steep hills, and heights of the mountains; and hence it is that an excess of heat or cold prevails in most parts of the Parthian territories; since the snow is troublesome on the higher grounds, and the heat in the plains.

II. The government of the nation, after their revolt from the Macedonian power, was in the hands of kings. Next to the royal authority is the order of the people,* from which they take generals in war and magistrates in peace. Their language is something between those of the Scythians and Medes, being a compound of both. Their dress was formerly of a fashion peculiar to themselves; afterwards, when their power had increased, it was like that of the Medes, light and full flowing. The fashion of their arms is that of their own country and of Scythia.† They have an army, not like other nations, of free men, but chiefly consisting of slaves, the numbers of whom daily increase, the power of manumission being allowed to none, and all their offspring, in consequence, being born slaves. These bondmen they bring up as carefully as their own children, and teach them, with great pains, the arts of riding and shooting with the bow. As any one is eminent in wealth, so he furnishes the king with a proportionate number of horsemen for war. Indeed when fifty thousand cavalry encountered Antony, as he was making war upon Parthia, only four hundred of them were free men.

Of engaging with the enemy in close fight, and of taking cities by siege, they know nothing. They fight on horseback, either galloping forward or turning their backs. Often, too, they counterfeit flight, that they may throw their pursuers off their guard against being wounded by their arrows. The signal for battle among them is given, not by trumpet, but by drum. Nor are they able to fight long; but they would be irresistible, if their vigour and perseverance were equal to the fury of their onset. In general they retire before the enemy in the very heat of the engagement, and, soon after their

* *Populorum.*] This word is undoubtedly corrrupt. J. F Gronovius would alter it to *optimatum*. *Procerum* would perhaps be better.

† *Patrius et Scythicus mos.*] He seems to mean that their arms were partly of their own contrivance, and partly adopted from the Scythians.

retreat, return to the battle afresh; so that, when you feel most certain that you have conquered them, you have still to meet the greatest danger from them. Their armour, and that of their horses, is formed of plates, lapping over one another like the feathers of a bird, and covers both man and horse entirely.* Of gold and silver, except for adorning their arms, they make no use.

III. Each man has several wives, for the sake of gratifying desire with different objects. They punish no crime more severely than adultery, and accordingly they not only exclude their women from entertainments, but forbid them the very sight of men. They eat no flesh but that which they take in hunting. They ride on horseback on all occasions; on horses they go to war, and to feasts; on horses they discharge public and private duties; on horses they go abroad, meet together, traffic, and converse. Indeed the difference between slaves and freemen is, that slaves go on foot, but freemen only on horseback. Their general mode of sepulture is dilaniation by birds or dogs; the bare bones they at last bury in the ground.† In their superstitions and worship of the gods, the principal veneration is paid to rivers. The disposition of the people is proud, quarrelsome, faithless, and insolent; for a certain roughness of behaviour they think becoming to men, and gentleness only to women. They are always restless, and ready for any commotion, at home or abroad; taciturn by nature; more ready to act than speak, and consequently shrouding both their successes and miscarriages in silence. They obey their princes, not from humility, but from fear. They are libidinous, but frugal in diet. To their word or promise they have no regard, except as far as suits their interest.

IV. After the death of Alexander the Great, when the kingdoms of the east were divided among his successors, the government of Parthia was committed to Stasanor, a foreign

Credas simulacra moveri
Ferrea, cognatoque viros spirare metallo;
Par vestitus equis.—*Claudian*, In Ruf. ii. 35

† I think that this custom is erroneously attributed to the Parthians by Justin, being rather that of the Hyrcanians. Herodotus also, as I am aware, attributes it to the Persians i. 140.—*Is. Vossius.* See Cic. Tusc. i. 44, 45.

ally, because none of the Macedonians would deign to accept it. Subsequently, when the Macedonians were divided into parties by civil discord, the Parthians, with the other people of Upper Asia, followed Eumenes, and, when he was defeated, went over to Antigonus. After his death they were under the rule of Seleucus Nicator, and then under Antiochus and his successors, from whose great-grandson Seleucus they first revolted, in the first Punic war, when Lucius Manlius Vulso and Marcus Attilius Regulus were consuls. For their revolt, the dispute between the two brothers, Seleucus and Antiochus, procured them impunity; for while they sought to wrest the throne from one another, they neglected to pursue the revolters.

At the same period, also, Theodotus, governor of the thousand cities of Bactria, revolted, and assumed the title of king; and all the other people of the east, influenced by his example, fell away from the Macedonians. One Arsaces, a man of uncertain origin, but of undisputed bravery, happened to arise at this time; and he, who was accustomed to live by plunder and depredations, hearing a report that Seleucus was overcome by the Gauls in Asia, and being consequently freed from dread of that prince, invaded Parthia with a band of marauders, overthrew Andragoras his lieutenant, and, after putting him to death, took upon himself the government of the country. Not long after, too, he made himself master of Hyrcania, and thus, invested with authority over two nations, raised a large army, through fear of Seleucus and Theodotus, king of the Bactrians. But being soon relieved of his fears by the death of Theodotus, he made peace and an alliance with his son, who was also named Theodotus; and not long after, engaging with king Seleucus, who came to take vengeance on the revolters, he obtained a victory; and the Parthians observe the day on which it was gained with great solemnity, as the date of the commencement of their liberty.

V. Seleucus being then recalled into Asia by new disturbances, and respite being thus given to Arsaces, he settled the Parthian government, levied soldiers, built fortresses, and strengthened his towns. He founded a city also, called Dara, in Mount Zapaortenon, of which the situation is such, that no place can be more secure or more pleasant; for it is so encircled with steep rocks, that the strength of its position needs no defenders; and such is the fertility of the adjacent

soil, that it is stored with its own produce. Such too is the plenty of springs and wood, that it is amply supplied with streams of water, and abounds with all the pleasures of the chace. Thus Arsaces, having at once acquired and established a kingdom, and having become no less memorable among the Parthians than Cyrus among the Persians, Alexander among the Macedonians, or Romulus among the Romans, died at a mature old age; and the Parthians paid this honour to his memory, that they called all their kings thenceforward by the name of Arsaces. His son and successor on the throne, whose name was also Arsaces, fought with the greatest bravery against Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, who was at the head of a hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse, and was at last taken into alliance with him. The third king of the Parthians was Priapatius; but he was also called Arsaces, for, as has just been observed, they distinguished all their kings by that name, as the Romans use the titles of Cæsar and Augustus. He, after reigning fifteen years, died, leaving two sons, Mithridates and Phraates, of whom the elder, Phraates, being, according to the custom of the nation, heir to the crown, subdued the Mardi, a strong people, by force of arms, and died not long after, leaving several sons, whom he set aside, and left the throne, in preference, to his brother Mithridates, a man of extraordinary ability, thinking that more was due to the name of king than to that of father, and that he ought to consult the interests of his country rather than those of his children.

VI. Almost at the same time that Mithridates ascended the throne among the Parthians, Eucratides began to reign among the Bactrians; both of them being great men. But the fortune of the Parthians, being the more successful, raised them, under this prince, to the highest degree of power; while the Bactrians, harassed with various wars, lost not only their dominions, but their liberty; for having suffered from contentions with the Sogdians, the Drangians, and the Indians, they were at last overcome, as if exhausted, by the weaker* Parthians. Eucratides, however, carried on several wars with great spirit, and though much reduced by his losses in them,

* Not weaker with respect to the particular time at which the Bactrians were exhausted by wars, but to other times, when the Bactrians had been their superiors in strength.—*Scheffer.*

yet, when he was besieged by Demetrius king of the Indians, with a garrison of only three hundred soldiers, he repulsed, by continual sallies, a force of sixty thousand enemies.* Having accordingly escaped, after a five months' siege, he reduced India under his power. But as he was returning from the country, he was killed on his march by his son, with whom he had shared his throne, and who was so far from concealing the murder, that, as if he had killed an enemy, and not his father, he drove his chariot through his blood, and ordered his body to be cast out unburied

During the course of these proceedings among the Bactrians, a war arose between the Parthians and Medes, and after fortune on each side had been some time fluctuating, victory at length fell to the Parthians; when Mithridates, enforced with this addition to his power, appointed Bacasis over Media, while he himself marched into Hyrcania. On his return from thence, he went to war with the king of the Elymæans, and having conquered him, added this nation also to his dominions, and extended the Parthian empire, by reducing many other tribes under his yoke, from Mount Caucasus to the river Euphrates. Being then taken ill, he died in an honourable old age, and not inferior in merit to his great-grandfather Arsaces.

BOOK XLII.

Phraates, king of the Parthians, is killed by the Greeks in his army, I.—The Parthians make war on Armenia; early history of Armenia, II.—Jason; Armenius; source of the Tigris, III.—Continuation of the history of Parthia; reign of Orodes, IV.—Phraates; Tiridates; relics of the armies of Crassus and Antony given up to Augustus, V.

I. After the death of Mithridates, king of the Parthians, Phraates his son was made king, who, having proceeded to make war upon Syria, in revenge for the attempts of Antiochus on the Parthian dominions, was recalled, by hostilities on the part of the Scythians, to defend his own country. For the Scythians, having been induced, by the offer of pay, to assist the Parthians against Antiochus king of Syria, and not having

* Very improbable.

arrived till the war was ended, were disappointed of the expected remuneration, and reproached with having brought their aid too late; and when, in discontent at having made so long a march in vain, they demanded that "either some recompence for their trouble, or another enemy to attack, should be assigned them," being offended at the haughty reply which they received, they began to ravage the country of the Parthians. Phraates, in consequence, marching against them, left a certain Himerus, who had gained his favours in the bloom of youth, to take care of his kingdom. But Himerus, unmindful both of his past life, and of the duty with which he was entrusted, miserably harassed the people of Babylon, and many other cities, with tyrannical cruelties. Phraates himself, meanwhile, took with him to the war a body of Greeks, who had been made prisoners in the war against Antiochus, and whom he had treated with great pride and severity, not reflecting that captivity had not lessened their hostile feelings, and that the indignity of the outrages which they had suffered must have exasperated them. As soon therefore as they saw the Persians giving ground, they went over to the enemy, and executed that revenge for their captivity, which they had long desired, by a sanguinary destruction of the Parthian army and of king Phraates himself.

II. In his stead Artabanus, his uncle, was made king. The Scythians, content with their victory, and with having laid waste Parthia, returned home. Artabanus, making war upon the Thogarii, received a wound in the arm, of which he immediately died. He was succeeded by his son Mithridates, to whom his achievements procured the surname of Great; for, being fired with a desire to emulate the merit of his ancestors, he was enabled by the vast powers of his mind to surpass their renown. He carried on many wars, with great bravery, against his neighbours, and added many provinces to the Parthian kingdom. He fought successfully, too, several times, against the Scythians, and avenged the injuries received from them by his forefathers. At last he turned his arms against Ortoadistes,* king of Armenia.

But since we here make a transition to Armenia, we must look a little farther back into its origin; for it is not right that so great a kingdom should be passed in silence, since its territory,

* Or rather Artoadistes, as the name is written in six of the old editions. He is called Artavasdes by Strabo and Plutarch.—*Wetzel.*

next to that of Parthia, is of greater extent than any other kingdom. Armenia, from Cappadocia to the Caspian Sea, stretches over a space of eleven hundred miles, and is seven hundred miles in breadth. It was founded by Armenius, the companion of Jason of Thessaly, whom King Pelias, wishing to procure his death from dread of his extraordinary ability, which was dangerous to his throne, despatched on a prescribed expedition to Colchis, to bring home the fleece of the ram so celebrated throughout the world; hoping that the man would lose his life, either in the perils of so long a voyage, or in war with barbarians so remote. But Jason, having spread abroad the report of so glorious an enterprise, at which the chief of the youth from almost all the world * came flocking to him, collected a band of heroes, who were called Argonauts. Having brought his troop back safe, and being again driven from Thessaly by the sons of Pelias, he set out on a second voyage for Colchis, accompanied by a numerous train of followers (who, at the fame of his valour, came daily from all parts to join him), by his wife Medea, whom, having previously divorced her, he had now received again from compassion for her exile, and by his step-son Medus, whom she had by Ægeus king of the Athenians; and he re-established his father-in-law Æetes † who had been driven from his throne.

III. He then carried on great wars with the neighbouring nations; and of the cities which he took, he added part to the kingdom of his father-in-law, to make amends for the injury that he had done him in his former expedition, in which he had carried off his daughter Medea and put to death his son Ægialeus,‡ and part he assigned to the people that he had brought with him; and he is said to have been the first of mankind, after Hercules and Bacchus (whom tradition declares to have been kings of the east), that subdued that quarter of the world. Over some of these nations he appointed Recas and Amphistratus, the charioteers of Castor and Pollux, to be their rulers. With the Albanians he formed an alliance, a people who are said to have followed Hercules out of Italy, from the Alban

* A hyperbole; for there were none but Greeks.—*Wetzel.* Faber, for *totius orbis*, would read *totius Græciæ.*

† *Æetes* is a conjecture of Faber for *etiam*, which is useless. There is no account of Jason's second voyage to Colchis in any other author.

‡ Whom most authors call Absyrtus.

mount, when, after having killed Geryon, he was driving his herds through Italy, and who, remembering their Italian descent, saluted the soldiers of Pompey in the Mithridatic war as their brothers. Hence almost the whole east appointed divine honours, and erected temples, to Jason, as their founder; temples which Parmenio, one of the generals of Alexander the Great, caused many years after to be pulled down, that no name might be more venerated in the east than that of Alexander After the death of Jason, Medus, emulous of his virtues, built a city named Medea in honour of his mother, and established the kingdom of the Medes after his own name, under whose dominion the empire of the east afterwards fell. On the Albanians border the Amazons, whose queen Thalestris, as many authors relate, sought the couch of Alexander. Armenius, too, who was himself a Thessalian, and one of the captains of Jason, having re-assembled a body of men, who, after the death of Jason were wandering about, founded Armenia, from the mountains of which the river Tigris issues, at first with a very small stream, out after running some distance, is lost in the earth, and then, flowing five and twenty miles underground,* rises up a great river in the province of Sophene; and thus it is received into the marshes of the Euphrates.

IV. Mithridates king of the Parthians, after his war with Armenia, was banished from his kingdom for his cruelty by the Parthian senate. His brother Orodes, who took possession of the vacant throne, besieged Babylon, whither Mithridates had fled, for some time, and reduced the people, under the influence of famine, to surrender. Mithridates, from confidence in his relationship to Orodes, voluntarily put himself into his hands; but Orodes, contemplating him rather as an enemy than a brother, ordered him to be put to death before his face. After this, he carried on a war with the Romans, and overthrew their general Crassus, together with his son and all the Roman army. His son Pacorus, who was sent to pursue what remained of the Roman forces, after achieving great actions in Syria, incurred some jealousy on the part of his father, and was recalled into Parthia; and during his absence the Parthian army left in Syria was cut off, with all its commanders, by

* Similar instances of rivers entering the ground, and emerging at some distance, are noticed by Pliny, H. N. ii. 103; iii. 16; Strabo, lib. vi.; Q. Curtius, vi. 4, 6.—*Bernecccrus.*

Cassius the quæstor of Crassus. Not long after these occurrences the civil war among the Romans, between Cæsar and Pompey, broke out, in which the Parthians took the side of Pompey, both from the friendship that they had formed with him in the Mithridatic war, and because of the death of Crassus, whose son they understood to be of Cæsar's party, and supposed that, if Cæsar were victorious, he would avenge his father's fate. When Pompey's party was worsted, they sent assistance to Cassius and Brutus against Augustus and Antony; and, after the war was ended, they made an alliance with Labienus, and, under the leadership of Pacorus, again laid waste Syria and Asia, and assailed, with a vast force, the camp of Ventidius, who, like Cassius before him, had routed the Parthian army in the absence of Pacorus. Ventidius, pretending to be afraid, kept himself a long time in his camp, and suffered the Parthians to insult him. At last, however, when they were full of security and exultation, he sent out part of his legions upon them, and the Parthians, put to flight by their onset, went off in several directions; when Pacorus, supposing that his fugitive troops had drawn off all the Roman forces in pursuit of them, attacked Ventidius's camp, as if it had been left without defenders. Upon this, Ventidius, pouring forth the rest of his troops, put the whole force of the Parthians, with their king Pacorus, to the sword; nor did the Parthians, in any war, ever suffer a greater slaughter.

When the news of this discomfiture reached Parthia, Orodes, the father of Pacorus, who had just before heard that Syria had been ravaged, and Asia occupied by his Parthians, and was boasting of his son Pacorus as the conqueror of the Romans, was affected, on hearing of the death of his son and the destruction of his army, at first with grief, and afterwards with disorder of the intellect. For several days he neither spoke to any one, nor took food, nor uttered a sound, so that he seemed to have become dumb. Some time after, when his sorrow found vent in words, he did nothing but call upon Pacorus; Pacorus seemed to be seen and heard by him; Pacorus appeared to talk with him, and stand by him; though at other times he mourned and wept for him as lost. After long indulgence in grief, another cause of concern troubled the unhappy old man, as he had to determine which of his thirty sons he should choose for his successor in the room of Pacorus. His numerous concubines, from whom so large a progeny had sprung, were pepetually working

on the old man's feelings, each anxious for her own offspring. But the fate of Parthia, in which it is now, as it were, customary that the princes should be assassins of their kindred, ordained that the most cruel of them all, Phraates by name, should be fixed upon for their king.

V. Phraates immediately proceeded to kill his father, as if he would not die, and put to death, also, all his thirty* brothers. But his murders did not end with his father's sons; for finding that the nobility began to detest him for his constant barbarities, he caused his own son, who was grown up, to be killed, that there might be no one to be nominated king. On this prince Antony made war, with sixteen effective legions, for having sent troops against him and Cæsar; but being severely harassed in several engagements, he was forced to retreat from Parthia. Phraates, upon this success, becoming still more insolent, and being guilty of many fresh acts of cruelty, was driven into exile by his subjects. Having then, for a long time, wearied the neighbouring people, and at last the Scythians, with entreaties for aid, he was at last restored to his throne by a powerful Scythian force. During his absence, the Parthians had made one Tiridates king, who, when he heard of the approach of the Scythians, fled with a great body of his partisans to Cæsar,† who was then carrying on war in Spain,‡ taking with him, as a hostage for Cæsar, the youngest son of Phraates, whom, being but negligently guarded, he had secretly carried off. Phraates, on hearing of his flight, immediately sent ambassadors to Cæsar, requesting that "his slave Tiridates, and his son, should be restored to him." Cæsar, after listening to the embassy of Phraates, and deliberating on the application of Tiridates (for he also had asked to be restored to his throne, saying that "Parthia would be wholly in the power of the Romans, if he should hold the kingdom as a gift from them"), replied, that "he would neither give up Tiridates to the Parthians, nor give assistance to Tiridates against the Parthians." That it might not appear, however, that nothing had been obtained from Cæsar by all

* Either he killed only twenty-nine, or there were thirty-one survivors of Pacorus.

† Augustus. Comp. c. 4.

‡ All the texts, except that of Dübner's little edition, have *in Hispaniam*, but the sense, as Faber observes and Wetzel admits, evidently requires *in Hispaniâ*.

their applications, he sent back to Phraates his son without ransom, and ordered a handsome maintenance to be furnished to Tiridates, as long as he chose to continue among the Romans. Some time after, when Cæsar had finished the Spanish war, and had proceeded to Syria to settle the affairs of the east, he caused some alarm to Phraates, who was afraid that he might contemplate an invasion of Parthia. Whatever prisoners, accordingly, remained of the army of Crassus or Antony throughout Parthia, were collected together, and sent, with the military standards that had been taken, to Augustus. In addition to this, the sons and grandsons of Phraates were delivered to Augustus as hostages; and thus Cæsar effected more by the power of his name, than any other general could have done by his arms

BOOK XLIII.

Early age of Italy, I.—Birth and youth of Romulus and Remus, II.—Foundation of Rome; of Marseilles, III.—History of Marseilles, IV.—Wars and successes of the Massilians; friendship between them and the Romans; family of Trogus Pompeius, V.

I. Having narrated the history of the Parthians and other eastern nations, and of almost the whole world, Trogus returns home, as if after a long journey in foreign parts, to relate the rise of the city of Rome, thinking it would be the mark of an ungrateful citizen, if, after he had set forth the acts of other nations, he should be silent concerning his native country alone. He therefore briefly touches on the origin of the Roman empire, so as neither to exceed the bounds of the work that he had proposed, nor to pass unnoticed the origin of a city which is now the mistress of the world.

The first inhabitants of Italy were the Aborigines, whose king, Saturn, is said to have been a man of such extraordinary justice, that no one was a slave in his reign, or had any private property, but all things were common to all, and undivided, as one estate for the use of every one; in memory of which way of life, it has been ordered that at the Saturnalia slaves should everywhere sit down with their masters at the entertainments, the rank of all being made equal. Italy was accordingly

called, from the name of that king, Saturnia; and the hill on which he dwelt Saturnius, on which now stands the Capitol, as if Saturn had been dislodged from his seat by Jupiter. After him, third in descent, they say that Faunus was king, in whose time Evander came into Italy from Pallanteum, a city of Arcadia, accompanied with a small band of his countrymen, to whom Faunus kindly gave land, and the mountain which he afterwards called Palatium. At the foot of this mountain he built a temple to the Lycæan god, whom the Greeks call Pan, and the Romans Lupercus,* the naked statue of the deity being covered with a goat-skin, in which dress the priests now run up and down during the Lupercalia at Rome. This Faunus had a wife named Fatua, who, being constantly filled with a spirit of divination, gave notice, in fits of frenzy as it were, of things to come; and hence, to this day, those who are accustomed to be thus inspired, are said *fatuari*.† Of an illicit connection between a daughter of Faunus and Hercules, (who, having killed Geryon about that time, was driving his herds, the prize of his victory, through Italy), was born Latinus, in whose reign Æneas came from Ilium‡ into Italy, after the destruction of Troy by the Greeks, and being immediately received with hostile demonstrations, led out his troops into the field, but being first invited to a conference, raised such admiration of himself in Latinus, that he was both admitted to a share of his throne, and became his son-in-law by a marriage with his daughter Lavinia. After this event, they had to carry on war in concert against Turnus, king of the Rutulians, because he had been disappointed of marrying Lavinia; and in the war both Turnus and Latinus were killed. Æneas, in consequence, becoming by right of victory master of both nations, built a city which he called Lavinium, from the name of his wife. Some time afterwards, he went to war with Mezentius, king of the Etrurians, and being killed in it, Ascanius his son succeeded him, who, removing from Lavi-

* Lupercus, whose priests were called Luperci, was an ancient rural deity of Italy; in after times he was considered identical with Pan. See Dr. Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.

† There is scarcely any other instance of the word in this sense. Its general signification is *to be foolish or silly.*

‡ By *Ilium* Justin seems to mean the region of which Troy was the capital, generally called Troas.

nium, built Alba Longa, which for three hundred years was the metropolis of his kingdom.

II. At length, after many kings had reigned in this city, Numitor and Amulius became joint sovereigns. But Amulius, having deprived Numitor, who was the elder, of his share of the throne, condemned his daughter Rhea to perpetual virginity, that no male offspring of Numitor's family might arise to claim the crown, palliating the injury by an appearance of honour, so that she might not seem to have been compelled, but to have been chosen one of the vestal virgins. Being shut up, accordingly, in a grove sacred to Mars, she gave birth to two boys, whether the offspring of an illicit connexion with a mortal, or of the god Mars, is uncertain. This affair becoming known, Amulius, whose fears were increased by the birth of twins, ordered the children to be exposed, and threw his niece into prison, of which ill-treatment she died. Fortune, however, having a care for the raising of Rome, threw the children in the way of a she-wolf to be suckled, which, having lost her cubs, and longing to empty her overcharged teats, offered herself as a nurse to the infants. As she made frequent returns to the children, as if they had been her own offspring, Faustulus, a shepherd, observed her proceedings, and, withdrawing them from the beast, brought them up in a rude way of life among his cattle. That they were the sons of Mars, was believed, as on plain proof, either because they were born in the grove of Mars, or because they were nursed by a wolf, which is under the protection of Mars. The names of the boys were Remus and Romulus. As they grew up among the shepherds, daily contests in strength increased their vigour and agility. While they were frequently engaged, with great activity, in preventing robbers from seizing the cattle, it happened that Remus, having been taken by the robbers, was brought before the king,* as if he had himself been guilty of that which he was endeavouring to prevent in others, and had been accustomed to make depredations on Numitor's flocks. He was consequently given up to Numitor for punishment. But Numitor,† who was touched with compas-

* He was first carried off by the robbers, and then taken prisoner by the king's officers among the robbers.

† *Sed Numitor*, &c.] The commentators have not observed that this sentence is corrupt; *Numitor* has no verb.

sion for the stripling's youth, was led to suspect that he might be one of his exposed grandchildren, and while the resemblance of his features to those of his daughter, and his age corresponding with the time of the exposure, kept him in suspense, Faustulus unexpectedly came in with Romulus, and the origin of the youths being ascertained from him, a conspiracy was formed, the young men taking up arms to revenge the death of their mother, and Numitor to recover the throne of which he had been deprived.

III. Amulius being killed, the throne was restored to Numitor, and the city of Rome was founded by the two young men. A senate was next appointed, consisting of a hundred old men who were called Fathers. Soon after, as the neighbouring people disdained to intermarry with shepherds, the Sabine virgins were seized by force; and the surrounding tribes being brought under their sway, the sovereignty of Italy, and afterwards that of the world, was acquired. In those times kings, instead of diadems, had spears, which the Greeks called sceptres; for the ancients, from the earliest period, worshipped spears as gods,* and in memory of this superstition spears are still given to the statues of the gods.

In the time of King Tarquin, a company of Phocæans from Asia, sailing up the Tiber, formed an alliance with the Romans, and proceeding from thence to the inmost part of the gulf of Gaul,† built the city of Marseilles amidst the Ligurians and the savage Gallic tribes, and performed great exploits there, both in defending themselves against the fierce Gauls, and in attacking, of themselves, those by whom they had previously been molested.

The Phocæans, compelled by the smallness and infertility of their territory, had applied themselves more to the sea than to the culture of the ground, supporting themselves by fishing, merchandise, and above all by piracy, which in those days was

* Spears were never worshipped *as gods*, or certainly not by the Greeks; they were, indeed, an *insigne* of the gods, as being kings, a name by which they are frequently mentioned among the poets. But this observation of Justin is abrupt and out of place; nor is the case different with what follows, for what a leap is it from Romulus to the Phocæans, who did not become friends to the Romans till two hundred years after his time!—*Wetzel.*

† *Gallicæ sinus.*] The gulf of Lyons.

thought an honourable occupation.* Venturing accordingly to visit the remotest shores of the ocean, they came into the gulf of Gaul and to the mouth of the river Rhone; and, charmed with the pleasantness of the country, and relating, on their return home, what they had seen, they tempted others to go to the same parts. Of the fleet Simos and Protis were the captains, who applied to the king of the Segobrigii, named Nannus, in whose territory they were anxious to build a city, desiring his friendship. On that day, as it happened, the king was engaged in preparing for the nuptials of his daughter Gyptis, whom, after the custom of that people, he intended to give in marriage to a son-in-law to be chosen at the feast. The suitors having been all invited to the wedding, the Grecian strangers were also requested to join the festival. The maiden was then introduced, and being desired by her father to give water to him whom she chose for her husband, she overlooked all the rest, and turning to the Greeks, held out water to Protis, who, from the king's guest becoming his son-in-law, was presented by his father-in-law with the ground for building a city. Marseilles was accordingly built near the mouth of the river Rhone, in a retired bay, and as it were in a corner of the sea. The Ligurians, jealous of the growing greatness of the city, harassed the Greeks with continual war; but they, repelling their attacks, rose to such a degree of strength, that they conquered their enemies and planted several colonies in the lands which they captured.

IV. From the people of Marseilles, therefore, the Gauls learned a more civilized way of life, their former barbarity being laid aside or softened; and by them they were taught to cultivate their lands and to enclose their towns with walls Then too, they grew accustomed to live according to laws, and not by violence; then they learned to prune the vine and plant the olive; and such a radiance was shed over both men and things, that it was not Greece which seemed to have immigrated into Gaul, but Gaul that seemed to have been transplanted into Greece.

After Nannus, king of the Segobrigii, from whom the ground for building the city had been received, was dead, and his son Comanus had succeeded to the throne, a certain

* *Gloria habebatur.*] See Thucyd. i 5; Hom. Od. iii. 73.

Ligurian told him that "Marseilles would one day be the ruin of the neighbouring people, and that he ought to suppress it in its rise, lest, when it grew stronger, it should overpower him." To this prediction he added the following fable: "A bitch once asked a shepherd, when she was big with young, for a place to bring forth her puppies; having obtained it, she requested again that she might be allowed to bring them up in the same place; and at last, when her young were grown up, and she could depend upon their support, she claimed possession of the place as her own. In like manner," he continued, "the people of Marseilles, who are now regarded as your tenants, will one day become masters of your territory." Moved by these persuasions, the king formed a plan to overthrow Marseilles; in pursuance of which, on the day appointed for the feast of Flora, he sent into the city several stout and able men, who were admitted as friends; an additional number he ordered to be conveyed concealed in wagons, covered over with baskets and boughs of trees; while he himself lay hid among the neighbouring hills, that after the gates had been opened in the night by the men before mentioned, he might come up in time to execute the plot, and might fall upon the city overcome with sleep and the fumes of wine. But a certain woman, a relative of the king, who had an intrigue with a Greek youth, revealed the plot to him, through compassion for his youth and beauty, during their intercourse, and bade him escape from the danger. He however reported the matter to the magistrates, and the treachery being thus made public, all the Ligurians were seized, those concealed being dragged from among their baskets; and when they were all put to death, a plot was formed to surprise the plotter, and seven thousand of the enemy, with the king himself, were slain. Since that time the Massilians, on festal days, have been accustomed to shut their gates, to keep watch, to place sentinels on the walls, to examine strangers, to take all kinds of precaution, and to guard the city as carefully in time of peace as if they were at war. Thus what was wisely instituted, is still observed, not from the necessity of circumstances, but from the habit of acting prudently.

V. Subsequently they had great wars with the Ligurians and Gauls, which increased the fame of their city, and rendered the valour of the Greeks, by their manifold victories,

renowned among their neighbours. The forces of the Carthaginians,* too, in a war which rose between them about the capture of some fishing boats, they often routed, and granted them peace under defeat; with the Spaniards they made an alliance; with the Romans they faithfully observed the league concluded almost at the foundation of the city, and effectively supported their allies, in all their wars, with auxiliary troops. Such conduct both increased their confidence in their own strength, and secured them peace from their enemies. But after a time, when Marseilles was at the height of distinction, as well for the fame of its exploits as for the abundance of its wealth and its reputation for strength, the neighbouring people, on a sudden, conspired to destroy the very name of Marseilles, as they would have united to put out a fire that threatened them all. Catumandus, one of their petty princes, was unanimously chosen general, who, when he was besieging the enemy's city with a vast army of select troops, was frightened in his sleep by the vision of a stern-looking woman, who told him that she was a goddess, and of his own accord made peace with the Massilians. Having then asked permission to enter their city and pay adoration to their gods, and having gone into the temple of Minerva, and observed in the portico the statue of the goddess whom he had seen in his sleep, he suddenly exclaimed "that it was she who had frightened him in the night; that it was she who had ordered him to raise the siege;" then, congratulating the Massilians that they were under the care, as he perceived, of the immortal gods, and offering a neck-lace of gold to the goddess, he made a league with them for ever.

After peace was thus obtained, and security established, some deputies from Marseilles, as they were returning from Delphi, whither they had been sent to carry presents to Apollo, heard that the city of Rome had been taken and burned by the Gauls. This calamity, when the news of it was brought home to them, the Massilians lamented with a public mourning, and contributed gold and silver, both public and private, to make up the sum to be given to the Gauls, from whom they knew that peace was bought. For this service an exemption from taxes was decreed them, a place in

* Thucyd. i. 13: "The Phocæans, who founded Marseilles, conquered the Carthaginians in a sea-fight." See also Herod. i. 166.

the theatre assigned them among the senators, and a league made with them upon equal terms.

At the end of this book Trogus relates that his ancestors had their origin from the Vocontii; that his grandfather, Trogus Pompeius, received the right of citizenship from Cnæus Pompey in the Sertorian war; that his uncle led a troop of cavalry under the same Pompey in the war with Mithridates; and that his father served under Caius Cæsar, and had the charge of his correspondence, of receiving embassies * and of his ring.†

BOOK XLIV.

Geographical description of Spain, I.—Manners and customs of the Spaniards; Viriatus, II.—Of Lusitania and Gallæcia, III.—Habis; Geryon, IV.—The Carthaginians in Spain; the country reduced by Augustus into a Roman province, V.

I. SPAIN, as it forms the boundary of Europe, will also form the conclusion of the present work. This country the ancients first called Iberia, from the river Iberus, and afterwards Hispania, from some person named Hispanus. It lies between Africa and Gaul, and is bounded by the Ocean Strait ‡ and the Pyrenees. It is less than either of these countries, but more fruitful than either; for it is neither scorched, like Africa, by a burning sun, nor disturbed, like Gaul,§ by incessant winds, but, being situate betwixt both, it is rendered, by moderate heat on the one hand, and genial and seasonable showers on the other, fertile in all kinds of fruits of the earth,

* *Legationum—curam*] To receive embassies, and introduce them to the emperor, was the duty, under the later emperors, sometimes of the *magister officiorum*, or master of ceremonies, sometimes of the *magister epistolarum*, or secretary, as the author of the *Notitia utriusque Imperii* has observed. Among the Persians this duty devolved upon a chiliarch or military officer, who was next in rank to the king, as appears from Corn. Nep. Vit. Conon., and Ælian. V. H. i. 21. In Egypt Josephus speaks of Nicanor having been appointed by Ptolemy to receive ambassadors, Antiq. xii. 2. —*Bernecccrus.*

† *Annuli.*] The same office which Mæcenas and Agrippa held under Augustus, and Mucianus under Vespasian, as appears from Dion. Cass. and his epitomiser. See Kirchmann de Annulis, c. 6.—*Bernecccrus.*

‡ *Oceani freto.*] The *Fretum Gaditanum*, Strait of Gibraltar.

§ Not all Gaul, but only the coasts of it.— *Wetzel.*

so that it supplies abundance of everything, not only for its own inhabitants, but for Italy and the city of Rome. From hence, indeed, comes not only great plenty of corn, but of wine, honey, and oil. Its iron is excellent, and its breed of horses swift. Not only is the produce of the surface to be admired, but the abundant riches of the metals hidden beneath it. There is great plenty, too, of flax and hemp, and certainly no country is more productive of vermilion. The courses of the rivers are not violent and rapid, so as to be hurtful, but gentle, watering the vineyards and the plains; they are also well stocked with fish from the estuaries of the sea, and most of them are rich in gold, which they carry down with their waters.* It is joined to Gaul by one unbroken ridge of the Pyrenees; on every other side it is surrounded by sea. The shape of the country is almost square, except that it grows narrower towards the Pyrenees, the shores contracting in that quarter. The length of the Pyrenees is six hundred miles. The salubrity of the air is the same through the whole of Spain, for its atmosphere is infected with no unwholesome mists from fens. Besides, there are constant breezes from the sea on every side, by which, as they penetrate the whole country, the exhalations from the earth are dispersed, and the greatest health is secured to the inhabitants.

II. The bodies of the inhabitants are well adapted to endure privation and fatigue; their minds are inured to contempt of death. A strict and parsimonious abstinence prevails among them all. They prefer war to peace; and, if no foreign enemy offers himself, they seek one at home. Many have died under torture, to conceal what has been entrusted to them; so much stronger is their love of honour than of life. The patience of a slave, too, is greatly praised, who, having avenged his

* *In paludibus.*] Berneccerus, Vorstius, Grævius, and Faber, are unanimous in preferring *in balucibus*, which is a correction of Salmasius ad Solin. p. 277. *Hispani quod minutum est* (*aurum*), *balucem vocant.* Plin. H. N. xxxiii. 21. But Wetzel retains the old reading *paludibus*, and I cannot but think him right; for the preposition *in* seems to require that word rather than the other. It may be doubted, indeed, whether *in balucibus vehunt* can be regarded as Latin. For *in balucibus* substitute *in minutis particulis:* would Justin, or any other Latin author, have said *amnes aurum in minutis particulis vehunt?* I think not. *In minutas particulas friatum, disruptum, discerptum,* would be more likely forms of expression.

master in the war with the Carthaginians, exulted with smiles in the midst of tortures, and defied, with serenity and cheerfulness, the utmost cruelty of his tormentors. The activity of the people is extraordinary; their minds restless. To many, their war-horses and arms are dearer than their blood. There is no sumptuous preparation among them for festival days; nor was it till after the second Punic war that they learned from the Romans to use warm baths.

During so long a course of years they have had no great general besides Viriatus,* who maintained a struggle against the Romans for ten years with various success; so much more similar are their dispositions to those of wild beasts than of men; and this very leader they followed, not as having been chosen by the judgment of the people, but as being well qualified to take precautions against the enemy, and artful in avoiding danger. His temperance and moderation were such, that though he often defeated armies commanded by consuls, yet, after such achievements, he made no change in the fashion of his dress or arms, or in his diet, but adhered to the same way of life with which he commenced his military career; so that any one of the common soldiers seemed better off than the general himself.

III. In Lusitania, near the river Tagus, many authors have said that the mares conceive from the effect of the wind; but such stories have had their origin in the fecundity of the mares, and the vast number of herds of horses, which are so numerous, and of such swiftness, in Gallæcia and Lusitania, that they may be thought, not without reason, to have been the offspring of the wind. As for the Gallæcians, they claim for themselves a Greek origin; for they say that Teucer, after the end of the Trojan war, having incurred the hatred of his father on account of the death of his brother Ajax, and not being admitted into his kingdom, retired to Cyprus, where he built a city called Salamis, from the name of his native land; that, some time after, on hearing a report of his father's death, he returned again to his country, but, being hindered from landing by Eurysaces the son of Ajax, he sailed to the coast of Spain, and took possession of those parts where New Carthage now stands, and, passing from thence to Gallæcia, and

* See Flor. ii. 17; Vell. Pat. ii. 1, 90; Aurel. Vict. 71; Diod. Sic. xxxiii. fragm. 3, 11, 22.

fixing his abode there, gave name to the nation. A part of the Gallæcians are called Amphilochi. The country produces abundance of brass and lead, as well as of vermilion,* which has given name to a river near the part in which it is found. It is also very rich in gold, so that they sometimes turn up clods of gold† with the plough. In the territory of this people there is a sacred mountain, which it is thought impious to open with any tool of iron, but whenever the earth is rent with lightning, an occurrence common in these parts, it is allowable to pick up the gold that may be laid open, as a gift from the deity of the place. The women manage household affairs, and the culture of the ground; the men attend only to arms, and the pursuit of spoil. Their iron is of an extraordinary quality, but their water is more powerful than the iron itself; for the iron, by being tempered in it, becomes keener; nor is any weapon held in esteem among them which has not been dipped either in the Bilbilis or the Chalybs.‡ From the latter river those who dwell on its banks are called Chalybes, and are said to surpass the rest of the people in the manufacture of steel.

IV. The forests of the Tartesians, in which it is said that the Titans§ waged war against the gods, the Cunetes‖ inhabited, whose most ancient king Gargoris, was the first to collect honey. This prince, having a grandson born to him, the offspring of an intrigue on the part of his daughter, tried various means, through shame for her unchastity, to have the child put to death; but he, being preserved by some good fortune, through all calamities, came at last to the throne, from a compassionate feeling for the many perils that he had undergone. First of all he ordered him to be exposed, that he might be starved, and, when he sent some days after to look for his body, he was found nursed by the milk of various wild beasts. When he was brought home, he caused him to be

* *Minio*] Hence the name of the river *Minho*.

† *Glebas aureas*.] Pliny makes the same statement, H. N. xxxiii. 21.

‡ Isaac Vossius in his notes to Catullus says that the Chalybs is a river between the Ana and the Tagus, which is called by Ptolemy and Martianus Καλίπους or Κάλιπος. I think him right.—*Grævius*.

§ Tradition places the Titans in Thessaly, not in Spain.—*Wetzel*.

‖ They dwelt about Cape Cuneus, now C. St. Vincent, in Portugal. The word is a correction of Isaac Vossius's, for the old reading *Curetes*, who were a people of Crete.

thrown down in a narrow road, along which herds of cattle used to pass; being so cruel that he would rather have his grandchild trampled to pieces, than despatched by an easy death. As he was unhurt also in this case, and required no food, he threw him to hungry dogs, that had been exasperated by want of food for several days, and afterwards to swine, but as he was not only uninjured, but even fed with the teats of some of the swine, he ordered him at last to be cast into the sea. On this occasion, as if, by the manifest interposition of some deity, he had been carried, amidst the raging tide, and flux and reflux of the waters, not on the billows but in a vessel, he was put on shore by the subsiding ocean; and, not long after, a hind came up, and offered the child her teats. By constantly following this nurse, the boy acquired extraordinary swiftness of foot, and long ranged the mountains and woods among herds of deer, with fleetness not inferior to theirs. At last, being caught in a snare, he was presented to the king; and then, from the similitude of his features, and certain marks which had been burnt on his body in his infancy, he was recognized as his grandson. Afterwards, from admiration at his escapes from so many mischances and perils, he was appointed by his grandfather to succeed him on the throne. The name given him was Habis; and, as soon as he became king, he gave such proofs of greatness, that he seemed not to have been delivered in vain, through the power of the gods, from so many exposures to death. He united the barbarous people by laws; he was the first that taught them to break oxen for the plough, and to raise corn from tillage; and he obliged them, instead of food procured from the wilds, to adopt a better diet, perhaps through dislike of what he had eaten in his childhood. The adventures of this prince might seem fabulous, were not the founders of Rome said to have been suckled by a wolf, and Cyrus, king of the Persians, to have been brought up by a dog. By him the people were interdicted from servile duties, and the commonalty were divided among seven cities. After Habis was dead, the sovereignty was retained for many generations by his successors.

In another part of Spain, which consists of islands,* the

* *Quæ ex insulis constat*] Wetzel thinks that Justin supposed Geryon to have lived in the Balearic isles. How then did Hercules drive off his herds? The whole story of Geryon is in a great degree

supreme power was in the hands of Geryon. Here there is such abundance of food for cattle, that unless the feeding of the animals were occasionally interrupted, they would burst. Hence the herds of Geryon, which in those days were accounted the only species of wealth, were so renowned, that they tempted Hercules out of Asia by the greatness of such a prize. Geryon himself, too, they say, was not a man with three bodies, as is told in fables, but that there were three brothers living in such unanimity, that they seemed all actuated by one soul; and that they did not attack Hercules of their own accord, but, seeing their herds driven off, endeavoured to recover what they had lost by force of arms.

V. After the rule of kings was at an end, the Carthaginians were the first that made themselves masters of the country; for when the Gaditani, according to directions which they received in a dream, had removed the sacred things of Hercules from Tyre, whence also the Carthaginians had their origin, into Spain, and had built a city there, the neighbouring people of the country, being jealous of the rise of this new city, and in consequence attacking the Gaditani in war, the Carthaginians sent them succour as being their kindred. The expedition being successful, they both secured the Gaditani from injury, and added the greatest part of the province to their own dominions. Subsequently, too, the success of their first attempt encouraging them, they sent their general Hamilcar, with a large army, to take possession of the whole country, who, having performed great exploits, but pursuing his fortune too rashly, was drawn into an ambush and killed. In his stead was sent his son-in-law Hasdrubal, who was also killed by the slave of a certain Spaniard, to avenge the unjust death of his master. Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, succeeded him, a greater general than either of them; for, surpassing the achievements of both, he subdued the whole of Spain, and then, making war upon the Romans, he harassed Italy for sixteen years with various calamities, during which the Romans, sending the Scipios into Spain, first drove the Carthaginians out of the province, and afterwards carried on terrible wars with the Spaniards themselves. Nor would the Spaniards submit to the yoke, even after their country was

fabulous, and Justin was wrong in imagining that any part of Spain consisted of islands.

over-run, until Cæsar Augustus, having subdued the rest of the world, turned his victorious arms against them, and reduced this barbarous and savage people, brought by the influence of laws to a more civilized way of life, into the form of a province.

CHRONOLOGY OF JUSTIN'S HISTORY.

In the following table, the dates given by Wetzel, who has bestowed much pains on Justin's Chronology, have been chiefly adopted. For the birth of Christ we take the usual date, A.M. 4004.

The history of Justin reaches from the time of Ninus, the most ancient king of Assyria, to Augustus's recovery of the Roman standards from the Parthians, that is, from B.C. 2196 to B.C. 20.

SECT. I.—THE EMPIRE OF THE ASSYRIANS.

NOTE.—According to Justin, i. 1, Sesostris, king of Egypt, and Tanaus, king of Syria, were long anterior to Ninus; indeed, what he says of Sesostris, ii. 3, makes him 1500 years older than Ninus; but this account, as Tanaquil Faber observes, rests on no authority.

B.C. The Assyrians rule over the eastern part of Asia for 1300 years, i. 2, that is, from B.C. 2196 to about 875.

2196—2144. Ninus reigns 52 years, i. 1.
Zoroaster, king of the Bactrians, conquered and put to death, i. 1.

2144—2102. Semiramis reigns 42 years, i. 2.

2102—2064. Ninyas, son of Ninus, reigns 38 years, i. 2.

1996. Abraham born.

1836. Jacob, or Israel, xxxvi. 2.

1745. Joseph, son of Jacob, xxxvi. 2.

1578—1528. Cecrops king of Athens, ii. 6.

1571. Moses born, xxxvi. 2.

1528—1519. Cranaus king of Athens, ii. 6.

1519—1509. Amphictyon king of Athens, ii. 6.

1491. Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, xxxvi. 2.

1451. The Israelites, under Joshua, enter Palestine, xxxvi. 2.

1419—1369. Erechtheus king of Athens, ii. 6.
Triptolemus commences the sowing of corn, ii. 6

1364. Janus and Saturn reign in Latium, xliii. 1.

1334. Picus, son and successor of Janus, xliii. 1.

1304. Faunus, son and successor of Picus, xliii. 1.

1304—1256. Ægeus king of Athens, ii. 6.

1283. The Argonauts, xlii. 2.
Orpheus invents mysteries, in which he initiates Midas, king of Phrygia, xi. 7.

1256—1226. Theseus king of Athens, ii. 6.

1254. Hercules and Theseus make war on the Amazons, ii. 4.

1244. Latinus, grandson of Faunus, xliii. 1.
Cocalus king of Sicily, iv. 2.

B.C.

1205. Tyre built, xviii. 3.
1194—1184. The Trojan war, ii. 4, 6; vii. 1.
Diomede, driven from his country, sails to Italy, xii. 2; builds Arpi, xx. 1.
Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, settles in Epirus, xvii. 3.
Philoctetes goes into Italy, xx. 1.
Antenor settles the Veneti in Italy, xx. 1.
Æneas becomes king of the Latins, xx. 1; xliii. 1.
Teucer settles in Gallæcia, xliv. 3.
1182. Demophoon king of Athens, ii. 6.
1174. Ascanius succeeds Æneas, and reigns 38 years, xliii. 1.
1172. Utica founded by the Tyrians, xviii. 4.
1144. Alba Longa founded by Ascanius, xliii. 1, in the thirtieth year of his reign.
1070. Death of Codrus, the last king of Athens, ii. 6.
Archons continued at Athens for 314 years, that is, from B.C. 1070—756.
885. Dido founds Carthage, xviii. 4; xii. 10.
883. Lycurgus, legislator of Sparta, iii. 2.
875. Death of Sardanapalus, the last king of the Assyrians, i. 3.

SECT. II.—THE EMPIRE OF THE MEDES.

The Medes rule over Eastern Asia for 350 years, i. 6, that is, from B.C. 875—525, or rather 550, q.v. *infra*.
818. Caranus, an Argive, settles at Edessa, in Macedonia, vii. 1.
806—764. Amulius reigns at Alba Longa for 42 years, xliii. 2.
782. Romulus and Remus born, xliii. 2.
764. Battus founds Cyrene, xiii. 7.
764—753. Numitor king of Alba Longa, xliii. 3.
756. Decennial Archons at Athens till B.C. 686; ii. 7.
753. Rome built, xliii. 3.
753—716. Romulus reigns, xxxviii. 6; xlii. 3.
742—722. First war of the Spartans with the Messenians, iii. 4.
723—675. Perdiccas king of Macedonia, vii. 2.
716—678. Gyges king of Lydia. i. 7.
715—672. Numa Pompilius second king of Rome, xxxviii. 6.
703. Phalantus founds Tarentum, iii. 4.
686. Annual Archons at Athens.
684—667. Second war of the Spartans with the Messenians, iii. 5.
675—643. Argæus king of Macedonia, vii. 2.
643—608. Philip king of Macedonia, vii. 2.
616—578. Tarquinius Priscus king of Rome, xxxviii. 6; xliii. 4.
608—566. Aeropus king of Macedonia, vii. 2.
599. Marseilles founded by the Phocæans, xliii. 3.
592. Solon gives laws at Athens, ii. 7.
587—562. Astyages, the last king of the Medes, i. 4, 6.
578—534. Servius Tullius king of Rome, xxxviii. 6.
571. Cyrus born and exposed, i. 4.
561. Cyrus acknowledged by his grandfather, i. 5.
558—526. Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, ii. 8.

B.C.
557—538. Crœsus king of Lydia, i. 7.
550. Cyrus dethrones Astyages, and becomes king of the Medes,

SECT. III.—THE EMPIRE OF THE PERSIANS.

The Persians rule over Asia from B.C. 550—330.
538. Cyrus takes Crœsus prisoner, i. 7.
534—509. Tarquinius Superbus, seventh and last king of Rome, xxxviii. 6. In his reign Pythagoras flourishes, xx. 4.
530. Cyrus takes Babylon, i. 7
528. Cyrus killed by the Massagetæ, i. 8.
Cambyses succeeds him, i. 9.
526. Pisistratus dies, and is succeeded by his son Hipparchus, ii. 9.
521. Cambyses perishes, i. 9. Pseudo-Smerdis reigns 7 months, i. 9. Darius, son of Hystaspes, succeeds, i. 10.
512. Darius makes war on the Scythians, i. 10. Hipparchus killed, ii 9.
511. Darius makes himself master of Macedonia, ii. 5; vii. 3.
508. Hippias expelled from Athens, ii. 9.
507—478. Amyntas reigns in Macedonia, vii. 2.
489. Battle of Marathon.
485—472. Reign of Xerxes, ii. 10.
484—478. Gelo, tyrant of Syracuse, xxiii. 4.
479. Battle of Thermopylæ, ii. 11; of Salamis, ii. 12. Hamilcar killed in Sicily, xix. 2.
478. Battles of Platæa and Mycale, ii. 14.
478—467. Hiero, tyrant of Sicily, xxiii 4.
478—435. Alexander, successor of Amyntas, reigns in Macedonia, vii. 4.
477. City and harbour of Athens repaired, ii. 15.
475. Pausanias and Aristides lay waste the territories Persia, ii. 15.
474. Anaxilaus, tyrant of Sicily, iv. 2
472—424. Artaxerxes Longimanus, iii. 1.
469. Cimon puts to flight the Persian fleet, ii. 15.
468. Third war of the Spartans with the Messenians, iii. 6.
462. The Athenians send aid to Inarus, king of Egypt, iii. 6.
456. The Spartans league with the Thebans against the Athenians, iii. 6. A war ensues, protracted for eleven years.
436. Sophocles joined in command with Pericles, iii. 6.
430—403. The Peloponnesian war, iii. 7.
425. Expedition of the Athenians to Sicily in aid of the Leontines, iv. 3; iii. 7.
423. Darius Nothus becomes king of Persia, v. i.
421. A peace for 50 years made between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, which is kept only for 6 years and 10 months, iii. 7.
414—412. The fatal expedition of the Athenians to Sicily, iv. 4.
413. Alcibiades exiled, v. 1.
412. ———— goes to Sparta, v. 1
410. ———— flees from Sparta to the Persians, v. 2.

B.C.
410—407. Alcibiades, being recalled by the army, conducts the war with great success, v. 3, 4.
409. The Spartans and Persians conquered by the Athenians at Sestos, v. 4.
The Carthaginians enter Sicily, v. 4.
407. Alcibiades again in exile; Conon succeeds him in command, v. 5, 6.
405. Victory of Lysander at Ægospotamos, in December, v. 6.
Conon flees to Cyprus, iii. 6.
Himilco and his army perish by a pestilence in Sicily, xix. 2.
405—367. Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, xx. 1.
404. Athens taken by Lysander, v. 8.
404—365. Artaxerxes Mnemon, v. 8; xi. 1.
403. End of the Peloponnesian war, v. 8.
The thirty tyrants at Athens, v. 8.
Death of Alcibiades, *ib.*
402. Thrasybulus delivers Athens from the tyrants, v. 9.
404—399. Expedition of Cyrus the Younger against Artaxerxes. retreat of the ten thousand, v. 11.
398. The Lacedæmonians send Dercyllidas to Asia, vi. 1.
395—393. Agesilaus at war with the Persians in Asia, vi. 2.
393. Lysander killed at Haliartus, vi. 4.
Victory of Conon over Pisander at Cnidus, in August, vi. 3.
Agesilaus returns from Asia and defeats the Bœotians at Coronea, vi. 4.
392. Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens, vi. 5.
390—379. Amyntas II. king of Macedonia, vii. 4.
386. The peace of Antalcidas, vi. 6.
Rome taken and burnt by the Gauls, vi. 6.
385. War between the Lacedæmonians and Arcadians, vi. 6.
381. The Lacedæmonians seize the Cadmea at Thebes, vi. 6.
370. The battle of Leuctra, vi. 6.
369, 368. Alexander II. king of Macedonia, vii. 4, 5.
Philip a hostage at Thebes, vii. 5.
368. Epaminondas besieges Sparta, vi. 7.
367. Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, dies, xx. 5.
367—342. Dionysius the younger, xxi. 1.
365—339. Artaxerxes Ochus, x. 3.
364—359. Perdiccas III. king of Macedonia, vii. 5.
363. Clearchus, tyrant of Heraclea, xvi. 4.
362. Battle of Mantinea; death of Epaminondas, vi. 7.
359. Philip escapes from Thebes and possesses himself of the throne, vii. 5.
358—335. Reign of Philip, vii. 5.
355. Alexander born.
Dionysius expelled from Sicily, xxi. 2.
354—345. The Sacred War, viii. 1.
345. Dionysius returns from Italy to Syracuse, xxi. 3.
342. ——— again driven from Sicily, and retires to Corinth, xxi. 5.

B.C.

341. Alexander, brother of Olympias, becomes king of Epirus, viii. 6.
337. Philip defeats the Athenians at Chæronea, ix. 3.
336. ——— calls a council of the Greeks at Corinth, ix. 5.
335. ——— killed; Alexander succeeds him, ix. 6, 8.
Darius Codomannus becomes king of Persia, x. 3.
333. Alexander defeats the Persians at the Granicus, xi. 6.
332. ——————————— at Issus, xi. 9.
331. ——————— takes Tyre, xi. 10.
330. ——————— founds Alexandria, xi. 11.
——————— defeats the Persians at Arbela, xi. 14.
Death of Alexander, king of Epirus, xii. 2.
329. ——————— Darius, and end of the Persian empire, x. 3; xi. 14.

SECT. IV.—THE EMPIRE OF THE MACEDONIANS.

Agis king of Sparta falls in battle against Antipater, xii. 1.
327. Alexander subdues the people about Mount Caucasus, xii. 5.
326. ——————— invades India; conquers Porus, xii. 8.
324. ——————— returns to Babylon, xii. 13.
323. ——————— dies at Babylon, xii. 13, aged 33.
322. Alexander's empire divided among his generals, xiii. 4; war of the Greeks against Antipater, xiii. 5.
321. Neoptolemus, Perdiccas, and Craterus killed, xiii. 8.
319. The Romans sent under the yoke by the Samnites, xviii. 4.
318. Antipater dies, xiv. 5.
316. Aridæus and Eurydice killed by Olympias, xiv. 5.
Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, xxii. 1.
315. Eumenes taken prisoner by Antigonus and put to death, xiv. 4.
Olympias killed by Cassander, xiv. 6.
309. Agathocles makes war upon the Carthaginians in Africa, xxii. 4.
306. The generals of Alexander assume the title of kings, xv. 2.
300. Antigonus falls in battle at Ipsus, xv. 4.
Agathocles makes war on the Bruttii, xxiii. 1.
293. Demetrius becomes king of Macedonia, xvi. 1
Death of Agathocles, xxiii. 2.
292. Death of Demetrius, xvi. 2.
283—246. Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt, xvi. 2.
281. Death of Lysimachus, xvii. 2.
280. Pyrrhus defeats the Romans, xviii. 1; xxxviii. 4.
Seleucus killed by Ptolemy Ceraunus, xvii. 2.
280—260. Antiochus Soter king of Syria, xvii. 2.
278. Ptolemy Ceraunus killed by the Gauls under Belgius, xxiv. 3. Brennus, with most of his army, perishes at Delphi, xxiv. 6.
275. The Gauls settle in Gallo-græcia, xxv. 2.
269. Pyrrhus killed at Argos, xxv. 5.
264. First Punic war begins, xli. 4; continues 23 years.
260—245. Antiochus, surnamed Deus, reigns over Syria, xxvii. 1.
255. The Parthians revolt from the Syrians, xli. 4.

B.C.
254. Theodotus, prefect of the Bactrians, revolts from the Syrians, xli. 4.
253—216. Teridates, second king of the Parthians, xli. 5.
246—220. Ptolemy Euergetes, successor of Ptolemy Philadelphus, xxvii. 1.
245—224. Seleucus II successor of Antiochus Deus, xxvii. 1.
242. Theodotus II. succeeds his father in Bactria, xli. 4.
241—231. Demetrius II. king of Macedonia, successor of Antigonus Gonnatas, xxvi. 2.
237—228. Hamilcar in Spain, xliv. 5.
231—220. Antigonus II. king of Macedonia, successor of Demetrius xxviii. 3.
228—220. Hasdrubal, successor to Hamilcar, in Spain, xliv. 5.
225—222. Seleucus III., xxvii. 3.
222—186. Antiochus the Great, xxix. 1.
221. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, defeated by Antigonus, flees into Egypt, xxviii. 4.
220—177. Philip king of Macedonia, successor to Antigonus II., xxviii. 4.
220—203. Ptolemy Philopator successor to Euergetes, xxix. 1.
220. Hannibal succeeds Hasdrubal in Spain, xxix. 1; xliv. 5.
219. Lycurgus king of Sparta, xxix. 1.
218—203. Hannibal in Italy. xxxviii. 4; xliv. 5.
217. ——— defeats Flaminius, xxix. 2.
216. Philip of Macedonia sends ambassadors to Hannibal, xxix. 4.
216—208. Artabanus, successor of Teridates, in Parthia, xli. 5.
215. Lævinus goes into Greece, xxix. 4.
214. Hieronymus, grandson of Hiero, succeeds him.
207. Priapatius, successor of Artabanus, in Parthia, xli. 5.
205. Philip makes peace with the Romans, xxix. 4.
203. Scipio defeats Hannibal at Zama, xxxviii. 6.
203—180. Ptolemy Epiphanes successor of Philopator, xxx. 2; xxxi. 1.
202. End of the second Punic war, xxxiv. 1.
199. The Achæans revolt from Philip to the Romans, xxix. 4.
198. Philip defeated by Flaminius at Cynoscephalæ, xxx. 3.
197. Hannibal flees to Antiochus the Great, xxxi. 2.
193—173. Phraates, successor of Priapatius, in Parthia, xli. 5.
191. Scipio Asiaticus overcomes Antiochus, xxxviii. 6; xxxi. 8.
190. The Ætolians subdued by the Romans, xxxii. 1.
Hannibal with Prusias in Bithynia, xxxii. 4.
188. Manlius triumphs over the Gauls, xxxviii. 6.
186—175. Seleucus IV. successor to Antiochus the Great, xxxii. 2
184. Death of Philopœmen, xxxii. 1.
Death of Hannibal. xxxii. 4.
Death of Scipio Africanus, xxxii. 4.
182. Philip of Macedonia puts to death his son Demetrius, xxxii. 2.
180—145. Ptolemy Philometor successor of Epiphanes, xxxiv. 2.
180—144. Eucratidas king of the Bactrians, xli. 6.
177—169. Perseus successor of Philip in Macedonia, xxxii. 3.
175—163. Antiochus Epiphanes successor to Seleucus, xxxiv. 2.
173—136. Mithridates successor of Phraates, xli. 5, 6.

B.C.

169. Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, taken prisoner by the Romans, xxxiii. 2.
163—161. Antiochus Eupator successor of Epiphanes, xxxiv. 3.
161—149. Demetrius II. successor of Antiochus Eupator, xxxiv. 3.
149—148. Demetrius killed; the throne occupied by Alexander Bala, xxxv. 1.
148. Prusias, king of Bithynia, killed by his son, xxxiv. 4.
146. Carthage destroyed, xxxviii. 6; Corinth destroyed, xxxiv. 2.
146—140. Viriatus in Spain, xliv. 2.
145—125. Alexander Bala killed; Demetrius Nicator reigns, xxxv. 2.
145—118. Ptolemy Physcon successor of Philometor, xxxviii. 8.
138—129. Demetrius of Syria in captivity among the Parthians, xxxviii. 9, 10; xxxvi. 1.
137—132. Attalus III. last king of Pergamus, xxxvi. 4.
133—129. Antiochus VII. brother of Demetrius, xxxviii. 9.
130—127. Phraates successor of Mithridates, king of Parthia, xlii. 1.
129. Pergamus taken from Aristonicus, and made a Roman province, xxxvi. 4.
Antiochus VII. killed by the Parthians; restoration of Demetrius, xxxvii. 10.
128—121. Alexander Zabinas pretended heir to the throne of Syria, xxxix 1.
127—123. Artabanus successor of Phraates, xlii. 2.
125. Death of Demetrius in Syria; Seleucus V. succeeds, xxxix. 1.
124—62. Mithridates the Great king of Pontus, xxxvii. 1.
124. Seleucus V. killed by his mother, xxxix. 1.
124—95. Antiochus VIII., surnamed Grypus, king of Syria, xxxix. 1.
123—86. Mithridates II king of Parthia, xlii. 2.
121. Alexander Zabinas killed by Antiochus VIII., xxxix. 2.
118. Antiochus VIII. kills his mother, xxxix. 2.
118—91. Ptolemy Lathyrus successor of Ptolemy Physcon, xxxix. 3.
110—84. Antiochus IX. (Cyzicenus) rival of Antiochus VIII., xxxix 2.
105. Jugurtha led in triumph by Marius.
Cæpio killed by the Cimbri, xxxii. 2.
104—101. The Cimbri and Teutones lay waste Helvetia, Spain, and Gaul, and are defeated by Marius, xxxviii. 4.
95. Cyrene bequeathed to the Romans, xxxix. 5.
90—88. The Marsic war, xxxviii. 4.
88. Mithridates defeats Aquilius, xxxviii. 3.
88—82. Civil war between Marius and Sylla, xxxviii. 4.
82. Tigranes, king of Armenia, chosen king of Syria, xl. 1
78—72. The war with Sertorius, xliii. 5.
67. Crete and Cilicia made Roman provinces, xxxix. 5.
Tigranes deprived of the throne of Syria by Lucullus xl. 2.
66—61. The war with Mithridates conducted by Pompey, xliii. 5.
62. Death of Mithridates, xxxvii. 1.
Syria made a Roman province by Pompey, xl. 2.
58—48. Julius Cæsar proconsul of Gaul, xliii. 5.
53—36. Orodes king of Parthia, xlii. 2.
53. Crassus killed by the Parthians, xlii. 4.

B.C.

49. Civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, xlii. 4.
48. Battle of Pharsalia, xlii. 4.
43. Brutus and Cassius at war with the Triumviri, xlii. 4.
38. Ventidius kills Pacorus, son of the king of Parthia, xlii. 4.
36. Phraates IV., successor of Orodes, king of Parthia, reigns 40 years, xlii. 4, 5.
35. Antony put to flight by the Parthians, xlii. 5.
30—26. Phraates driven from his throne by Tiridates, and restored by the Scythians, xlii. 5.
24. Augustus returns from Spain, which had been subdued three years before, xliv. 5.
20. The Parthians restore the Roman standards and prisoners, xlii. 5.

CORNELIUS NEPOS.

LIVES OF EMINENT COMMANDERS.

PREFACE.

I DO not doubt that there will be many,* Atticus, who will think this kind of writing† trifling in its nature, and not sufficiently adapted to the characters of eminent men, when they shall find it related who taught Epaminondas music, or see it numbered among his accomplishments, that he danced gracefully, and played skilfully on the flutes‡. But these will be such, for the most part, as, being unacquainted with Greek literature, will think nothing right but what agrees with their own customs.

If these readers will but understand that the same things are not becoming or unbecoming among all people, but that every thing is judged by the usages of men's forefathers, they will not wonder that we, in setting forth the excellencies of the Greeks, have had regard to their manners. For to Cimon, an eminent man among the Athenians, it was thought no disgrace to have his half-sister,§ by the father's side, in marriage, as his countrymen followed the same practice; but such a union, according to the order of things among us, is deemed unlawful.

* *Plerosque.*] For *plurimos*. So, a little below, *pleraque—sunt decora*, for *plurima*.

† *Hoc genus scripturæ.*] These brief memoirs of eminent men, interspersed with allusions to national habits and peculiarities.

‡ *Tibiis cantâsse.*] The plural, *flutes*, is used, because the Greeks, and the Romans, who adopted the practice from them, played on different kinds of flutes or pipes, *equal* and *unequal*, *right* and *left-handed*, and often on two at once. See Colman's preface to his translation of Terence; Smith's Classical Dict. art. *Tibia;* Life of Epaminondas, c. 2.

§ *Sororem germanam.*] A half-sister by the *mother's side* was called *soror uterina*. Her name was Elpinice. See the Life of Cimon.

In Greece it is considered an honour to young men to have as many lovers* as possible. At Lacedæmon there is no widow† so noble that will not go upon the stage, if engaged for a certain sum. Through the whole of Greece it was accounted a great glory to be proclaimed a conqueror at Olympia; while to appear upon the stage, and become a spectacle to the public,‡

* *Amatores.*] See the Life of Alcibiades, c. 2. *Apud Græcos*, says Cic. de Rep. fragm. lib. iv., *opprobrio fuit adolescentibus, si amatores non haberent.* See Maximus Tyrius, Dissert. viii.—xi.; Potter's Antiq. of Greece, b. iv. c. 9.

† *Nulla—vidua—quæ non ad scenam eat mercede conducta.*] This is not said with reference to that period in the history of Sparta when it adhered to the laws of Lycurgus, under which it was not allowed to witness either comedy or tragedy, as Plutarch in his *Instituta Laconica* shows, but to the time when the ancient discipline and austerity were trodden under foot, and the state sunk into luxury and effeminacy; a condition of things which took place under Leonidas and Agis, and chiefly, indeed, through the licentiousness of the women, if we may credit what Plutarch says in his life of Agis. From the earliest times, however, according to Aristotle, *Polit.* ii. 9, the Spartan women were inclined to live very intemperately and luxuriously, and Lycurgus endeavoured to subject them to laws, but was obliged to desist, through the opposition which they made. Hence Plato, also, de Legg. lib. ii., alludes to the ἀνεσις, laxity, of the Spartan women.—*Buchner.* But with all such explanations the passage is still difficult and unsatisfactory. Why is a widow particularly specified? No passage in any ancient author has been found to support this observation of Nepos, if it be his. What Aristotle says in disparagement of the Lacedæmonian women is pretty well refuted, as Van Staveren observes, by Plutarch in his life of Lycurgus, c. 14. Besides, there were no female actors among the Greeks. For *ad scenam* Freinshemius (apud Bœcler. ad h. l.) proposes to read *ad cœnam*, which Gesner approves; Heusinger conjectures *ad lenam.* The conjecture of Withof, *ad encœnia*, compared with Hor. A. P. 232, *Festis matrona moveri jussa diebus*, might appear in some degree plausible, were not ἐγκαίνια a word resting on scarcely any other authority than that of the Septuagint and ecclesiastical writers; for though it occurs in Quintilian, vii. 2, the passage is scarcely intelligible, and the reading has generally been thought unsound. Gœrenz, ad Cic. de Fin. ii. 20, would read *quæ non ad cœnam eat mercede conductam*, i.e. to a supper or banquet furnished by a general contribution of the guests. But none of these critics cite any authority in support of their emendations. As to the last, it would be casting no dishonour upon a noble widow to say that she went to a *cœna conducta*, for such *cœna* might be among those of her own class. Nor is the applicability of *mercede* in such a phrase quite certain.

‡ *In scenam prodire et populo esse spectaculo*, &c.] Actors are here confounded with the rhapsodists, or reciters of poetry. Demosthenes,

was a dishonour to no one in that nation; but all these practices are, with us, deemed partly infamous, partly mean, and at variance with respectability. On the other hand, many things in our habits are decorous, which are by them considered unbecoming; for what Roman is ashamed to bring his wife to a feast, or whose consort does not occupy the best room in the house, and live in the midst of company? But in Greece the case is far otherwise; for a wife is neither admitted to a feast, except among relations, nor does she sit anywhere but in the innermost apartment of the house,* which is called the *gynæconitis*, and into which nobody goes who is not connected with her by near relationship.

But both the size of my intended volume, and my haste to relate what I have undertaken, prevent me from saying more on this point. We will therefore proceed to our subject, and relate in this book the lives of eminent commanders.

de Coronâ, upbraids Æschines as being an actor.—*Rinckii Prolegom. in Æm. Prob.* p. xlii.

* This is not true of the Spartan women, for they, who boasted that they alone were the mothers of men, led a life of less restraint. Besides, by the laws of Lycurgus, the young women took part in the public exercises.—*Rinck. Prolegom. ibid.*

I. MILTIADES.

Miltiades leads out a colony to the Chersonese; is mocked by the people of Lemnos, I.—Makes himself master of the Chersonese; takes Lemnos and the Cyclades, II.—Is appointed by Darius, when he was making war on Scythia, to guard the bridge over the Ister; suggests a plan for delivering Greece from the Persians; is opposed by Histiæus, III.—Exhorts his countrymen to meet Darius in the field, IV.—Defeats Darius before the arrival of the allies, V.—How he is rewarded, VI.—Breaks off the siege of Paros, is condemned, and dies in prison, VII.—True cause of his condemnatio VIII.

I. At the time when Miltiades, the son of Cimon, an Athenian, was eminent above all his countrymen, both for the antiquity of his family, the glory of his forefathers, and his own good conduct,* and was of such an age that his fellow citizens might not only hope well of him, but assure themselves that he would be such as they found him when he became known, it chanced that the Athenians wished to send colonists to the Chersonese.† The number of the party being great, and many applying for a share in the expedition, some chosen from among them were sent to Delphi,‡ to consult Apollo what leader they should take in preference to any other; for the Thracians at the time had possession of those parts, with whom they would be obliged to contend in war. The Pythia expressly directed them, when they put the question, to take Miltiades as their

* *Modestia.*] "Good conduct," or "prudence," or "knowledge how to act," seems to be the true sense of the word. "Itaque, ut eandem [εὐταξίαν] nos modestiam appellemus, sic definitur à Stoicis, ut modestia sit scientia earum rerum, quæ agentur aut dicentur, suo loco collocandarum: . . . scientia—opportunitatis idoneorum ad agendum temporum. Sed potest esse eadem *prudentiæ* definitio."—Cic. de Off. i. 40.

† The Thracian Chersonese. But it is to be observed that the author, in this biography, confounds Miltiades, the son of Cimon, with Miltiades the elder, the son of Cypselus It was the latter who settled the colony in the Thracian Chersonese, and left the sovereignty of it at his death to Stesagoras, the son of his half-brother Cimon, and brother to Miltiades the younger, who became governor of it on the death of Stesagoras, being sent out by Pisistratus for that purpose.

‡ *Ex his delecti Delphos deliberatum missi sunt, qui consulerent Apollinem,* &c] Either *deliberatum,* or *qui consulerent Apollinem,* might be omitted as superfluous. Bos retains both in his text, but suspects the latter.

commander, as, if they did so, their undertakings would be successful. Upon this answer from the oracle, Miltiades set out for the Chersonese with a fleet, accompanied by a chosen body of men,† and touched at Lemnos, when, wishing to reduce the people of the island under the power of the Athenians, and requesting the Lemnians to surrender of their own accord, they, in mockery, replied that "they would do so, whenever he, leaving home with a fleet, should reach Lemnos by the aid of the wind Aquilo;" for this wind, rising from the north, is contrary to those setting out from Athens. Miltiades, having no time for delay, directed his course to the quarter to which he was bound, and arrived at the Chersonese.

II. Having there, in a short time, scattered the forces of the barbarians, and made himself master of all the territory that he had desired, he strengthened suitable places with fortresses, * settled the multitude, which he had brought with him, in the country, and enriched them by frequent excursions. Nor was he less aided, in this proceeding, by good conduct than by good fortune, for after he had, by the valour of his men, routed the troops of the enemy, he settled affairs with the greatest equity, and resolved upon residing in the country himself. He held, indeed, among the inhabitants, the authority of a king, though he wanted the name; and he did not attain this influence more by his power than by his justice. Nor did he the less, on this account, perform his duty to the Athenians, from whom he had come. From these circumstances it happened that he held his office in perpetuity, not less with the consent of those who had sent him, than of those with whom he had gone thither.

Having settled the affairs of the Chersonese in this manner, he returned to Lemnos, and called on the people to deliver up their city to him according to their promise; for they had said that when he, starting from home, should reach their country by the aid of the north wind, they would surrender themselves; "and he had now a home," he told them, "in the Chersonese." The Carians, who then inhabited Lemnos,

* *Cum delectâ manu*] A body independent of those who were going to settle in the colony.

† *Loca castellis idonea communiit.*] A late editor absurdly takes *castellis* for a dative. Tacit. Ann. iii. 74: *Castella et munitiones idoneis locis imponens.*

though the event had fallen out contrary to their expectation, yet being influenced, not by the words, but by the good fortune of their adversaries, did not venture to resist, but withdrew out of the island. With like success he reduced some other islands, which are called the Cyclades, under the power of the Athenians.

III. About the same period, Darius, king of Persia, resolved upon transporting his army from Asia into Europe, and making war upon the Scythians. He constructed a bridge over the river Ister, by which he might lead across his forces. Of this bridge he left as guardians, during his absence,* the chiefs† whom he had brought with him from Ionia and Æolia, and to whom he had given the sovereignty of their respective cities; for he thought that he should most easily keep under his power such of the inhabitants of Asia as spoke Greek, if he gave their towns to be held by his friends, to whom, if he should be crushed,‡ no hope of safety would be left. Among the number of those, to whom the care of the bridge was then entrusted, was Miltiades.

As several messengers brought word that Darius was unsuccessful in his enterprise, and was hard pressed by the Scythians, Miltiades, in consequence, exhorted the guardians of the bridge not to lose an opportunity, presented them by by fortune, of securing the liberty of Greece; for if Darius should be destroyed, together with the army that he had taken with him, not only Europe would be safe, but also those who, being Greeks by birth, inhabited Asia, would be freed from the dominion of the Persians, and from all danger. "This," he said, "might easily be accomplished, for, if the bridge were broken down, the king would perish in a few days, either by the sword of the enemy, or by famine." After most of them had assented to this proposal, Histiæus of Miletus, prevented the design from being executed; saying that "the same course would not be expedient for those who held sovereign command, as for the multitude, since their authority depended on the power of Darius, and,

* *Dum ipse abesset*] He fixed, according to Herodotus, a term of sixty days for his absence, on the expiration of which the guardians of the bridge might depart.

† *Principes.*] The tyrants or sovereigns of the Greek cities, who held their power under the protection of Darius.

‡ *Se oppresso.*] If he should be crushed, and the Persian empire consequently overthrown, they would be left without a protector.

if he were cut off, they would be deprived of their governments, and suffer punishment at the hands of their subjects;* and that he himself, therefore, was so far from agreeing in opinion with the rest, that he thought nothing more advantageous for them than that the kingdom of the Persians should be upheld." As most went over to this opinion, Miltiades, not doubting that his proposal, since so many were acquainted with it, would come to the ears of the king, quitted the Chersonese, and went again to reside at Athens. His suggestion, though it did not take effect, is yet highly to be commended, as he showed himself a greater friend to the general liberty than to his own power.

IV. Darius, when he had returned from Asia into Europe, prepared, at the exhortation of his friends, in order to reduce Greece under his dominion, a fleet of five hundred ships, and appointed Datis and Artaphernes to the command of it, to whom he assigned two hundred thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry; alleging as a reason for his enterprise, that he was an enemy to the Athenians, because, with their aid, the Ionians had stormed Sardis† and put his garrison to death. These generals of the king, having brought up their fleet to Eubœa, soon took Eretria, carried off all the citizens of the place,‡ and sent them into Asia to the king. They then went to Attica, and drew up their forces in the plain of Marathon, which is distant from the city of Athens about ten miles. The Athenians, though alarmed at this sudden descent, so near and so menacing, sought assistance nowhere but from the Spartans, and despatched Phidippides, a courier of the class called *hemerodromoi*,§ to Lacedæmon, to acquaint them how speedy assistance they needed. At home,

* *Civibus suis pœnas daturos.*] They would be called to account for having made themselves tyrants.

† The Ionians had rebelled against Persia, to which they had been subject, and, with some Athenians and Eretrians, had burned Sardis. This is alleged among the frivolous reasons for the Persian war. See Herod. v. 101—105; Perizon. ad Ælian. V. H. xii. 53; Fabric. ad Oros. ii. 8; and Plut. Vit. Aristid.—*Van Staveren.*

‡ *Omnes ejus gentis cives.*] That is, all the people of Eretria in Eubœa. They were carried to Susa, and treated kindly by Darius. See Herod vi. 119.

§ Ἡμεροδρόμοι, "day couriers," who could run a great distance in a day. *Ingens die uno cursu emetientes spatium.* Liv. xxxi. 24.

meanwhile, they appointed ten captains to command the army, and among them Miltiades.

Among these captains there was a great discussion, whether they should defend themselves within the walls, or march out to meet the enemy, and decide the contest in the field. Miltiades was the only one extremely urgent that a camp should be formed as soon as possible; "for," he said, "if that were done, not only would courage be added to their countrymen, when they saw that there was no distrust of their valour, but the enemy, from the same cause, would be less bold, if they saw that the Athenians would venture to oppose them with so small a force."

V. In this crisis no state gave assistance to the Athenians, except that of Platæa, which sent them a thousand men. On the arrival of these, the number of ten thousand armed men was made up; a band which was animated with an extraordinary ardour to fight. Hence it happened that Miltiades had more influence than his colleagues, for the Athenians, incited by his authority, led out their forces from the city, and pitched their camp in an eligible place. The next day, having set themselves in array at the foot of the hills opposite the enemy, they engaged in battle with a novel stratagem, and with the utmost impetuosity. For trees had been strewed in many directions, with this intention, that, while they themselves were covered by the high hills,* the enemy's cavalry might be impeded by the spread of trees, so that they might not be surrounded by numbers. Datis, though he saw that the ground was unfavourable for his men, yet, depending on the number of his force, was desirous to engage, and the rather, because he thought it of advantage to fight before the Spartans came to the enemy's assistance. He led into the field, therefore, a hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse, and proceeded to battle. In the encounter the Athenians, through their valour, had so much the advantage, that they routed ten times the number of the enemy, and threw them into such a consternation, that the Persians betook themselves, not to their camp, but to their ships. Than this battle there has hitherto been none more glorious; for never did so small a band overthrow so numerous a host.

* The text is here in an unsatisfactory state, as all the critics remark, but I have given what is evidently the sense of the passage.

VI. For this victory it does not seem improper to state what reward was conferred on Miltiades, that it may be the more easily understood that the nature of all states is the same; for as honours among our own people were once few and inexpensive, and for that reason highly prized, but are now costly and common, so we find that it formerly was among the Athenians. For to this very Miltiades, who had saved Athens and the whole of Greece, such honour only was granted, that when the battle of Marathon was painted in the portico called *Pœcile*,* his figure was placed first in the number of the ten commanders, and he was represented as encouraging his men, and commencing the battle. The same people, after they acquired greater power, and were corrupted by the largesses of their rulers, decreed three hundred statues to Demetrius Phalereus.

VII. After this battle the Athenians gave Miltiades a fleet of seventy ships, that he might make war on the islands that had assisted the barbarians. In the discharge of this commission he obliged most of them to return to their duty;† some he took by assault. Being unable to gain over by persuasion one of their number, the island of Paros, which was vain of its strength, he drew his troops out of his ships, invested the town,‡ and cut off all their supplies; soon after, he erected his *vineæ* § and tortoises, and came close up to the walls. When he was on the point of taking the town, a grove on the main land, which was some distance off, but visible from the island, was set on fire, by I know not what accident, in the night; and when the flame of it was seen by the townsmen and besiegers, it was imagined by both that it was a signal given by the men of the king's fleet; whence it happened that both the Parians were deterred || from surrendering, and Miltiades, fearing that the royal fleet was approaching,

* Ποικίλη Στοά, "the painted portico," as being adorned with pictures on subjects from Athenian history.

† *Ad officium redire.*] To submit again to the power of the Athenians.

‡ *Urbem.*] The chief town of the island, bearing the same name with it.

§ See on Sall. Jug. c 37. The *testudines* were similar in construction and use to the *vineæ*.

|| *Deterrerentur.*] They feared the vengeance of the Persians if they submitted to Miltiades.

set fire to the works which he had erected, and returned to Athens with the same number of ships with which he had set out, to the great displeasure of his countrymen. He was in consequence accused of treason, on the allegation, that "when he might have taken Paros, he desisted from the siege, without effecting anything, through being bribed by the king of Persia." He was at this time ill of the wounds which he had received in besieging the town, and, as he could not plead for himself, his brother Tisagoras spoke for him. The cause being heard, he was not condemned to death, but sentenced to pay a fine, which was fixed at fifty talents, a sum equivalent to that which had been spent on the fleet. As he could not pay this money, he was thrown into prison, and there ended his life.

VIII. Although he was brought to trial on the charge relating to Paros, yet there was another cause for his condemnation; for the Athenians, in consequence of the tyranny of Pisistratus, which had occurred a few years before, looked with dread on the aggrandizement of any one of their citizens. Miltiades having been much engaged in military and civil offices, was not thought likely to be contented in a private station, especially as he might seem to be drawn by the force of habit to long for power; for he had held uninterrupted sovereignty in the Chersonesus during all the years that he had dwelt there, and had been called a *tyrant*, though a just one; for he had not acquired his power by violence, but by the consent of his countrymen, and had maintained his authority by the uprightness of his conduct. But all are esteemed and called tyrants, who become possessed of permanent power in any state which had previously enjoyed liberty. In Miltiades, however, there was both the greatest philanthropy and a wonderful affability, so that there was no person so humble as not to have free access to him; he had also the greatest influence among all the states of Greece, with a noble name, and reputation for military achievements. The people, looking to these circumstances, chose rather that he should suffer, though innocent, than that they should continue longer in fear of him.

II. THEMISTOCLES.

Youth of Themistocles; he is disinherited by his father, I.—His eminence in the Corcyræan and Persian wars, II.—Battle of Artemisium, III.—His stratagem against Xerxes at Salamis, IV.—Causes Xerxes to quit Greece, V.—Builds the walls of Athens, deceiving the Lacedæmonians, VI. VII.—Is ostracised, and seeks refuge in various places, VIII.—His letter to Artaxerxes, and reception by him; dies at Magnesia, IX.

I. THEMISTOCLES was the son of Neocles, an Athenian. The vices of his early youth were compensated by great virtues, so that no one is thought superior, and few are considered equal to him.

But we must begin from the beginning. His father Neocles was of a good family, and married a native of Acharnæ,* of whom Themistocles was the son. Falling under the displeasure of his parents, because he lived too freely, and took no care of his property, he was disinherited by his father. This disgrace, however, did not dishearten him, but incited him to exertion, for being aware that it could not be obliterated without the utmost efforts on his part, he devoted himself wholly to affairs of state, studying diligently to benefit his friends as well as his own reputation. He was much engaged in private causes, and appeared often before the assembly of the people; no matter of importance was managed without him; he quickly discovered what was necessary to be done, and readily explained it in his speeches. Nor was he less ready in managing business than in devising plans for it, for, as Thucydides says, he formed a most accurate judgment of present affairs, and the shrewdest conjectures as to the future. Hence it happened that he soon became distinguished.

* *Acharnanam civem.*] This is the reading of most, if not all, of the MSS., and Bos retains it. "Aldus," says Bos, "was the first, I think, to change *Acharnanam* into *Halicarnassiam*, from having read in Plutarch that Neanthes said Halicarnassus in Caria was the birth-place of Themistocles's mother. For my part, I am unwilling to give up the old reading, especially as there is so much uncertainty on the point among writers." Some make Themistocles the son of a Thracian woman, and called her Abrotonus, some of a Carian, and called her Euterpe. See Plutarch. Themist. *init.* and Athenæus, xiii. 5. Acharnæ was a borough of Attica. Plutarch, however, asserts that Themistocles was not of pure Attic blood on the mother's side. Nor is there anything either in him or Athenæus to support the reading *Acharnanam.*

II. His first step in the management of public affairs was in the Corcyræan war.* Being chosen commander by the people to conduct it, he increased the confidence of the citizens, not only as to the struggle in which they were engaged, but for time to come. As the public money, which came in from the mines, was annually wasted by the profusion† of the magistrates, he prevailed on the people that a fleet of a hundred ships should be built with that money. This being soon constructed, he first reduced the Corcyræans, and then, by vigorously pursuing the pirates, rendered the sea secure. In acting thus, he both supplied the Athenians with wealth, and made them extremely skilful in naval warfare. How much this contributed to the safety of Greece in general, was discovered in the Persian war, when Xerxes assailed the whole of Europe by sea and land, with such a force as no man ever had, before or since; for his fleet consisted of two hundred ships of war, on which two thousand transport vessels attended, and his land force was seven hundred thousand foot, and four hundred thousand horse.

When the news of his approach was spread through Greece, and the Athenians, on account of the battle of Marathon, were said to be the chief objects of his attack, they sent to Delphi to ask what they should do in their present circumstances. As soon as they put the question, the Pythian priestess replied that "they must defend themselves with wooden walls." As no one understood to what this answer tended, Themistocles suggested that it was Apollo's recommendation that they should put themselves and their property on board their ships, for that such were the wooden walls intended by the god. This

* *Bello Corcyræo.*] Rather *Æginetico*, in the war with Ægina, as Lambinus and other commentators have observed; for that war happened about the time to which allusion is here made. See Herod. vii. 144, and Plutarch. Them. c. 4. But of a war with Corcyra neither Herodotus nor Thucydides makes any mention; a dispute between the Corcyræans and Corinthians is noticed by Plutarch, Them. c. 24, which Themistocles, as arbiter, is said to have settled The passage is therefore corrupt, perhaps from an error of Æmilius Probus, or perhaps Nepos himself made a mistake as to the name of the war.—*Fischer.*

† *Largitione.*] The money was divided, if we listen to Herodotus, vi. 46, 47; vii. 144, among the whole people, ten drachmæ to every person of full-grown age.—*Bos.* But the division of it was the act of the people themselves, though it might be promoted by the influence of some of the leading men.

plan being approved, they added to their former vessels as many more with three banks of oars, and carried off all their goods that could be moved, partly to Salamis and partly to Trœzen. The citadel, and sacred things, they committed to the priests, and a few old men, to be taken care of; the rest of the town they abandoned.

III. This measure of Themistocles was unsatisfactory to most of the states, and they preferred to fight on land. A select force was accordingly sent with Leonidas, king of the Lacedæmonians, to secure the pass of Thermopylæ, and prevent the barbarians from advancing further. This body could not withstand the force of the enemy, and were all slain on the spot. But the combined fleet of Greece, consisting of three hundred ships, of which two hundred belonged to the Athenians, engaged the king's fleet for the first time at Artemisium, between Eubœa and the main land; for Themistocles had betaken himself to the straits, that he might not be surrounded by numbers. Though they came off here with success equally balanced, yet they did not dare to remain in the same place, because there was apprehension, lest, if part of the enemy's fleet should get round Eubœa, they should be assailed by danger on both sides. Hence it came to pass that they left Artemisium, and drew up their fleet on the coast of Salamis, over against Athens.

IV. Xerxes, having forced a passage through Thermopylæ marched at once to the city, and as none defended it, destroyed it by fire, putting to death the priests that he found in the citadel. As those on board the fleet, alarmed at the report of this catastrophe, did not dare to remain where they were, and most of them gave their opinion that they should return to their respective homes, and defend themselves within their walls, Themistocles alone opposed it, saying that united they would be a match for the enemy, but declaring that if they separated they would be destroyed. That this would be the case he assured Eurybiades, king of the Lacedæmonians, who then held the chief command, but making less impression on him than he wished, he sent one of his slaves, the most trustworthy that he had, to Xerxes in the night, to tell him in his own precise words, that "his enemies were retreating, and that, if they should make off, he would require more labour and longer time to finish the war, as he would have to pursue

those singly, whom, if he attacked them immediately, he might destroy in a body and at once." The object of this communication was, that all the Greeks should be forced to fight even against their will. The barbarian, receiving this intimation, and not suspecting any guile to be hidden under it, engaged, the day after, in a place most unfavourable for himself, and most advantageous for the enemy, the strait being so confined* that the body of his fleet could not be brought into action. He was defeated in consequence rather by the stratagem of Themistocles than by the arms of Greece.

V. Though Xerxes had thus mismanaged his affairs, he had yet so vast a force left, that even with this he might have overpowered his enemies. But in the meanwhile† he was driven from his position by the same leader. For Themistocles, fearing that he would persist in protracting the contest, sent him notice that it was in contemplation that the bridge, which he had made over the Hellespont, should be broken up, and that he should thus be prevented from returning into Asia; and he convinced him that such was the fact. In consequence Xerxes returned into Asia in less than thirty days, by the same way by which he had spent six months in coming, and considered himself not conquered, but saved, by Themistocles. Thus Greece was delivered by the policy of one man, and Asia succumbed to Europe. This is a second victory that may be compared with the triumph at Marathon; for the greatest fleet in the memory of man was conquered in like manner‡ at Salamis by a small number of ships

VI. Themistocles was great in this war, and was not less distinguished in peace; for as the Athenians used the harbour of Phalerum, which was neither large nor convenient, the triple port of the Piræeus§ was constructed by his advice, and enclosed with walls, so that it equalled the city in magnificence, and excelled it in utility. He also rebuilt the walls

* *Adeò angusto mari*] It was in the strait between the island of Salamis and the temple of Hercules, on the coast of Attica.—*Bos.*

† *Interim.*] The MSS. and editions are divided between *interim* and *iterum*. Bos prefers the former; Van Staveren the latter.

‡ *Pari modo.*] Under the same circumstances as at Marathon · a greater force being defeated by a smaller.

§ *Triplex Piræei portus.*] It is acutely shown by Bos that the Piræeus was called *triple* from its containing three stations or basins, Cantharos, Aphrodision, and Zea.

of Athens at his own individual risk; for the Lacedæmonians, having found a fair pretext, in consequence of the inroads of the barbarians, for saying that no walled town should be kept up without the Peloponnesus, in order that there might be no fortified places of which the enemy might take possession, attempted to prevent the Athenians from building them. This attempt had a far different object from that which they wished to be apparent; for the Athenians, by their two victories at Marathon and Salamis, had gained so much renown among all people, that the Lacedæmonians became aware that they should have a struggle with them for the supremacy. They therefore wished the Athenians to be as weak as possible.

After they heard, however, that the erection of the wall was begun, they sent ambassadors to Athens to prevent it from being continued. While the ambassadors were present, they desisted, and said that they would send an embassy to them respecting the matter. This embassy Themistocles undertook, and set out first by himself, desiring that the rest of the ambassadors should follow when the height of the wall should seem sufficiently advanced; and that, in the meantime, all the people, slaves as well as freemen, should carry on the work, sparing no place, whether sacred or profane, public or private, but collecting from all quarters whatever they thought suitable for building. Hence it happened that the walls of the Athenians were constructed of materials from temples and tombs.

VII. Themistocles, when he arrived at Lacedæmon, would not go to the authorities at once, but endeavoured to make as much delay as possible, alleging, as a reason, that he was waiting for his colleagues. While the Lacedæmonians were complaining that the work was nevertheless continued, and that he was trying to deceive them in the matter, the rest of the ambassadors in the meantime arrived; and, as he learned from them that but little of the wall remained to be done, he proceeded to the Lacedæmonian Ephori, in whom the supreme power was vested, and assured them positively that "false accounts had been given them," adding "that it would be proper for them to send persons of character and respectability, in whom trust might be placed, to inquire into the affair; and that in the meantime they might detain himself as a hostage.'

His suggestion was complied with, and three deputies, men who had filled the highest offices, were despatched to Athens.

When Themistocles thought that they had reached the city, he went to the Ephori and senate of the Lacedæmonians, and boldly stated that "the Athenians, by his advice, had enclosed their public gods, and their national and household gods,* with walls, that they might more easily defend them from the enemy, a step which they were at liberty to take by the common law of nations; nor had they, in acting thus, done what was useless to Greece; for their city stood as a bulwark against the barbarians, at which the king's fleets had already twice suffered shipwreck; and that the Lacedæmonians acted unreasonably and unjustly, in regarding rather what was conducive to their own dominion, than what would be of advantage to the whole of Greece. If, therefore, they wished to receive back the deputies whom they had sent to Athens, they must permit him to return; otherwise they would never receive them into their country again."

VIII. Yet he did not escape jealousy on the part of his own countrymen; for being expelled from the city by the ostracism, through the same apprehension from which Miltiades had been condemned, he went to dwell at Argos. While he was living there in great honour, on account of his many excellent qualities, the Lacedæmonians sent ambassadors to Athens to accuse him in his absence of having made a league with the king of Persia to subjugate Greece. On this charge he was condemned, while absent, of treason to his country. As soon as he heard of this sentence, he removed, as he did not think himself safe at Argos, to Corcyra. But perceiving that the leading men of that state were afraid lest the Lacedæmonians and Athenians should declare war against them on his account, he fled to Admetus, king of the Molossi, with whom he had had a great friendship.† Having arrived here, and the king being absent at the time, he, in order that he might secure himself, if received, with the stronger safeguard of

* By public gods, *deos publicos*, are meant the deities worshipped throughout all the states of Greece, as Jupiter, Mercury, &c.; by national gods, *patrios*, such as were peculiar to Attica itself.

† *Hospitium.*] A mutual agreement to receive one another as guests. But according to Thucydides, i. 136, there was no such relation existing between them, for he speaks of Admetus as *ὄντα αὐτῷ οὐ φίλον.*

religion, took up the king's little daughter, and ran with her into a certain temple, which was regarded with the utmost veneration, and from which he did not come out till the king, having given him his right hand, took him under his protection; an engagement which he strictly observed. For when his surrender was publicly demanded by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, he did not betray his dependant, but warned him to consult for his safety, as it would be difficult for him to live in security in a place so near to Greece. He in consequence caused him to be conducted to Pydna, appointing him a sufficient guard. Here he went on board a ship, to all the sailors in which he was personally unknown. The vessel being driven by a violent storm towards Naxos, where the army of the Athenians then lay, Themistocles felt assured that, if he put in there, he must lose his life. Being thus compelled by necessity, he disclosed to the captain of the ship who he was, promising him a large reward if he would save him. The captain, moved with concern for so illustrious a man, kept the ship at anchor in the open sea, at some distance from the island, for a day and a night, allowing no person to quit it. Thence he went to Ephesus, where he set Themistocles on shore, who afterwards liberally rewarded him for his services.

IX. I know most historians have related that Themistocles went over into Asia in the reign of Xerxes, but I give credence to Thucydides in preference to others, because he, of all who have left records of that period, was nearest in point of time to Themistocles, and was of the same city. Thucydides says that he went to Artaxerxes, and sent him a letter in these words: "I, Themistocles, am come to you, a man, who, of all the Greeks, brought most evil upon your house, when I was obliged to war against your father, and to defend my own country. I also did your father still greater service, after I myself was in safety, and he began to be in danger; for when he wished, after the battle fought at Salamis, to return into Asia, I informed him by letter that it was in contemplation that the bridge, which he had constructed over the Hellespont, should be broken up, and that he should be surrounded by enemies; by which information he was rescued from danger. But now, pursued by all Greece, I have fled to you, soliciting your favour, and if I shall obtain it, you will

find me no less deserving as a friend than your father found me resolute as an enemy. I make this request, however, that with regard to the subjects on which I wish to discourse with you, you would grant me a year's delay, and when that time is past, permit me to approach you."

X. The king, admiring his greatness of mind, and wishing to have such a man attached to him, granted his request. Themistocles devoted all that time to the writings and language of the Persians, in which he acquired such knowledge, that he is said to have spoken before the king with much more propriety* than those could who were born in Persia. After he had made the king many promises, and what was most agreeable of them all, that if he would follow his advice, he might conquer Greece in war, he was honoured with rich presents by Artaxerxes, and returning into Asia Minor, fixed his habitation at Magnesia. For the king had bestowed upon him this city, expressing himself in these words, that "it was to supply him with bread;" (from the land about this place fifty talents came into him annually;) and he had also given him Lampsacus, "whence he might get his wine," and Myus, "from which he might have meats for his table."†

Two memorials of Themistocles have remained to our times; his sepulchre near the city,‡ in which he was buried, and his statues in the forum of Magnesia. Concerning his death various accounts have been given by several writers; we prefer, to all others, the authority of Thucydides, who says that he died of some disease at Magnesia, though he admits that there was a report that he voluntarily took poison, because he despaired of being able to perform what he had promised the king about subjugating Greece. Thucydides has also recorded that his bones were buried by his friends in Attica privately, it not being permitted by law to bury them, as he had been pronounced guilty of treason.

* *Multo commodius.*] This seems impossible. He might have better matter to produce, but surely not better language.

† *Opsonium.*] The word signifies all that was eaten with bread; all kinds of food besides bread.

‡ *Prope oppidum.*] That is, near the city of Athens, where we learn from Pausanias that the tomb of Themistocles was to be seen in his time, in the reign of Marcus Antoninus.—*Bos.*

III. ARISTIDES.

Aristides the contemporary and rival of Themistocles; is banished, I. —After his recal, commands against Mardonius; increases the popularity of the Athenians, II.—Has the care of the treasury, dies poor, III.

I. ARISTIDES, the son of Lysimachus, a native of Athens, was almost of the same age with Themistocles, and contended with him, in consequence, for pre-eminence, as they were determined rivals one to the other,* and it was seen in their case how much eloquence could prevail over integrity; for though Aristides was so distinguished for uprightness of conduct,† that he was the only person in the memory of man (as far at least as I have heard) who was called by the surname of JUST, yet being overborne by Themistocles with the ostracism, he was condemned to be banished for ten years.

Aristides, finding that the excited multitude could not be appeased, and noticing, as he yielded to their violence, a person writing that he ought to be banished, is said to have asked him "why he did so, or what Aristides had done, that he should be thought deserving of such a punishment?" The person writing replied, that "he did not know Aristides, but that he was not pleased that he had laboured to be called Just beyond other men."

He did not suffer the full sentence of ten years appointed by law, for when Xerxes made a descent upon Greece, he was recalled into his country by a decree of the people, about six years after he had been exiled.

II. He was present, however, in the sea-fight at Salamis, which was fought before he was allowed to return.‡ He was

* *Obtrectârunt inter se.*] Διεπολιτεύσαντο: they supported opposite parties in the state. So in the Life of Epaminondas, c. 5, it is said that he had Meneclides for an *obtrectator*. Such *obtrectationes* are called by Vell. Pat. ii. 43, *civiles contentiones*, and by Val. Max. iii. 8, *acerrimi studii in administratione Reipublicæ dissidia.—Gebhard.* Plutarch says, that according to some there were dissensions between Aristides and Themistocles from their earliest years, so that in all their communications, whether on graver or lighter topics, the one always opposed the other.—*Buchner.*

† *Abstinentiâ.*] That is, abstaining from the property of others; moderation; disinterestedness.

‡ *Priusquam pœnâ liberarctur.*] Before he was freed from the punishment (of exile).

also commander of the Athenians at Platææ, in the battle in which Mardonius was routed, and the army of the barbarians was cut off. Nor is there any other celebrated act of his in military affairs recorded, besides the account of this command; but of his justice, equity, and self-control, there are many instances. Above all, it was through his integrity, when he was joined in command of the common fleet of Greece with Pausanias, under whose leadership Mardonius had been put to flight, that the supreme authority at sea was transferred from the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians; for before that time the Lacedæmonians had the command both by sea and land. But at this period it happened, through the indiscreet conduct of Pausanias, and the equity of Aristides, that all the states of Greece attached themselves as allies to the Athenians, and chose them as their leaders against the barbarians.

III. *In order that they might repel the barbarians more easily, if perchance they should try to renew the war, Aristides was chosen to settle what sum of money each state should contribute for building fleets and equipping troops. By his appointment four hundred and sixty talents were deposited annually at Delos, which they fixed upon to be the common treasury; but all this money was afterwards removed to Athens.

How great was his integrity, there is no more certain proof, than that, though he had been at the head of such important affairs, he died in such poverty that he scarcely left money to defray the charges of his funeral. Hence it was that his daughters were brought up at the expense of the country, and were married with dowries given them from the public treasury. He died about four years after Themistocles was banished from Athens.

* At the commencement of this chapter I have departed from Bos's text, and followed that of Freund and others, who make it begin with *Quos quo facilius repellerent*, &c.

IV. PAUSANIAS

Pausanias at Platææ, I.—He takes Byzantium, and makes advances to Xerxes, II.—His conduct abroad; his imprisonment, III.—He betrays his guilt, IV.—His death at the temple of Minerva, V.

I. PAUSANIAS the Lacedæmonian was a great man, but of varied character in all the relations of life; for as he was ennobled by virtues, he was also obscured by vices. His most famous battle was that at Platææ, for, under his command Mardonius, a royal satrap, by birth a Mede, and son-in-law to the king (a man, among the chief of all the Persians, brave in action and full of sagacity), at the head of two hundred thousand infantry, whom he had chosen man by man, and twenty thousand cavalry, was routed by no very large army of Greeks; and the general himself was slain in the struggle.

Elated by this victory, he began to indulge in irregular proceedings,* and to covet greater power. But he first incurred blame on this account, that he offered at Delphi, out of the spoil, a golden tripod with an inscription written upon it, in which was this statement, that "the barbarians had been cut off at Platææ by his management, and that, on account of that victory, he had presented this offering to Apollo." These lines the Lacedæmonians erased, and wrote nothing but the names of the states by whose aid the Persians had been conquered.

II. After this battle they sent Pausanias with the confederate fleet to Cyprus and the Hellespont, to expel the garrisons of the barbarians from those parts. Experiencing equal good fortune in this enterprise, he began to conduct himself still more haughtily, and to aim at still higher matters; for having, at the taking of Byzantium, captured several Persian noblemen, and among them some relations of the king, he sent them secretly back to Xerxes, and pretended that they had escaped out of prison. He sent with them, also, Gongylus of Eretria, to carry a letter to the king, in which Thucydides † has recorded that the following words were written: "Pausanias, the general of Sparta, having discovered that those whom

* *Plurima miscere.*] To mingle, or throw into confusion, very many things.

† Book i. c. 128.

he took at Byzantium are your relations, has sent them back as a gift, and desires to be joined in affinity with you. If therefore it seem good to you, give him your daughter in marriage. Should you do so, he engages, with your aid, to bring both Sparta and the rest of Greece under your sway. If you wish anything to be done with regard to these proposals, be careful to send a trustworthy person to him, with whom he may confer."

The king, extremely delighted at the restoration of so many persons so nearly related to him, immediately despatched Artabazus with a letter to Pausanias, in which he commended him, and begged that he would spare no pains to accomplish what he promised; if he effected it, he should never meet with a refusal of anything from him. Pausanias, learning what the king's pleasure was, and growing more eager for the accomplishment of his designs, fell under the suspicion of the Lacedæmonians. In the midst of his proceedings, accordingly, he was recalled home, and being brought to trial on a capital charge, was acquitted on it, but sentenced to pay a fine; for which reason he was not sent back to the fleet.

III. Not long after, however, he returned to the army of his own accord, and there, not in a sensible, but in an insane manner, let his views become known; for he laid aside, not only the manners of his country, but its fashions and dress. He adopted regal splendour and Median attire; Median and Egyptian guards attended him; he had his table served, after the Persian manner, more luxuriously than those who were with him could endure; he refused permission to approach him to those who sought it; he gave haughty replies and severe commands. To Sparta he would not return, but withdrew to Colonæ, a place in the country of Troas, where he formed designs pernicious both to his country and himself. When the Lacedæmonians knew of his proceedings, they sent deputies to him with a *scytala*,* on which it was written, after their fashion,† that "if he did not return home, they would

* *Cum scytalâ.*] The *scytala* was a staff, round which a slip of parchment being rolled obliquely, the orders of the Ephori were written on it longitudinally, so that, when unrolled, they could not be read until the parchment was again rolled round a staff of the same thickness, which the general had with him.

† *More illorum.*] That is, with extreme brevity.

condemn him to death." Being alarmed at this communication, but hoping that he should be able, by his money and his influence, to ward off the danger that threatened him, he returned home. As soon as he arrived there, he was thrown into the public prison by the Ephori, for it is allowable, by their laws, for any one of the Ephori to do this to a king.* He however got himself freed from confinement, but was not cleared from suspicion, for the belief still prevailed, that he had made a compact with the king of Persia.

There is a certain class of men called Helots, of whom a great number till the lands of the Lacedæmonians, and perform the duties of slaves. These men he was thought to have solicited, by holding out to them hopes of liberty, to join him. But as there was no visible ground for a charge against him on these points, on which he might be convicted, they did not think that they ought to pronounce, concerning so eminent and famous a man, on suspicion only, but that they must wait till the affair should disclose itself.

IV. In the meantime a certain Argilian,† a young man whom, in his boyhood, Pausanias had loved with an ardent affection,‡ having received a letter from him for Artabazus, and conceiving a suspicion that there was something written in it about himself, because no one of those who had been sent to the same place on such an errand, had returned, loosed the string of the letter,§ and taking off the seal, discovered that if he delivered it he would lose his life. In the letter were also some particulars respecting matters that had been arranged between the king and Pausanias. This letter he delivered to the Ephori. The cautious prudence of the Lacedæmonians, on this occasion, is not to be passed without notice; for they were not induced, even by this man's information, to seize Pausanias, nor did they think that violent measures should be adopted, until he gave proof of his own guilt.

* *Regi.*] Pausanias was not actually a king, but guardian to the young prince Pleistarchus, the son of Leonidas. Thucyd. i. 132

† *Argilius.*] A native of Argilus, a town of Thrace on the Strymonic Gulf.

‡ *Amore venereo.*] See the note on *amatores* in the preface.

§ *Vincula epistolæ laxavit.*] Letters were tied round with a string, which was sealed, probably, over the knot. The Argilian, according to Nepos, contrived to take off the string without breaking the seal, so that he might readily replace it.

They accordingly directed the informer what they wished to have done. At Tænarus there is a temple of Neptune, which the Greeks account it a heinous crime to profane. To this temple the informer fled, and sat down on the steps of the altar. Close to the building, they made a recess underground, from which, if any one held communication with the Argilian, he might be overheard; and into this place some of the Ephori went down. Pausanias, when he heard that the Argilian had fled to the altar, came thither in great trepidation, and seeing him sitting as a suppliant at the altar of the divinity, he inquired of him what was the cause of so sudden a proceeding. The Argilian then informed him what he had learned from the letter, and Pausanias, being so much the more agitated, began to entreat him "not to make any discovery, or to betray him who deserved great good at his hands;" adding that, "if he would but grant him this favour, and assist him when involved in such perplexities, it should be of great advantage to him

V. The Ephori, hearing these particulars, thought it better that he should be apprehended in the city. After they had set out thither, and Pausanias, having, as he thought, pacified the Argilian, was also returning to Lacedæmon, he understood (just as he was on the point of being made prisoner) by a look from one of the Ephori who wished to warn him, that some secret mischief was intended against him. He accordingly fled for refuge, a few steps before those who pursued him, into the temple of Minerva, which is called Chalciœcos.* That he might not escape from thence, the Ephori immediately blocked up the folding-doors of the temple, and pulled off the roof, that he might more readily die in the open air. It is said that the mother of Pausanias was then living, and that, though very aged, she was among the first to bring a stone, when she heard of her son's guilt, to the door of the temple, in order to shut him in. Thus Pausanias tarnished his great glory in war by a dishonourable death.

As soon as he was carried, half-dead, out of the temple, he gave up the ghost. When some said that his body ought to

* *Quæ Chalciœcos vocatur.*] Whether the *quæ* refers to *ædem* or *Minervæ*, the critics are not agreed. Thucydides, i. 134, τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Χαλκιοίκου, makes it apparent that it should be referred to *Minerva*. But Bos and Bremi concur in referring it to *ædes*.

be carried to the place where those given up to capital punishment were buried, the proposal was displeasing to the majority, and they interred him at some distance from the spot in which he died. He was afterwards removed from thence, in consequence of an admonition from the Delphic god, and buried in the same place where he had ended his life.

V. CIMON.

Cimon is compelled to go to prison on the death of his father; is liberated by his wife, I.—His character and actions; he defeats the Persians by land and sea on the same day, II.—Is ostracised and recalled, and makes peace with the Lacedæmonians; his death, III.—His praises, IV.

I. CIMON, the son of Miltiades, an Athenian, experienced a very unhappy entrance on manhood; for as his father had been unable to pay to the people the fine imposed upon him, and had consequently died in the public gaol, Cimon was kept in prison, nor could he, by the Athenian laws,* be set at liberty, unless he paid the sum of money that his father had been fined. He had married, however, his sister by the father's side,† named Elpinice, induced not more by love than by custom; for the Athenians are allowed to marry their sisters by the same father; and a certain Callias, a man whose birth was not equal to his wealth, and who had made a great fortune from the mines, being desirous of having her for a wife, tried to prevail on Cimon to resign her to him, saying that if he obtained his desire, he would pay the fine for him. Though Cimon received such a proposal with scorn, Elpinice said that she would not allow a son of Miltiades to die in the public prison, when she could prevent it; and that she would marry Callias if he would perform what he promised.

II. Cimon, being thus set free from confinement, soon attained great eminence; for he had considerable eloquence,

* *Neque legibus Atheniensibus emitti poterat.*] Yet by Justin, ii. 15, Val. Maximus, v. 3 ext. 3, and v. 4 ext. 2, Seneca, Controvers. 24, and others, it has been said that Cimon's submission to go to prison was voluntary. Bos collects ample testimony to the contrary.

† See note on the preface.

the utmost generosity, and great skill, not only in civil law, but in military affairs, as he had been employed from his boyhood with his father in the army. He in consequence held the people of the city under his control, and had great influence over the troops. In his first term of service, on the river Strymon, he put to flight great forces of the Thracians, founded the city of Amphipolis, and sent thither ten thousand Athenian citizens as a colony. He also, in a second expedition, conquered and took at Mycale a fleet of two hundred ships belonging to the Cyprians and Phœnicians, and experienced like good fortune by land on the same day; for after capturing the enemy's vessels, he immediately led out his troops from the fleet, and overthrew at the first onset a vast force of the barbarians. By this victory he obtained a great quantity of spoil; and, as some of the islands, through the rigour of the Athenian government, had revolted from them, he secured the attachment, in the course of his return home, of such as were well disposed, and obliged the disaffected to return to their allegiance. Scyros, which the Dolopes at that time inhabited, he depopulated, because it had behaved itself insolently, ejecting the old settlers from the city and island, and dividing the lands among his own countrymen. The Thasians, who relied upon their wealth, he reduced as soon as he attacked them. With these spoils the citadel of Athens was adorned on the side which looks to the south.

III. When, by these acts, he had attained greater honour in the state than any other man, he fell under the same public odium as his father, and others eminent among the Athenians; for by the votes of the shells, which they call *the ostracism*, he was condemned to ten years' exile. Of this proceeding the Athenians repented sooner than himself; for after he had submitted, with great fortitude, to the ill-feeling of his ungrateful countrymen, and the Lacedæmonians had declared war against the Athenians, a desire for his well-known bravery immediately ensued. In consequence, he was summoned back to his country five years after he had been banished from it. But as he enjoyed the guest-friendship* of the Lacedæmonians, he thought it better to hasten to Sparta, and accordingly pro-

* *Hospitio.*] See note on Themistocles, c. 8. *Hospitium* might exist between two states, or between a state and a private individual, as well as between two individuals.

ceeded thither of his own accord, and settled a peace between those two most powerful states.

Being sent as commander, not long after, to Cyprus, with a fleet of two hundred ships, he fell sick, after he had conquered the greater part of the island, and died in the town of Citium.

IV. The Athenians long felt regret for him, not only in war, but in time of peace; for he was a man of such liberality, that though he had farms and gardens in several parts, he never set a guard over them for the sake of preserving the fruit, so that none might be hindered from enjoying his property as he pleased. Attendants always followed him with money, that, if any one asked his assistance, he might have something to give him immediately, lest, by putting him off, he should appear to refuse. Frequently, when he saw a man thrown in his way by chance* in a shabby dress, he gave him his own cloak. A dinner was dressed for him daily in such abundance, that he could invite all whom he saw in the forum uninvited; a ceremony which he did not fail to observe every day. His protection, his assistance, his pecuniary means, were withheld from none. He enriched many; and he buried at his own cost many poor persons, who at their death had not left sufficient for their interment. In consequence of such conduct, it is not at all surprising that his life was free from trouble, and his death severely felt.

VI. LYSANDER.

Lysander conquers the Athenians, and establishes a decemvirate in the several states of Greece, I.—His cruelty to the Thracians, II.—He endeavours to dethrone the kings of Sparta, and corrupt the various oracles; is brought to trial and acquitted; is killed by the Thebans, III.—Was his own accuser, IV.

I. LYSANDER, the Lacedæmonian, left a high character of himself, which was gained, however, more by good fortune

* *Offensum fortunâ*] That is, *casu obvium, fortuitò oblatum,* "thrown in his way by chance," as Heusinger explains it in his note on the passage.—*Fischer.* This explanation is also approved by Bœclerus and Freinshemius. Lambinus erroneously interpreted it *cui fortuna esset iniqua*, and several others have trodden in his steps.

than by merit. That he subdued the Athenians, when they were at war with the Lacedæmonians, in the twenty-sixth year of the contest, is certain; but how he obtained that conquest is but little known; for it was not effected by the valour of his own troops, but by the want of discipline among the enemy, who, from not being obedient to the commands of their leaders, but straggling about in the fields, and abandoning their vessels, fell into the power of their adversaries; in consequence of which disaster the Athenians submitted to the Lacedæmonians.

Lysander, elated with this victory, and having always before been a factious and bold man, allowed himself such liberty, that the Lacedæmonians, through his conduct, incurred the greatest unpopularity throughout Greece; for they having said that their object in going to war was to humble the overbearing tyranny of the Athenians, Lysander, after he had captured the enemy's fleet at Ægospotamos, endeavoured after nothing so much as to keep all the states of Greece under his authority, while he pretended that he acted thus for the sake of the Lacedæmonians. Having every where ejected those who favoured the party of the Athenians, he made choice of ten men in each city, on whom he conferred supreme authority, and the control of all proceedings. Into the number of these no one was admitted who was not attached to him by friendship, or who had not assured him, by pledging his faith, that he would be entirely at his disposal.

II. The decemviral government being thus established in every city, everything was done according to his pleasure. Of his cruelty and perfidy it is sufficient to give one instance, by way of example, that we may not weary our readers by enumerating many acts of the same individual. As he was returning in triumph from Asia, and had turned aside towards Thasos, he endeavoured, as the people had been eminent for fidelity to the Athenians, to corrupt them,* as if those were wont to be the firmest friends who had been steady enemies. But he saw that unless he concealed his intention in the affair,

* *Pervertere.*] "Corrupt" is evidently the sense of *pervertere* in this passage, not "destroy," as some would make it. Lysander first endeavoured to corrupt the fidelity of the Thasians to the Athenians, and afterwards, when he found his endeavours unsuccessful, proceeded to use treachery and cruelty towards them.

the Thasians would elude him, and take measures for their own interests. Accordingly * . . . .

III. The decemviral government, which had been appointed by him, his countrymen abolished. Incensed at this affront, he entered upon measures to remove the kings of the Lacedæmonians; but he found that he could not effect his object without support from the gods, because the Lacedæmonians were accustomed to refer everything to the oracles. In the first place, therefore, he endeavoured to corrupt Delphi, and, when he could not succeed in doing so, he made an attempt upon Dodona. Being disappointed there also, he gave out that he had made vows which he must pay to Jupiter Ammon, thinking that he would bribe the Africans with greater ease. When he had gone, accordingly, with this expectation into Africa, the priests of Jupiter greatly disappointed him, for they not only would not be bribed, but even sent deputies to Lacedæmon to accuse Lysander of "having endeavoured to corrupt the ministers of the temple." After being brought to trial on this charge, and being acquitted by the votes of his judges, he was sent with some auxiliary troops to the Orchomenians, and killed by the Thebans at Haliartus. How just was the decision regarding him,† the speech was a proof, which was found in his house after his death, and in which he recommended to the Lacedæmonians, that, after they had abolished the regal government, a leader should be chosen from among the whole people to conduct the war; but it was written in such a manner, that it might seem to be in accord-

* The account of Lysander's treachery to the Thasians is wanting in the manuscripts, but may be supplied from Polyænus, i. 45. Those of the Thasians who had the greatest reason to fear Lysander, had fled to a temple of Hercules, which was held in the greatest veneration. At this temple Lysander called them all together to hear him address them, when he made them a speech full of the fairest promises of mercy and clemency. He said that he would think nothing of what was past; that no one had cause for fear or concealment; that they might all appear before him with full confidence in his good feelings towards them; and that he called Hercules, in whose temple they were, to witness that he spoke only what he meant. Having thus drawn them forth from their sanctuary, he, a few days after, when they were free from apprehension, fell upon them and put them to death. "He was guilty of a similar instance of perfidy at Miletus," says Bos, "as is also related by Polyænus, and by Plutarch."

† *Quàm verè de eo foret judicatum.*] That is, how little he deserved acquittal

ance with the advice of the gods, which he, relying on his money, did not doubt that he should procure. This speech Cleon of Halicarnassus is said to have written for him

IV. In this place a transaction of Pharnabazus, the king's satrap, must not be omitted. When Lysander, as commander of the fleet, had done many cruel and avaricious acts in the course of the war, and suspected that reports of these proceedings had been made to his countrymen, he asked Pharnabazus to give him a testimonial to present to the Ephori, showing with what conscientiousnes he had carried on the war and treated the allies, begging him to write fully concerning the matter, as his authority on that head would be great. Pharnabazus promised him fairly, and wrote a long and full letter,* in which he extolled him with the greatest praises. But when Lysander had read and approved of it, Pharnabazus substituted, while it was being sealed, another of the same size in its place, so like it that it could not be distinguished from it, in which he had most circumstantially accused him of avarice and perfidy. Lysander, accordingly, when he had returned home, and had said what he wished before the chief magistrates, handed them, as a testimonial, the letter which he had received from Pharnabazus. The Ephori, after having perused it when Lysander was withdrawn, gave it to him to read. Thus he became unawares his own accuser.

VII. ALCIBIADES.

Alcibiades eminent both in his virtues and vices. I.—His education, II.—He commands in the expedition against Syracuse; is suspected of profaning the mysteries, and of conspiring against the government, III.—Is recalled home, but flees, and attaches himself to the Lacedæmonians, IV.—Falling under suspicion among them, he flees to the Persians, and is afterwards reconciled to his countrymen, V.—His enthusiastic reception at Athens, VI.—He again becomes unpopular there; his successes in Thrace, VII.—He tries to promote the good of his country, VIII.—He crosses over into Asia, IX.—Is killed in Phrygia, X.—His character, XI.

I. ALCIBIADES, the son of Clinias, was a native of Athens. In him nature seems to have tried what she could do; for it is agreed among all who have written concerning him, that no

* *Librum gravem multis verbis.*] "A heavy letter in many words."

one was ever more remarkable than he, either for vices or virtues. Born in a most distinguished city, of a very high family, and by far the most handsome of all the men of his age, he was qualified for any occupation, and abounded in practical intelligence. He was eminent as a commander by sea and land; he was eloquent, so as to produce the greatest effect by his speeches; for such indeed was the persuasiveness of his looks and language, that in oratory no one was a match for him. He was rich,* and, when occasion required, laborious, patient, liberal, and splendid, no less in his public than in his private life;† he was also affable and courteous, conforming dexterously to circumstances; but, when he had unbent himself, and no reason offered why he should endure the labour of thought, was seen to be luxurious, dissolute, voluptuous, and self-indulgent, so that all wondered there should be such dissimilitude, and so contradictory a nature, in the same man.

II. He was brought up in the house of Pericles (for he is said to have been his step-son),‡ and was taught by Socrates. For his father-in-law he had Hipponicus, the richest man of all that spoke the Greek language; so that, even if he had contrived for himself, he could neither have thought of more advantages, nor have secured greater, than those which fortune or nature had bestowed upon him. At his entrance on manhood he was beloved by many, after the manner of the Greeks, and among them by Socrates, whom Plato mentions in his Symposium; for he introduces Alcibiades, saying that "he had passed the night with Socrates, and had not risen up from him otherwise than a son should rise from a father." When he was of maturer age, he had himself no fewer objects

* *Dives; quum tempus posceret*, &c.] This is Bos's reading. Many editions have *Idem quum tempus*, &c.

† *Non minus in vitâ quàm victu.*] Bos and Bœcler distinguish *vita* and *victus* in this manner; *vita*, they say, means a man's mode of living in public and among other men; *victus* his way of life at home, and diet at his own table. Cicero de Legg. iii. 14: *Nobilium vitâ victuque mutato.*

‡ *Privignus.*] If we believe Diodorus Siculus, lib. xii., and Suidas, Alcibiades was the son of Pericles's sister. Hence Pericles is called his uncle by Val. Max. iii. 1, and Aul. Gell. xv. 17. Pericles appears, however, to have been the step-father of Alcibiades's wife, as Magius observes; for Alcibiades married Hipparete, the daughter of Hipponicus, whose wife Pericles afterwards espoused.—*Bos.*

of affection, his intercourse with whom, as far as was possible, he did many acts of an objectionable character, in a delicate and agreeable manner; which acts we would relate, had we not other things to tell of a higher and better nature.

III. In the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians, by his advice and persuasion, declared war against the Syracusans, to conduct which he himself was chosen general. Two colleagues were besides assigned him, Nicias and Lamachus. While the expedition was in preparation, and before the fleet sailed, it happened one night that all the statues of Mercury* that were in the city of Athens were thrown down, except one, which was before the gate of Andocides, and which, in consequence, was afterwards generally called the Mercury of Andocides.† As it appeared that this could not have been done without a strong confederacy of many persons, since it had respect not to a private but to a public matter,‡ great dread was excited among the multitude, lest some sudden tumult should arise in the city to destroy the people's liberty. The suspicion of this seemed chiefly to attach to Alcibiades, because he was considered both more influential, and of higher standing, than any private person; for he had secured many adherents by his generosity, and had made still more his friends by assisting them in legal proceedings. Hence it happened, that as often as he appeared in public, he drew the eyes of all people upon him; nor was any man in the whole city thought equal to him. They accordingly had not only the greatest hope of him, but also the greatest fear, because he was able to do much harm as well as much good. He was sullied also by ill report, for it was said that he celebrated the mysteries§ in his

* *Omnes Hermæ.*] Mercury was reckoned the god of thieves, and therefore they used to erect his statues before their doors by way of prevention against the attempts of robbers and house-breakers.—*Clarke.*

† *Itaque ille postea Mercurius Andocidis vocitatus est.*] This is the reading of Bos and Van Staveren. Many other editions have, instead of these words, *Andocidisque Hermes vocatus est.*

‡ *Quod non ad privatam, sed ad publicam rem pertineret.*] A manuscript of Bœcler's has *quæ*, but, as I suppose, from a fancy of the transcriber, who thought that the word must be a pronoun, referring to *consensione*, whereas it is a conjunction, showing the reason why "great dread was excited" by this occurrence "among the multitude," namely, because a union of many in the affair indicated a conspiracy, and must have respect to something of a public nature.—*Bos.*

§ *Mysteria.*] The mysteries of Ceres; the Eleusinian mysteries.

own house, a practice which, according to public opinion among the Athenians, was regarded as impious; and this matter was thought to have reference, not to religion, but to a conspiracy.*

IV. Of this crime he was accused by his enemies in a public assembly of the people. But the time for him to set out to the war was drawing near; and he considering this, and being aware of the habit† of his countrymen, requested that, if they wished anything to be done concerning him, an examination should rather be held upon him while he was present, than that he should be accused in his absence of a crime against which there was a strong public feeling.‡ But his enemies resolved to continue quiet for the present, because they were aware that no hurt could then be done him, and to wait for the time when he should have gone abroad, that they might thus attack him while he was absent. They accordingly did so; for after they supposed that he had reached Sicily, they impeached him, during his absence, of having profaned the sacred rites. In consequence of this affair, a messenger, to desire him to return home to plead his cause, being despatched into Sicily to him by the government, at a time when he had great hopes of managing his province successfully, he yet did not refuse to obey, but went on board a trireme which had been sent to convey him. Arriving in this vessel at Thurii in Italy, and reflecting much with himself on the ungovernable license§ of his countrymen, and their violent feelings towards the aristocracy, and deeming it most advantageous to avoid the impending storm, he secretly withdrew from his guards, and went from thence first to Elis, and afterwards to Thebes. But when he heard that he was condemned to death, his property having been confiscated, and as had been usual, that the priests called Eumolpidæ had been obliged by the people to curse him, and that a copy of the curse, engraven on a stone pillar, had been set up in a public place, in order that the memory of it might be better attested,

* They thought that there was some conspiracy under the cloak of it.

† *Consuetudinem.*] Knowing the fickle character of the Athenians.

‡ *Crimine invidiæ.*] This is evidently the sense. *Crimine invidiæ* for *crimine invidioso.*

§ *Licentiâ.*] The license of the populace, which could scarcely be controlled.

he removed to Lacedæmon. There, as he was accustomed to declare, he carried on a war, not against his country, but against his enemies, because the same persons were enemies to their own city; for though they knew that he could be of the greatest service to the republic, they had expelled him from it, and consulted their own animosity more than the common advantage. By his advice, in consequence, the Lacedæmonians made an alliance with the king of Persia, and afterwards fortified Deceleia in Attica, and having placed a constant garrison there, kept Athens in a state of blockade. By his means, also, they detached Ionia from its alliance with the Athenians, and after this was done, they began to have greatly the advantage in the contest.

V. Yet by these proceedings they were not so much rendered friends to Alcibiades, as alienated from him by fear; for when they saw the singular intelligence of this most active-minded man in every way, they were afraid that, being moved by love for his country, he might at some time revolt from them, and return into favour with his countrymen. They therefore determined to seek an opportunity for killing him. But this determination could not long be concealed from Alcibiades; for he was a man of such sagacity that he could not be deceived, especially when he turned his attention to putting himself on his guard. He in consequence betook himself to Tissaphernes, a satrap of King Darius; and having gained a way to an intimate friendship with him, and seeing that the power of the Athenians, from the ill success of their attempts in Sicily, was on the decline, while that of the Lacedæmonians, on the other hand, was increasing, he first of all conferred, through messengers, with Pisander the Athenian commander, who had a force at Samos, and made some mention concerning his return; for Pisander, with the same feelings as Alcibiades, was no friend to the power of the people, but a favourer of the aristocracy. Though deserted by him,* he was received at first, through the agency of Thrasybulus the son of Lycus, by the army, and made commander at Samos; and afterwards, from Theramenes making interest for him, he was recalled by a decree of the people, and, while still absent, was appointed to equal command with

* *Ab hoc destitutus*] On the contrary, he was, according to Thucydides, viii. 49, 53, supported by Pisander.—*Bos.*

Thrasybulus and Theramenes. Under the influence of these leaders, so great a change in affairs took place, that the Lacedæmonians, who had just before flourished as conquerors, were struck with fear and sued for peace; for they had been defeated in five battles by land, and three by sea, in which they had lost two hundred triremes, that had been captured and had fallen into the possession of their enemies. Alcibiades, with his colleagues, had recovered Ionia, the Hellespont, and many Greek cities besides, situated on the coast of Asia, of which they had taken several by storm, and among them Byzantium. Nor had they attached fewer to their interest by policy, as they had exercised clemency towards those who were taken prisoners; and then, laden with spoil, and having enriched the troops and achieved very great exploits, they returned to Athens.

VI. The whole city having gone down to the Piræeus to meet them, there was such a longing among them all to see Alcibiades, that the multitude flocked to his galley as if he had come alone; for the people were fully persuaded of this, that both their former ill success, and their present good fortune, had happened through his means. They therefore attributed the loss of Sicily, and the victories of the Lacedæmonians, to their own fault, in having banished such a man from the country. Nor did they seem to entertain this opinion without reason; for after Alcibiades had begun to command the army, the enemies could withstand them neither by land nor by sea. As soon as he came out of his ship, though Theramenes and Thrasybulus had commanded in the same enterprises, and came into the Piræeus at the same time with him, yet the people all followed him alone, and (what had never happened before, except in the case of conquerors at Olympia) he was publicly presented with golden and brazen crowns. Such kindness from his countrymen he received with tears, remembering their severity in past times. When he arrived at the city, and an assembly of the people had been called, he addressed them in such a manner, that no one was so unfeeling as not to lament his ill-treatment, and declare himself an enemy to those by whose agency he had been driven from his country, just as if some other people, and not the same people that was then weeping, had sentenced him to

suffer for sacrilege. His property was in consequence made good to him at the public cost, and the same priests, the Eumolpidæ, who had cursed him, were obliged to recal their curses; and the pillars, on which the curse had been written, were thrown into the sea.

VII. This happiness of Alcibiades proved by no means lasting; for after all manner of honours had been decreed him, and the whole management of the state, both at home and in the field, had been committed to him, to be regulated at his sole pleasure, and he had requested that two colleagues, Thrasybulus and Adimantus, should be assigned him (a request which was not refused), proceeding with the fleet to Asia, he fell again under the displeasure of his countrymen, because he did not manage affairs at Cyme * to their wish; for they thought that he could do every thing. Hence it happened that they imputed whatever was done unsuccessfully to his misconduct, saying that he acted either carelessly or treacherously, as it fell out on this occasion, for they alleged that he would not take Cyme, because he had been bribed by the king. We consider, therefore, that their extravagant opinion of his abilities and valour was his chief misfortune; since he was dreaded no less than he was loved, lest, elated by good fortune and great power, he should conceive a desire to become a tyrant. From these feelings it resulted, that they took his commission from him in his absence, and put another commander in his place. When he heard of this proceeding, he would not return home, but betook himself to Pactye,† and there established three fortresses, Borni, Bisanthe, and Neontichos, and having collected a body of troops, was the first man of any Grecian state‡ that penetrated into Thrace, thinking it more glorious to enrich himself with spoils from barbarians than from Greeks. In consequence his fame in-

* A considerable town of Æolia. But it was at Notium, near Ephesus, not at Cyme, that the affair that caused the unpopularity of Alcibiades took place, through the folly of his lieutenant-general Antiochus, who, during his absence, brought on an engagement with Lysander, contrary to the express orders of Alcibiades.

† A city on the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonese. Most editions, previous to that of Bos, had Perinthus, from a conjecture of Longolius.

‡ *Primus Græciæ civitatis*] He was the first man of Greece that penetrated into that part of Thrace which was free, and where no colonies of Greeks had been established.—*Fischer.*

creased with his power, and he secured to himself a strong alliance with some of the kings of Thrace.

VIII. Yet he could not give up his affection for his country; for when Philocles, the commander of the Athenians, had stationed his fleet at Ægospotamos, and Lysander, the captain of the Lacedæmonians (who was intent upon protracting the war as long as possible, because money was supplied to the Lacedæmonians by the king, while to the exhausted Athenians, on the other hand, nothing was left but their arms and their ships) was not far distant, Alcibiades came to the army of the Athenians, and there, in the presence of the common soldiers, began to assert,* that "if they pleased, he would force Lysander either to fight or beg peace; that the Lacedæmonians were unwilling to engage by sea, because they were stronger in land-forces than in ships; but that it would be easy for him to bring down Seuthes, king of the Thracians, to drive them from the land, and that, when this was done, they would of necessity either come to an engagement with their fleet, or put an end to the war." Philocles, though he saw that this statement was true, would not yet do what was desired, for he knew that he himself, if Alcibiades were restored to the command, would be of no account with the army; and that, if any success resulted, his share in the matter would amount to nothing, while, on the other hand, if any ill-fortune occurred, he alone would be called to account for the miscarriage. Alcibiades, on taking leave of him, said, "As you hinder your country's success, I advise you to keep your sailors' camp near the enemy; for there is danger that, through the insubordination of our men, an opportunity may be afforded to Lysander of cutting off our army." Nor did his apprehension deceive him; for Lysander, having learned from his scouts that the body of the Athenian force was gone on shore to seek for plunder, and that the ships were left almost empty, did not neglect the opportunity of making an attack, and by that single effort put an end to the whole war.

IX. Alcibiades, after the Athenians were defeated, not thinking those parts sufficiently safe for him, concealed himself in the inland parts of Thrace above the Propontis, trusting that his wealth would most easily escape notice there. But he was disappointed; for the Thracians, when

* *Agere.*] In its rhetorical sense, to state, plead, declare.

they learned that he had come with a great sum of money, formed a plot against him, and robbed him of what he had brought, but were unable to secure his person. Perceiving that no place was safe for him in Greece, on account of the power of the Lacedæmonians, he went over into Asia to Pharnabazus, whom he so charmed, indeed, by his courtesy, that no man had a higher place in his favour; for he gave him Grunium, a strong-hold in Phrygia, from which he annually received fifty talents' revenue.

But with this good fortune Alcibiades was not content, nor could endure that Athens, conquered as she was, should continue subject to the Lacedæmonians. He was accordingly bent, with his whole force of thought, on delivering his country, but saw that that object could not be effected without the aid of the king of Persia, and therefore desired that he should be attached to him as a friend; nor did he doubt that he should easily accomplish his wish, if he had but an opportunity for an interview with him; for he knew that his brother Cyrus was secretly preparing war against him, with the aid of the Lacedæmonians, and foresaw that, if he gave him information of this design, he would find great favour at his hands.

X. While he was trying to effect this object, and entreating Pharnabazus that he might be sent to the king, Critias, and the other tyrants of the Athenians, despatched at the same time persons in their confidence into Asia to Lysander, to acquaint him, that, "unless he cut off Alcibiades, none of those arrangements which he had made at Athens would stand; and therefore, if he wished his acts to remain unaltered, he must pursue him to death." The Lacedæmonian, roused by this message, concluded that he must act in a more decided manner with Pharnabazus. He therefore announced to him, that "the relations which the king had formed with the Lacedæmonians would be of no effect, unless he delivered up Alcibiades alive or dead." The satrap could not withstand this menace, and chose rather to violate the claims of humanity than that the king's interest should suffer. He accordingly sent Sysamithres and Bagæus to kill Alcibiades, while he was still in Phrygia, and preparing for his journey to the king. The persons sent gave secret orders to the neighbourhood, in which Alcibiades then was, to put him to death. They, not daring to attack him with the sword, collected wood during

the night round the cottage in which he was sleeping, and set light to it, that they might despatch by fire him whom they despaired of conquering hand to hand.* Alcibiades, having been awakened by the crackling of the flames, snatched up (as his word had been secretly taken away from him) the side-weapon of a friend of his; for there was with him a certain associate from Arcadia, who would never leave him. This man he desired to follow him, and caught up whatever garments he had at hand, and throwing them out upon the fire, passed through the violence of the flames. When the barbarians saw that he had escaped the conflagration, they killed him by discharging darts at him from a distance,† and carried his head to Pharnabazus.

A woman, who had been accustomed to live with him, burned his dead body, covered with her own female garments, in the fire of the house which had been prepared to burn him alive. Thus Alcibiades, at the age of about forty, came to his end.

XI. This man, defamed by most writers, three historians of very high authority have extolled with the greatest praises; Thucydides, who was of the same age with him; Theopompus, who was born some time after; and Timæus; the two latter, though much addicted to censure, have, I know not how, concurred in praising him only; for they have related of him what we have stated above, and this besides, that though he was born in Athens, the most splendid of cities, he surpassed all the Athenians in grandeur and magnificence of living; that when, on being banished from thence, he went to Thebes, he so devoted himself to the pursuits of the Thebans, that no man could match him in laborious exercises and vigour of body, for all the Bœotians cultivate corporeal strength more than mental power; that when he was among the Lacedæmonians, in whose estimation the highest virtue is placed in endurance, he so resigned himself to a hardy way of life, that he surpassed all the Lacedæmonians in the frugality of his diet and living; that when he was among the Thracians, who are hard drinkers and given to lewdness, he surpassed them also in

* *Quem manu superari posse diffidebant.*] "Whom they despaired would be able (i.e. whom they expected or thought would be unable) to be overcome by the hand."

† *Eminus.*] Bos would omit this word, as wanting authority.

these practices; that when he came among the Persians, with whom it was the chief praise to hunt hard and live high, he so imitated their mode of life, that they themselves greatly admired him in these respects; and that by such conduct, he occasioned that, with whatever people he was, he was regarded as a leading man, and held in the utmost esteem. But we have said enough of him; let us proceed to speak of others.

VIII. THRASYBULUS.

Character of Thrasybulus; he proceeds to deliver his country from the Thirty Tyrants, I.—His success and conduct in the enterprise, II.—His act of oblivion, III.—He is honoured with an olive crown; is killed on the coast of Sicily, IV.

I. THRASYBULUS, the son of Lycus, was a native of Athens. If merit is to be valued by itself, without regard to fortune, I doubt whether I ought not to place him first of all the Greek commanders. This I can say without hesitation, that I set no man above him in integrity, firmness, greatness of mind, and love for his country; for while many have wished, and few have been able, to deliver their country from one tyrant, it was his lot to restore his country, oppressed by thirty tyrants, from slavery to freedom. But though no man excelled him in these virtues, many, I know not how, surpassed him in fame.

First of all, in the Peloponnesian war, he accomplished many undertakings without Alcibiades, while Alcibiades did nothing without him; of all which successes Alcibiades, from certain natural advantages, got the credit. All such actions, however, are common to commanders with their soldiers and with fortune; for, in the shock of battle, the issue is transferred from generalship to the strength and fury of the combatants. The soldier, therefore, of his own right, takes something from the general, and fortune a great deal, and may truly say that she has had more influence on the event than the skill of the commander. This most noble action, then, is entirely Thrasybulus's; for when the Thirty Tyrants, appointed by the Lacedæmonians, kept Athens oppressed in a state of slavery, and had partly banished from their country, and partly put to death, a great number of the citizens whom

fortune had spared in the war, and had divided their confiscated property among themselves, he was not only the first, but the only man at the commencement, to declare war against them.

II. When he fled to Phyle, which is a very strong fortress in Attica, he had not more than thirty of his countrymen with him; such was the origin of the deliverance of the Athenians, such the dependence of the liberty of that most famous city. He was at first, indeed, despised by the tyrants, as well as the small number of his followers; which circumstance proved both the ruin of those that despised him, and the security of him that was despised, for it rendered the one party slow to attack, and the other stronger by giving them time for preparation. The maxim, therefore, that "nothing should be despised in war," ought the more deeply to be fixed in the minds of all; and we should remember that it is not said without reason, that "the mother of a cautious person* is not accustomed to weep." The force of Thrasybulus, however, was not increased in proportion to his expectations; for even in those times good men spoke for liberty with more spirit than they fought for it.

Hence he went to the Piræeus, and fortified the Munychia,† which the tyrants twice attempted to storm, but being disgracefully repulsed, and having lost their arms and baggage, they immediately fled back to the city. Thrasybulus, on this occasion, exercised not less prudence than valour; for he forbade those that fled to be injured, thinking it just that "countrymen should spare countrymen;" nor was any one wounded except such as would attack him first. He spoiled no one, as he lay, of his clothes; he laid hands on nothing but arms, of which he was in want, and provisions.‡ In the second battle Critias, the leader of the tyrants, was killed,

* *Matrem timidi flere non solere.*] I have translated this according to the notion of Bremi, who says that *timidus* here means a cautious person, one who takes care of himself, and is on his guard against contingencies. Most translators have rendered it "the mother of a coward," &c., in which sense it would seem that the proverb was generally used.

† One of the minor harbours of Athens.

‡ *Quæ ad victum pertinebant.*] "Things which pertained to sustenance," i.e. provisions.

after having, indeed, fought with great bravery against Thrasybulus.

III. Critias being overthrown, Pausanias, king of the Lacedæmonians, came to the support of the Athenians. He made peace between Thrasybulus and those who held the town, on these conditions: "That none should be banished except the Thirty Tyrants, and the Ten, who, having been afterwards made governors, had followed the example of their predecessors in cruelty;* that no property should be confiscated; and that the government of the republic should be restored to the hands of the people." It was an honourable act of Thrasybulus, that, when peace was settled, and he had become the most powerful person in the state, he made a law, "that no one should be brought to trial, or punished, for things done previously;" and this they called "the act of oblivion." Nor did he only cause this law to be passed, but also took care that it should be of effect; for when some of them who had been with him in exile, wished to put to death those with whom they had returned to a good understanding, he openly prevented it, and adhered to what he had promised.

IV. For such merits a crown of honour was presented him by the people, made of two sprigs of olive, which, as the love of his countrymen, and not force, had procured it him, excited no envy, but was a great glory to him. The celebrated Pittacus, therefore, who was reckoned in the number of the seven wise men, said well, when the Mitylenæans offered to give him several thousand acres† of land, "Do not, I beseech you, give me what many may envy and more may covet; for which reason I had rather take, out of that number, not more than a hundred acres, which will prove both the moderation of my desires and your good will." For small gifts are lasting; but valuable presents are not wont to be permanent.‡ Thrasybulus, accordingly, being content with

* *Superioris more crudelitatis erant usi.*] "Had used the manner of the former cruelty."

† *Jugerum.*] Though the *juger* or *jugerum* is generally rendered an acre, it in reality contained little more than half an acre. The *juger* was 240 feet long and 120 broad, containing therefore 28,800 square feet; the content of an English acre is 43,566 square feet.

‡ *Non propria esse consueverunt.*] By *propria* is meant "peculiarly one's own, and likely to continue so; appropriated to one's self." I

that crown, neither sought for anything more, nor considered that any one had surpassed him in honour.

Some time after, when, being in command, he had brought up his fleet on the coast of Cilicia, and the watch in his camp was not kept with sufficient care, he was killed in his tent by the barbarians, in a sally made from the town* during the night.

IX. CONON.

.onon's services in the Peloponnesian war, I.—In his exile he supports Pharnabazus against the Spartans, II.—He goes to Artaxerxes to accuse Tissaphernes, and treats with him by letter, III.—He defeats the Lacedæmonians at Cnidus; Greece is set free, and the walls of Athens rebuilt, IV.—Conon made prisoner by Tiribazus, V.

I. Conon the Athenian entered upon public life in the Peloponnesian war, and his service in it was of great value; for he was both general of the forces by land, and, as commander of the fleet, performed great exploits by sea; for these reasons particular honour was conferred upon him, for he had the sole authority over all the islands; in which office he took Pheræ, a colony of the Lacedæmonians. He was also commander towards the end of the Peloponnesian war, when the forces of the Athenians were defeated by Lysander at Ægospotamos; but he was then absent; and hence the affair was worse managed; for he was both skilled in military matters, and a careful general. It was doubted by nobody, therefore, in those days, that the Athenians, if he had been present, would not have met with that disaster.

II. But when the affairs of the Athenians were in a calamitous condition, and he heard that his native city was besieged, he did not seek a place where he might himself live in security, but one from which he might render assistance to his countrymen. He in consequence betook himself to Pharnabazus, the satrap of Ionia and Lydia, and also a son-in-law

have rendered it by "permanent;" most other translators have given something similar. Bos gives this remark about gifts to Nepos; other editors give it to Pittacus.

* *Ex oppido.*] The town was Aspendus, as appears from Xen. Hell iv. 8, 30; Diod. Sic. xiv. 99.

and relative of the king, with whom, by much exertion and at great hazard, he contrived to procure himself strong personal influence;* for when the Lacedæmonians, after the Athenians were subdued, did not adhere to the alliance which they had made with Artaxerxes, but sent Agesilaus into Asia to make war (being chiefly induced to that course by Tissaphernes,† who, from being one of the king's confidants, had renounced his attachment to him, and entered into an alliance with the Lacedæmonians), Pharnabazus was regarded as general against Agesilaus, but Conon in reality led the army, and everything was done according to his direction. He greatly obstructed that eminent commander Agesilaus, and often thwarted his plans. It was indeed apparent, that, if Conon had not been there, Agesilaus would have taken all Asia, as far as Mount Taurus, from the king. And after Agesilaus was recalled home by his countrymen, in consequence of the Bœotians and Athenians having declared war against the Lacedæmonians, Conon nevertheless remained with the king's officers, and was of the greatest service to all of them.

III. Tissaphernes had revolted from the king; yet his defection was not so evident to Artaxerxes as to others; for he had great influence with the king, by reason of his numerous and important services, even when he did not strictly adhere to his duty; nor is it to be wondered at, if he was not easily induced to credit it, remembering that by his means he had overcome his brother Cyrus. Conon, being sent by Pharnabazus to the king to assure him of his guilt, went in the first place, on his arrival (after the manner of the Persians), to Tithraustes, the captain of the guard,‡ who held the second place in the empire, and signified that he wished to speak to

* *Apud quem ut multùm gratiâ valeret—effecit.*] With whom he brought it to pass that he prevailed much by personal influence.

† What Nepos says here, as to the Lacedæmonians being persuaded by Tissaphernes to go to war with Persia, is scarcely reconcileable with fact, as Fischer observes, or with what is stated in the second chapter of the life of Agesilaus. Yet Schlegel and Wetzel, he adds, have made strong efforts to justify or excuse his statement. Thirlwall, however, seems to come nearer to the truth in his History of Greece, c. xxxv. The reader may also consult Smith's Biog. Dictionary, art. Tissaphernes.

‡ *Chiliarchum.*] "Captain of a thousand." He is generally considered to have been chief of the life-guards, and to have been responsible, consequently, for the safety of the king's person.

the king; for no one is admitted without this ceremony.* Tithraustes answered him, "There is no objection on my part, but consider, for yourself, whether you had rather speak with him, or treat by letter, as to the objects which you have in view. For, if you come into the royal presence, it will be necessary for you to pay adoration to the king" (which the Greeks call προσκυνεῖν): "if this is disagreeable to you, you may nevertheless effect what you desire by stating your commission through me." Conon then replied, "To myself indeed, it is not disagreeable to pay any honour you please to the king, but I am afraid lest it should be derogatory to my country, if, coming from a city which has been accustomed to rule over other nations, I should observe the usages of foreigners rather than its own." He therefore delivered to him in writing what he wished to communicate.

IV. The king, having read his statement, was so much influenced by his authority, that he declared Tissaphernes an enemy, desired Conon to harass the Lacedæmonians with war, and gave him leave to choose whom he pleased to disburse the money for his army. Conon said that such a choice was not a matter for his consideration, but for the king's own, who ought to know his own subjects best; but that he recommended him to give that commission to Pharnabazus. He was then despatched, after being honoured with valuable presents, to the sea, to require the Cyprians, Phœnicians, and other maritime people, to furnish ships of war, and to prepare a fleet to secure the sea in the following summer, Pharnabazus, as he had requested, being appointed his colleague. When this arrangement was made known to the Lacedæmonians, they took their measures with great care, for they thought that a greater war threatened them than if they had to contend with the Persians only. They saw that a brave and skilful general was going to lead the king's forces, and to take the field against them, a man whom they could overmatch neither by stratagem nor by strength. With these considerations they collected a great fleet, and set sail under the leadership of Pisander. Conon, attacking them near Cnidus, routed them in a great battle, took several of their ships, and sunk several more, a victory by which not only Athens, but also all Greece, which had been

* *Sine hoc.*] Some consider *hoc* masculine, referring to the *chiliarchus.*

under the power of the Lacedæmonians, was set free. Conon proceeded with part of his fleet to his native city, and caused the walls of the Piræeus and of Athens, both of which had been pulled down, to be rebuilt, and presented to his countrymen fifty talents in money, which he had received from Pharnabazus.

V. What happens to other men happened to him, that he was more inconsiderate in good than in bad fortune; for when he had defeated the fleet of the Peloponnesians, and thought that he had avenged the injuries done to his country, he aimed at more objects than he was in a condition to accomplish. Not that these aims, however, were not patriotic and deserving of praise, since he preferred that the power of his country should be increased, rather than that of the king; for, after he had secured himself great influence by the battle which he fought at Cnidus, not only among foreigners but in all the states of Greece, he began to endeavour secretly * to restore Ionia and Æolia to the Athenians. But as this project was not concealed with sufficient care, Tiribazus, who was governor of Sardis, sent for Conon, on pretence that he wished to send him in great haste to the king; when he had gone, in compliance with this message, he was placed in confinement, in which he was kept for some time. Some have left on record that he was conveyed to the king, and there died. On the other hand Dinon† the historian, whom we chiefly credit concerning Persian affairs, has related that he made his escape, but is in doubt whether 't was effected with or without the knowledge of Tiribazus.

* If this statement respecting Conon be true, his conduct in the matter is not to be reckoned among *pia et probanda*, "patriotic and deserving of praise." But it would appear from Diod. Sic. xiv. 85, and Xen. Hell. iv. 8, that the charge against him arose from envy on the part of Tithraustes and the other Persians.

† He was the father of Cleitarchus, who wrote a history of Alexander the Great's expedition. See Plin. H. N. x. 70. From what Pliny says of him, he seems to have been extremely credulous.

X. DION.

Dion's family; is connected with the two Dionysii, I.—Brings Plato into Sicily; death of the elder Dionysius, II.—Disagreement between Dion and Dionysius the Younger, III.—Is sent to Corinth; ill-treatment of his wife; fate of his son, IV.—Gets possession of Syracuse, and forces Dionysius to make terms with him, V.—Alienates the people by putting Heraclides to death, VI.—His great unpopularity, VII.—Is deceived by a stratagem of Callicrates, VIII.—Is assassinated in his own house on a feast-day, IX.—Change of feeling towards him after his death, X.

I. DION, the son of Hipparinus, a native of Syracuse, was of a noble family, and allied to both the Dionysii, the tyrants* of Sicily; for the elder married Aristomache, Dion's sister, by whom he had two sons, Hipparinus and Nysæus, and also two daughters named Sophrosyne and Arete, the elder of whom he gave in marriage to his son Dionysius,† to whom he also left his dominions, and the other, Arete, to Dion.‡

But Dion, besides this noble connexion, and the honourable character of his ancestors, inherited many other advantages from nature; among them, a disposition docile, courteous, and adapted for acquiring the most important branches of knowledge, and extreme grace of person, which is no small recommendation;§ he had also great wealth bequeathed him by his father, which he himself had augmented by the presents he received from the tyrant. He was familiar with the elder Dionysius, not less on account of his character than his relationship; for though the cruelty of Dionysius offended him, yet he was desirous that he should be secure because of his family connexion with himself, and still more for the sake

* *Utrâque implicatus tyrannide Dionysiorum.*] "Involved in," or "connected with, each tyranny of the Dionysii." For *utroque Dionysio tyranno.*

† Dionysius married two wives in the same day, Doris, a native of Locris, and Aristomache, the sister of Dion. But Dionysius the Younger was the son of Doris; so that, if Nepos is correct in saying that Sophrosyne was the daughter of Aristomache, he married his *half-sister.* See Plut. Vit. Dion. c. 3.

‡ Dion, therefore, as Ernstius observes, married his own niece.

§ *Quæ non minimùm commendatur.*] "Which is not in the lowest degree (i.e. which is in the highest degree) commended." Lambinus, from conjecture, read *commendat,* sc. *hominem,* which is more elegant (as Bos admits), and has been generally adopted by editors.

of his own relatives.* He aided him in important matters, and the tyrant was greatly influenced by his advice, unless, in any case, some violent humour of his own interposed. But embassies,† such at least as were of a more distinguished kind, were all conducted by Dion; and by discharging them assiduously, and managing faithfully, he palliated the most cruel name of *tyrant* with his own benevolence. The Carthaginians so much respected him, when he was sent thither by Dionysius, that they never regarded any man that spoke the Greek tongue with more admiration.

II. Nor did these circumstances escape the notice of Dionysius, for he was sensible how great an honour he was to him; hence it happened that he showed him more favour than any other person,‡ and loved him not less than a son. When a report reached Sicily, too, that Plato was come to Tarentum, Dionysius could not refuse the young man leave to send for him, as Dion was inflamed with a desire of hearing him. He accordingly granted him that permission, and brought Plato with great pomp§ to Syracuse; whom Dion so greatly admired and loved, that he devoted himself wholly to his society; nor was Plato less delighted with Dion. Although, therefore, Plato was cruelly insulted by Dionysius (for he ordered him to be sold||), yet he paid a second visit to the city, induced again by the entreaties of Dion.

In the meantime Dionysius fell ill of some disease, and when he was labouring under the severity of it, Dion inquired of the physicians "how he was," and begged them, at the same time, "if he should happen to be in extreme danger, to acquaint him of it; for he wished to speak to him about a division of the

* *Suorum causâ.*] For the sake of Aristomache and her children.

† *Legationes.*] Most editions have *omnes* after *legationes*. Bos and Van Staveren omit it.

‡ *Uni huic maximè indulgeret.*] "He indulged him alone most"

§ *Ambitione.*] *Exquisito apparatu et ambitioso comitatu.—Gebhard.* It was not, however, the elder, but the younger Dionysius, that received Plato with such ceremony. See Plato's Epist. 3 and 7; Plutarch, Vit. Dion., and Ælian, Var. Hist. iv. 18. Plato visited Sicily three times; the ostentatious reception occurred on the second occasion.

|| *Quippe quem venundari jussisset.*] Bremi conjectures *quippe qui eum*, &c, which the sense indeed requires. Consult Plutarch, Vit. Dion., who, however, relates the matter a little differently. Lucian says that Plato was sent to a parasite, because he was ignorant of the parasite's art. See Diod. Sic. xv. 7; Diog. Laërt. iii. 18, 21.—*Bos.*

realm, as he thought that the sons of his sister by him ought to have a share in the dominions." This request the physicians did not keep secret, but reported the words to Dionysius the younger, who, taking alarm at it, compelled the physicians to give his father a sleeping potion, that Dion might have no opportunity of addressing him. The sick man, having taken the draught, ended his life like one buried in deep sleep.

III. Such was the commencement of the dissension between Dion and Dionysius; and it was increased by many circumstances; yet in the beginning of his reign there subsisted for a time an assumed friendship between them; and as Dion persisted in soliciting Dionysius to send for Plato from Athens, and follow his counsels, he, who was willing to imitate his father in something, complied with his wishes. At the same time, also, he brought back Philistus the historian to Syracuse, a man not more friendly to the tyrant than to tyranny itself. But of this author more has been said in the work of mine which is written "On Historians." Plato, however, had so much influence over Dionysius by his authority, and produced such an effect on him by his eloquence, that he persuaded him to put an end to his tyranny, and to restore liberty to the Syracusans; but being dissuaded from his intention by the representations of Philistus, he began to grow somewhat more cruel.

IV. Being conscious that he was surpassed by Dion in ability, influence, and in the affection of the people, and fearing that, if he kept Dion with him, he might give him some opportunity of overthrowing him, he gave him a trireme to sail to Corinth, declaring that he did so for both their sakes, lest, as they were afraid of each other, one of them might take the other by surprise. As many people were indignant at this proceeding, and as it was the cause of great hatred to the tyrant, Dionysius put on board some vessels all the property of Dion that could be removed, and sent it after him for he wished it to be thought that he had adopted that course not from hatred of the man, but for the sake of his own safety. But when he heard that Dion was levying troops in the Peloponnesus, and endeavouring to raise a war against him, he gave Arete, Dion's wife, in marriage to another man, and caused his son to be brought up in such a manner, that he might, through indulgence, be imbued with the most disgraceful

propensities; for mistresses were brought him when but a boy, before he was full grown; he was overwhelmed with wine and luxuries, nor was any time allowed him to be sober. He was so little able to bear such a change in his way of life, which was altered after his father returned to his country (for keepers were set over him to draw him from his former mode of living), that he threw himself from the top of a house and so perished. But I return to the point from whence digressed.

V. When Dion had arrived at Corinth, and Heraclides, who had been commander of the cavalry, had also come thither (having been likewise banished by Dionysius), they began to prepare for war in every possible way; but they made but little progress; for a tyranny of many years' standing was thought to be of great strength, and for that reason few were induced to join in so perilous an undertaking. But Dion, who trusted not so much to his troops as to the general hatred towards the tyrant, setting out, with the greatest courage, in two transport vessels, to attack a power of fifty years' growth, defended by five hundred ships of war, ten thousand cavalry, and a hundred thousand infantry, so easily made an impression upon it (what seemed wonderful to all people), that he entered Syracuse the third day after he touched the coast of Sicily. Hence it may be understood that no government is safe, unless guarded by the love of its subjects. Dionysius at that time was absent, and waiting for his fleet in Italy, supposing that none of his enemies would come against him without a great force; a supposition which deceived him; for Dion curbed the tyrant's pride with those very men that had been under the rule of his adversary, and gained possession of all that part of Sicily which had been under the government of Dionysius; and with like success he secured the city of Syracuse, except the citadel and the island adjoining the town, and brought matters to such a state, that the tyrant consented to make peace on such terms as these: that Dion should have Sicily, Dionysius Italy,* and Apollocrates, in whom alone Dionysius† had great confidence, Syracuse.

* That is, the portion of Italy, or Great Greece, which had been under the power of the elder Dionysius, part of which was still retained by his son.

† Lambinus first saw that we ought to read *Dionysius*, not *Dion*.

VI. A sudden change followed close upon such eminent and unexpected success, for fortune, through her fickleness, endeavoured to sink him whom she had just before exalted. In the first place she exercised her power over his son, of whom I have previously made mention; for after he had taken back his wife, who had been given to another, and wished to recal his son, from his abandoned course of sensuality, to habits of virtue, he received, as a father, a most severe affliction in the death of that son. A disagreement next arose between him and Heraclides, who, refusing to yield the supremacy to Dion, organized a party against him; nor had he indeed less influence than Dion among the aristocracy, with whose sanction he commanded the fleet, while Dion had the direction of the land forces. Dion could not endure this opposition patiently, but retorted with that verse of Homer in the second book of the Iliad,* in which is this sentiment, "That a state cannot be managed well by the government of many." Much ill feeling, on the part of the people, followed this remark; for he appeared to have let it escape him that he wished everything to be under his own authority. This feeling he did not try to soften by conciliation, but to overcome by severity, and caused Heraclides, when he came to Syracuse, to be put to death.

VII. This act struck extreme terror into every one; for nobody, after Heraclides was killed, considered himself safe. Dion, when his adversary was removed, distributed among his soldiers, with greater freedom, the property of those whom he knew to have been unfavourable to him. But after this division had taken place, money, as his daily expenses grew very great, began to fail him; nor was there anything on which he could lay his hands but the property of his friends; a circumstance which was attended with this effect, that while he gained the soldiery, he lost the aristocracy. At this state of things he was overcome with anxiety, and, being unaccustomed to be ill spoken of, he could not patiently endure that a bad opinion of him should be entertained by those by whose praises he had just before been extolled to the skies.

Bos, Mosche, and most other editors, approve Lambinus's suggestion. Van Staveren omits the name altogether the sense being sufficiently clear without it.

* Ver. 204.

The common people, however, when the feelings of the soldiers were rendered unfavourable towards him,* spoke with less restraint, and said that "he was a tyrant not to be endured."

VIII. While he knew not, as he contemplated this state of things, how he should put a stop to it, and was apprehensive as to what it might end in, a certain Callicrates, a citizen of Athens, who had accompanied him from the Peloponnesus to Sicily, a man of address, subtle enough for any artifice, and without any regard for religion or honour, went to him, and told him that "he was in great danger on account of the disaffection of the people and the hostile feelings of the soldiers which danger he could by no means escape, unless he commissioned some one of his friends to pretend that he was an enemy to him; and that, if he found him fit for the undertaking, he would learn the feelings of every one, and cut off his enemies, as his opponents would readily disclose their thoughts to any one disaffected towards him." This suggestion being approved, Callicrates himself undertook this part, and armed himself through the unsuspiciousness of Dion; he sought for accomplices to join in killing him; he held meetings with his enemies, and formed an actual conspiracy against him. But these proceedings, as many were privy to what was going on, became known, and were communicated to Aristomache, Dion's sister, and his wife Arete; who, being struck with alarm, sought an interview with him for whose danger they were concerned. Dion assured them that no plot was concerted against him by Callicrates, but that what was done, was done by his own directions. The women, notwithstanding, took Callicrates into the temple of Proserpine, and obliged him to swear that "there should be no danger to Dion from him." But Callicrates, by this oath, was not only not deterred from his design, but was stimulated to hasten the execution of it, fearing that his plot might be laid open before he had effected his purpose.

IX. With this resolution, on the next festival day, while Dion was keeping himself at home, secluded from the assembly

* *Offensâ in eum militum voluntate.*] Yet Nepos says above, in this same chapter, that Dion "had gained the soldiery." *Quum milites reconciliâsset, amitteret optimates.*

of the people, and was reposing in an upper room,* he committed to his accomplices the stronger parts of the city, surrounded Dion's house with guards, and stationed trusty persons at the door, who were not to leave it; he also manned a trireme with an armed force, entrusted it to his brother Philocrates, and gave directions that it should be rowed about in the harbour, as if he wished to exercise the rowers, with a view, if fortune should baffle his attempts, to have a vessel in which he might flee to a place of safety. He then chose from among his followers some young men of Zacynthus, of great courage and extraordinary strength, whom he ordered to go to Dion's house unarmed, so that they might seem to have come for the sake of speaking with him. These youths, as being well known, were admitted, but as soon as they had crossed the threshold, they bolted the door, seized him as he lay on his couch, and bound him. A great noise ensued, so that it was distinctly heard out of doors. And here it was easy to be understood, as has often been said before, how unpopular absolute power is, and how unhappy the life of those who had rather be feared than loved; for those very guards,† if they had been favourably inclined towards him, might have saved him by breaking open the door, as the Zacynthians, who were unarmed, were holding him still alive, calling to those without for a weapon. Nobody coming to his rescue, one Lyco, a Syracusan, gave them a sword through the window, with which Dion was slain.

X. When the murder was consummated, and the people came in to view the scene, some were killed as guilty by those who were ignorant of the real actors; for a report being soon spread abroad that violence had been offered to Dion, many, to whom such a deed was detestable, ran together to the spot; and these persons, prompted by a false suspicion, killed the

* The ancients were accustomed, when they wished to devote themselves to prayer, or to do anything in private, to go up into the higher part of the house, or to keep a chamber in that part for that particular purpose. So Suetonius says of Augustus, c. 72, *Si quando quid secretò aut sine interpellatione agere proposuisset, erat illi locus in edito singularis.* So Tacitus of Tiberius, Ann. vi. 21, *Quoties super negotio consultaret, editâ domus parte utebatur.—Bos.* He also refers to Judith, c. 8, and to Acts x. 9.

† *Illi ipsi custodes.*] The guards that had been stationed by Callicrates round Dion's house.

innocent as if they had been the delinquents. But as soon as his death became publicly known, the feeling of the populace was wonderfully altered, for those who had called him *a tyrant* while he was alive, called him now *the deliverer of his country* and *the expeller of a tyrant*. So suddenly had pity succeeded to hatred, that they wished to redeem him from Acheron, if they could, with their own blood. He was therefore honoured with a sepulchral monument in the city, in the most frequented part of it, after having been interred at the public expense. He died at the age of about fifty-five years, four years after he had returned from the Peloponnesus into Sicily.

XI. IPHICRATES.

Iphicrates eminent for skill in military discipline, I.—His acts in Thrace, at Corinth, against the Lacedæmonians, in Egypt, and against Epaminondas, II.—His abilities and character, III.

I. IPHICRATES of Athens has become renowned, not so much for the greatness of his exploits, as for his knowledge of military tactics; for he was such a leader, that he was not only comparable to the first commanders of his own time, but no one even of the older generals could be set above him. He was much engaged in the field; he often had the command of armies; he never miscarried in an undertaking by his own fault; he was always eminent for invention, and such was his excellence in it, that he not only introduced much that was new into the military art, but made many improvements in what existed before. He altered the arms of the infantry; for whereas, before he became a commander, they used very large shields, short spears, and small swords, he, on the contrary, introduced the *pelta* instead of the *parma** (from which the infantry were afterwards called *peltastæ*), that they might be more active in movements and encounters; he doubled the length of the spear, and made the swords also longer. He likewise changed the character of their cuirasses, and gave them linen ones instead of those of chain-mail and brass; a change by which he rendered the soldiers more active; for,

* *Peltam pro parmâ fecit.*] The *pelta* was smaller than the *parma*, but both were smaller than the *clypeus*.—*Bos.*

dininishing the weight, he provided what would equally pro tect the body, and be light.

II. He made war upon the Thracians, and restored Seuthes, the ally of the Athenians, to his throne. At Corinth * he commanded the army with so much strictness, that no troops in Greece were ever better disciplined, or more obedient to the orders of their leader; and he brought them to such a habit that when the signal for battle was given them by thei general, they would stand so regularly drawn up, without any trouble on the part of the commander, that they seemed to have been severally posted by the most skilful captain With this army he cut off a *mora* † of the Lacedæmonians; an exploit which was highly celebrated through all Greece. In this war, too, he defeated all their forces a second time, by which success he obtained great glory.

Artaxerxes, when he had resolved to make war upon the king of Egypt,‡ asked the Athenians to allow Iphicrates to be his general, that he might place him at the head of his army of mercenaries, the number of whom was twelve thousand. This force he so instructed in all military discipline, that as certain Roman soldiers were formerly called Fabians,§ so the Iphicrateans were in the highest repute among the Greeks.

Going afterwards to the relief of the Lacedæmonians, he

* *Apud Corinthum.*] In the war generally called the Corinthian war, carried on by the Athenians, Thebans, and Argives, against the Lacedæmonians. See Diod. Sic. xiv. 86; Xen. Hell. iv. 4.

† From Xenophon, de Rep. Lacedæm., we learn that the *mora* consisted of 400 men; for it had four *lochagi* and eight *pentecosteres.*—*Fischer.* This seems to have been the regular and original number appointed by Lycurgus, but it varied afterwards according to times and circumstances. In the time of Xenophon (Hell. iv. 5) it appears to have consisted usually of 600. At other times it contained five, seven, or nine hundred. See Plutarch. Pelop. c. 17; Thucyd. v. 68, ibique Schol. Smith's Dict. of G. and R. Ant. art. *Army, Greek.*

‡ His name was Acoris; he had assisted Evagoras of Cyprus against Artaxerxes Mnemon. See Diod. Sic. xv. 29. He appears to have been the immediate predecessor of Nectanebis.

§ *Fabiani.*] If the Roman soldiers were used to be called *Fabians*, which is an account given by none but our author, that I know of, it was occasioned by the gallantry of the Fabian family, that undertook to manage the war against the Vejentes by themselves, and were cut off, 300 of them in one battle.—*Clarke.* Others think that the name must have been derived from Fabius Cunctator. None of the better commentators say anything on the point.

checked the efforts of Epaminondas; for, had not he been drawing near,* the Thebans would not have retreated from Sparta until they had taken and destroyed it by fire.

III. He was a man of large mind and large body, and of an appearance indicating the commander so that by his very look he inspired every one with admiration of him. But in action he was too remiss, and too impatient of continued exertion, as Theopompus has recorded. Yet he was a good citizen, and a person of very honourable feelings, as he showed, not only in other transactions, but also in protecting the children of Amyntas † the Macedonian; for Eurydice, the mother of Perdiccas and Philip, fled with these two boys, after the death of Amyntas, to Iphicrates, and was secure under his power. He lived to a good old age, with the feelings of his countrymen well affected towards him.

He was once brought to trial for his life, at the time of the Social war,‡ together with Timotheus, and was acquitted.

He left a son named Menestheus, whom he had by a Thracian woman, the daughter of King Cotys. When this son was asked whether he had more regard for his father or his mother, he replied, "For his mother." As this answer appeared strange to all who heard it, he added, "I do so with justice; for my father, as far as was in his power, made me a Thracian, but my mother, as far as she could, made me an Athenian."

* *Nisi ejus adventus appropinquasset.*] "Unless his approach had been drawing near."

† The father of Philip, and grandfather of Alexander the Great. "This subject is more fully noticed by Æschines de Fals. Leg. *haud longè à principio.*"—*Bos.* See Justin, vii. 4.

‡ *Bello Sociali.*] A war in which Byzantium, Rhodes, Chios, and Cos leagued themselves against the Athenians, from their alliance with whom they had revolted. See Diod. Sic. xv. 78; xvi. 7; Perizon. ad Ælian. Var. Hist. ii. 10. Comp. Life of Chabrias, c. 4.

XII. CHABRIAS.

Chabrias becomes celebrated for a new mode of fighting, I.—His acts in Egypt and Cyprus; his command of the Egyptian fleet, II.—His recal; he lived but little at home in consequence of the envious feelings of his countrymen, III.—He is killed in the Social war, IV.

I. CHABRIAS the Athenian was also numbered among the most eminent generals, and performed many acts worthy of record. But of these the most famous is his manœuvre in the battle which he fought near Thebes, when he had gone to the relief of the Bœotians; for in that engagement, when the great general Agesilaus felt sure of victory, and the mercenary troops had been put to flight by him, Chabrias forbade the rest of his phalanx* to quit their ground, and instructed them to receive the attack of the enemy with the knee placed firmly against the shield, and the spear stretched out. Agesilaus, observing this new plan, did not dare to advance, and called off his men, as they were rushing forward, with sound of trumpet. This device was so extolled by fame throughout Greece, that Chabrias chose to have the statue, which was erected to him at the public charge by the Athenians in the forum, made in that posture. Hence it happened that wrestlers, and other candidates for public applause,† adopted, in the erection of their statues, those postures in which they had gained a victory.

II. Chabrias also, when he was general of the Athenians, carried on many wars in Europe; and he engaged in one in Egypt of his own accord; for setting out to assist Nectanabis,‡ he secured him the throne. He performed a similar exploit in Cyprus, but he was then publicly sent to support Evagoras; nor did he return from thence till he had conquered the whole island; from which achievement the Athenians obtained great glory.

In the meantime a war broke out between the Egyptians and Persians, when the Athenians formed an alliance with

* *Phalanx* is here used as a general term for a body of troops in close array.

† *Artifices.*] This word is here used in a very comprehensive sense, including actors, musicians, and every other kind of public exhibitors.

‡ Often written *Nectanebis.* "Diodorus Siculus has it either Νεκτεναβῶς or Νεκτανεβώς."—*Bos.*

Artaxerxes, and the Lacedæmonians with the Egyptians, from whom their king Agesilaus received a large share of spoil.* Chabrias, seeing Agesilaus's good fortune, and thinking himself in no respect inferior to him, set out to assist them of his own accord, and took the command of the Egyptian fleet, while Agesilaus held that of the land forces.

III. In consequence, the officers of the king of Persia sent deputies to Athens, to complain that Chabrias was warring against their king on the side of the Egyptians. The Athenians then prescribed a certain day to Chabrias, before which if he did not return home, they declared that they would condemn him to die. On receiving this communication he returned to Athens; but did not stay there longer than was necessary; for he did not willingly continue under the eyes of his countrymen, as he was accustomed to live splendidly, and to indulge himself too freely to be able to escape the envy of the populace. For this is a common fault in great and free states, that envy is the attendant on glory, and that the people willingly detract from those whom they see raised above others; nor do the poor contemplate with patience the lot of others who are grown rich. Chabrias, therefore, when he could, was generally away from home. Nor was he the only one that willingly absented himself from Athens, but almost all their great men did the same, for they thought that they should be as far removed from envy as they were distant from their native country. Conon, in consequence, lived very much in Cyprus, Iphicrates in Thrace, Timotheus in Lesbos, Chares at Sigeum. Chares, indeed, differed from the others in conduct and character, but was nevertheless both distinguished and powerful at Athens.

* *A quibus magnas prædas Agesilaus rex eorum faciebat.*] Attempts to interpret this passage have much exercised the ingenuity of the learned. Heusinger would have *à quibus* to signify "on whose side," or the same as *pro quibus*, but this Van Staveren justly rejects, and I, as well as he and Schmieder, doubt whether *pro aliquo prædam facere* can be regarded as good Latin. . . . For myself, I know not what to make of the passage, unless we receive the cautious interpretation of Harles, Ithius, and Bremi, who understand *prædam* in a large or metaphorical sense for *gain, presents*, or a *large sum of money*, which Agesilaus either received from the Egyptians by agreement, or exacted from them, so that it might not improperly be regarded as *præda*. Concerning the signification of this word, see Heyne ad Tibull. ii. 3, 38.—*Fischer.*

IV. Chabrias lost his life in the Social war,* in the following manner. The Athenians were besieging Chios; Chabrias was on board the fleet as a private man, but had more influence than all who were in command; and the soldiers looked up to him more than to those who were over them. This circumstance hastened his death; for while he was anxious to be the first to enter the harbour, and ordered the captain to steer the vessel towards it, he was the occasion of his own death, since, after he had made his way into it, the other ships did not follow. Upon which, being surrounded by a body of the enemy, his ship, while he was fighting with the utmost bravery, was struck with the beak of one of the enemy's vessels, and began to sink. Though he might have escaped from the danger, if he had cast himself into the sea, for the fleet of the Athenians was at hand to take him up as he swam, he chose rather to die, than to throw away his arms and abandon the vessel in which he had sailed. The others would not act in a similar manner, but gained a place of safety by swimming. He, on the other hand, thinking an honourable death preferable to a dishonourable life, was killed with the weapons of the enemy, while he was fighting hand to hand with them.

XIII. TIMOTHEUS.

The merits and acts of Timotheus, I.—A statue erected to him on his victory over the Lacedæmonians, II.—Is appointed, at an advanced age, as an adviser to Menestheus; is accused by Chares, and condemned, III.—His son Conon obliged to repair the walls of Athens: attachment of Jason to Timotheus, IV.

I. Timotheus, the son of Conon, a native of Athens, increased the glory which he inherited from his father by many excellent qualities of his own; for he was eloquent, active, persevering, skilled in military affairs, and not less so in managing those of the state. Many honourable actions of his are recorded, the following are the most famous. He subdued the Olynthians and Byzantians by force of arms; he took Samos, on the siege of which, in a previous war, the Athenians

* See Life of Iphicrates, c. 3.

had spent twelve hundred talents. This sum he restored * to the people without any expense to them; for he carried on a war against Cotys,† and thence brought twelve hundred talents' worth of spoil into the public treasury. He relieved Cyzicus‡ from a siege; he went with Agesilaus to the assistance of Ariobarzanes;§ but while the Lacedæmonians received ready money from him in requital, he chose rather to have his countrymen enriched with lands and towns, than to take that of which he himself might carry a share to his own home; and he accordingly received from him Crithote|| and Sestos.

II. Being made commander of the fleet, and sailing round the Peloponnesus, he laid waste Laconia, and defeated its naval force. He also reduced Corcyra under the power of the Athenians, and attached to them, as allies, the Epirots, the Athamanians, the Chaonians, and all those nations which lie on the sea.¶ After this occurrence, the Lacedæmonians desisted from the protracted struggle, and yielded, of their own accord, the sovereignty at sea to the Athenians, making peace upon these terms, "that the Athenians should be commanders by sea." This victory gave so much delight to the Athenians, that altars were then first publicly erected to Peace, and a *pulvinar*** decreed to that goddess. And that the remembrance of this glorious action might be preserved, they raised a statue to Timotheus in the forum at the public

* *Id—restituit.*] Many editions, for *id*, have *hanc*, sc. *pecuniam*, but "*id*," says Bos, "for *argentum* or *argenti pondus*, is perfectly correct."

† A prince of Thrace. Comp. Iphic. c. 3.

‡ A strong city of the Propontis, on an island of the same name. It was besieged on this occasion, as Mitford supposes, by a force sent thither by Epaminondas, who was endeavouring to make Thebes a naval power to rival Athens.

§ Satrap of Phrygia, who had revolted from Artaxerxes. "This war is mentioned by Demosthenes de Rhodior. Libertate."—*Fischer.*

|| A city on the Hellespont, in the Thracian Chersonese, mentioned by Scylax, Stephanus de Urb., Strabo, and Pliny. The introduction of the name of this city into the text is due to Gebhard. Previously the common reading was *Ericthonem*, of which nobody knew what to make.

¶ The Ionian Sea.

** A *pulvinus* or *pulvinar* was a cushion, pillow, or bolster, and to support the arm or side of those who reclined on couches, like the bolsters on sofas in the present day. *Pulvinar* was afterwards used for the entire couch, on which the statues of the gods were placed on solemn occasions, as in the Roman *lectisternia.*

expense. Such an honour, that, after the people had erected a statue to the father, they should also present one to the son. happened, down to that period, to him alone. Thus the new statue of the son, placed close by the other, revived old recollections of the father.

III. When he was at an advanced age, and had ceased to hold any office, the Athenians began to be pressed with war on every side. Samos had revolted; the Hellespont* had deserted them; Philip of Macedon, then very powerful, was making many efforts; and in Chares,† who had been opposed to him, there was not thought to be sufficient defence Menestheus, the son of Iphicrates, and son-in-law of Timotheus, was in consequence made commander, and a decree was passed that he should proceed to take the management of the war. These two persons, his father and father-in-law, men eminent in experience and wisdom, were appointed to give him advice,‡ for there was such force of character in them, that great hopes were entertained that what had been lost might be recovered by their means. When they had set out for Samos; and Chares, having heard of their approach, was also proceeding thither with his force, lest anything should appear to be done in his absence, it happened that, as they drew near the island, a great storm arose, which the two veteran commanders, thinking it expedient to avoid, checked the progress of their fleet.§ But Chares, taking a rash course, would not submit to the advice of his elders, but, as if success depended on his own vessel, pushed his way for the point to which he had been steering, and sent orders to Timotheus and Iphicrates to follow him thither. But having subsequently mis-managed the affair, and lost several ships, he returned to the same place‖ from which he had come, and despatched a letter to the government at Athens, saying that it would have been easy for him to take Samos, if

* That is, the cities on the Hellespont.

† *Cui oppositus Chares quum esset, non satis in eo præsidii putabatur.*] "To whom, when Chares had been opposed, there was not thought to be sufficient defence in him." Chares was a vain and ignorant braggart. See Diod. Sic. xvi. 86.

‡ *In consilium.*] The words *quorum consilio uteretur*, which occur a little below, are not translated, as they appear, in the judgment of Bos and others, to be a mere interpolation.

§ *Classem supprcsserunt.*] Probably that they might not be driver on shore.

‖ It does not appear what place this was.

he had not been left unsupported by Timotheus and Iphicrates. On this charge they were impeached. The people, violent, suspicious, fickle, and unfavourable to them, recalled them home; and they were brought to trial for treason. On this charge Timotheus was found guilty, and his fine was fixed at a hundred talents; when, compelled by the hatred of an ungrateful people, he sought a refuge at Chalcis.

IV. After his death, when the people had repented of the sentence passed upon him, they took off nine-tenths of the fine, and ordered that his son Conon should give ten talents to repair a certain portion of the wall. In this occurrence was seen the changeableness of fortune; for the grandson was obliged, to the great scandal of his family, to repair, out of his own estate, the same walls which his grandfather Conon had rebuilt with the spoil taken from the enemy.

Of the temperate and judicious life of Timotheus, though we could produce a great many proofs, we will be content with one, from which it may be easily conjectured how dear he was to his friends. When he was brought to trial, while quite a young man, at Athens, not only his friends, and others connected with him by ties of private hospitality, came to give him their support, but among them also the tyrant Jason,* who at that time was the most powerful of all men. Jason, though he did not think himself safe in his own country without guards, came to Athens unattended, having such value for his guest-friend, that he chose to hazard his life rather than not stand by Timotheus when he was contending for his honour.† Yet Timotheus, under an order from the people, carried on a war against him afterwards, for he considered the rights of his country more sacred than those of hospitality.

This was the last age of Athenian commanders; the age of Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Timotheus; nor, after their death, was there any leader‡ worthy of remembrance in that city.

* *Jason tyrannus.*] He was tyrant of Pheræ in Thessaly, and was, as it were, from his great power, king of the whole country. By calling him the "most powerful of all men," *omnium potentissimus*, Nepos seems to mean that he was more powerful than any single individual that had at that time to do with Greece.

† *De famâ*] For his honour as a citizen. Conviction, on this occasion, would have subjected him, it appears, to loss of civil rights, or *ἀτιμία*.

‡ Unless we except Phocion, whose military character, however, was not very high.

XIV. DATAMES.

Datames, an eminent barbarian leader; his war with the Cardusii, I.—He takes prisoner Thyus of Paphlagonia, II.—Presents Thyus to the king of Persia; is appointed to command in Egypt, III.—Is directed to attack Aspis of Cappadocia, IV.—Finds that the courtiers are plotting against him, and takes possession of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, V.—Loses his son in a war with the Pisidians; defeats the Pisidians, VI.—Is betrayed by his eldest son, VII.—Defeats the general of the Persians who is sent against him, VIII.—Escapes a plot formed against him by the king, IX.—Is deceived by Mithridates, X.—Is killed by him, XI.

I. I NOW come to the bravest and wisest man of all the barbarians, except the two Carthaginians, Hamilcar and Hannibal.

I shall say the more concerning this general, because most of his acts are but little known, and because the undertakings that were attended with success to him, were accomplished, not by vastness of force, but by sagacity, in which he surpassed all of that age; and unless the manner of his proceedings be set forth, his merits cannot be fully understood.

Datames, son of a father named Camissares, a Carian by nation, and of a mother a native of Scythia, served first of all among the soldiers who were guards of the palace to Artaxerxes. His father Camissares, having been found undaunted in fight, active in command, and faithful on many occasions to the king, was granted as a province that portion of Cilicia which borders on Cappadocia, and which the Leucosyrians inhabit.

Datames first showed what sort of man he was, when engaged in military service, in the war which the king carried on against the Cardusii; for in this enterprise, after several thousands of the king's troops were killed, his exertions proved of great value. Hence it happened that, as Camissares lost his life in the war, his father's province was conferred upon him.

II. He distinguished himself by equal valour when Autophradates, by the king's order, made war upon those who had revolted; for the enemy, even after they had entered the camp, were put to flight by his efforts, and the rest of the king's army was saved. In consequence of this success, he began to be appointed over more important affairs. At that

time Thyus was prince of Paphlagonia, a man of ancient family, descended from that Pylæmenes whom Homer states to have been killed by Patroclus* in the Trojan war. This prince paid no respect to the king's commands. The king, in consequence, determined to make war upon him, and gave the command of the enterprise to Datames, who was a near relative of the Paphlagonian, for they were sons of a brother and a sister. Datames, on this account, was desirous, in the first place, to try every means to bring back his kinsman to his duty without having recourse to arms. But going to confer with him without a guard, as he apprehended no treachery from a friend, he almost lost his life, for Thyus had resolved to assassinate him secretly. Datames was however accompanied by his mother, the aunt of the Paphlagonian, who discovered what was going on, and gave her son warning of it. Datames escaped the danger by flight, and declared open war against Thyus, in which, though he was deserted by Ariobarzanes, the satrap of Lydia, Ionia, and all Phrygia, he nevertheless vigorously persevered, and succeeded in taking Thyus alive with his wife and children.

III. He then used his utmost efforts that the news of his success might not reach the king before him, and thus, while all were still ignorant of it, he arrived at the place where the king was encamped, and the day after arrayed Thyus, a man of huge stature, and frightful aspect, being of a black complexion, and having long hair and a long beard, in a splendid robe such as the king's satraps used to wear. He adorned him also with a chain and bracelets of gold, and other royal ornaments, while he himself was dressed in a coarse thick cloak,† and rough coat, having a hunter's cap upon his head, a club in his right hand, and in his left a chain, with which he drove Thyus secured before him, as if he were bringing along a wild beast that he had taken. While the people were all gazing at him, on account of the strangeness of his attire, and his person being unknown to them, and a great crowd

* Pylæmenes was not killed by Patroclus, but by Menelaus; Hom. Il. v. 576.

† *Agresti duplici amiculo.*] Called *duplex* because it was thick and stout, woven of thread of a double thickness; or because it was made of cloth doubled. The Greeks called it χλαῖνα διπλῆ.—*Fischer.* A modern annotator thinks that *duplici* refers to the "folding" of the cloak as it was worn, not to the "texture!"

was in consequence gathered round him, it happened that there was somebody in it who knew Thyus, and went off to tell the king. The king at first did not believe the account, and therefore sent Pharnabazus to make inquiry. Learning from him what had been done, he ordered Datames to be instantly admitted, being extremely delighted both with his success and the dress of his captive, rejoicing especially that that eminent prince had fallen into his hands when he scarcely expected it. He therefore sent Datames, after bestowing magnificent presents upon him, to the army which was then assembling, under the command of Pharnabazus and Tithraustes, to make war upon Egypt, and directed that he should have equal authority with them. But as the king afterwards recalled Pharnabazus, the chief direction of the war was committed to Datames.

IV. As he was raising an army with the utmost diligence, and preparing to set out for Egypt, a letter was unexpectedly sent him by the king, desiring him to attack Aspis, who then held Cataonia, a country which lies above Cilicia, and borders on Cappadocia. Aspis, occupying a woody country, defended with fortresses, not only refused to obey the king's orders, but ravaged the neighbouring provinces, and intercepted whatever was being conveyed to the king. Datames, though he was far distant from those parts, and was drawn off from a greater matter, yet thought it necessary to yield to the king's wish. He therefore went on board a ship with a few brave followers, thinking (what really happened) that he would more easily overcome him, when unaware of his approach and unprepared, than when ready to meet him, though with ever so great an army. Sailing in this vessel to the coast of Cilicia, landing there, and marching day and night, he passed Mount Taurus, and arrived at the part to which he had directed his course. He inquired where Aspis was, and learned that he was not far off, and was gone to hunt. While he was watching for his return, the cause of his coming became known, and Aspis prepared the Pisidians, and the attendants that he had with him, to offer resistance. When Datames heard this, he took up his arms, and ordered his men to follow him; he himself, setting spurs to his horse, rode on to meet the enemy. Aspis, seeing him, from a distance, advancing upon him, was struck with fear, and, being

deterred from his resolution to resist, delivered himself up. Datames consigned him in chains to Mithridates, to be conducted to the king.

V. While these occurrences were passing, Artaxerxes, reflecting from how important a war, and to how inconsiderable an enterprize, he had sent the best of his generals, blamed himself for what he had done, and sent a messenger to the troops at Ace (not supposing that Datames had yet set out), to tell him not to quit the army. But before this messenger arrived at the place to which he was sent, he met upon the road the party that were leading Aspis.

Though Datames, by this celerity, gained great favour from the king, he incurred no less dislike on the part of the courtiers, because they saw that he alone was more valued than all of them; and on this account they all conspired to ruin him. Pandates, the keeper of the king's treasury, a friend to Datames, sent him an account of this state of things in writing, in which he told him that "he would be in great peril if any ill-success should fall out while he commanded in Egypt, for such was the practice of kings, that they attributed adverse occurrences to other men, but prosperous ones to their own good fortune; and hence it happened that they were easily inclined to the ruin of those under whose conduct affairs were said to have been ill-managed; and that he would be in so much the greater danger as he had those for his bitterest enemies to whom the king chiefly gave ear." Datames, having read this letter, after he had arrived at the army at Ace, resolved, as he was aware that what was written was true, to leave the king's service. He did nothing, however, that was unworthy of his honour; for he appointed Mandrocles of Magnesia to command the army, while he himself went off with his adherents into Cappadocia, and took possession of Paphlagonia, that bordered upon it, concealing what his feelings were towards the king. He then privately made a league with Ariobarzanes, raised a force, and assigned the fortified towns to be defended by his own troops.

VI. But these proceedings, from its being winter, went on with but little success. He heard that the Pisidians were raising some forces to oppose him, and sent his son Aridæus with a detachment against them. The young man fell in battle, and the father marched away to the scene of his death with but

a small number of followers, concealing how great a loss he had sustained, for he wished to reach the enemy before the report of his ill-success should become known to his men, lest the spirits of the soldiers should be depressed by hearing of the death of his son. He arrived at the spot to which he had directed his course, and pitched his camp in such a position that he could neither be surrounded by the superior number of the enemy, nor be hindered from keeping his forces always ready to engage. There was with him Mithrobarzanes, his father-in-law, commander of the cavalry, who, despairing of the state of his son-in-law's affairs, went over to the enemy. When Datames heard this, he was sensible that if it should go abroad among the multitude that he was deserted by a man so intimately connected with him, it would happen that others would follow his example. He therefore spread a report throughout the camp that "Mithrobarzanes had gone off as a deserter by his direction, in order that, being received as such, he might the more easily spread destruction among the enemy. It was not right therefore," he added, "that he should be left unsupported, but that they ought all to follow without delay, and, if they did so with spirit, the consequence would be that their foes would be unable to resist, as they would be cut to pieces within their ramparts and without." This exhortation being well received, he led forth his troops, pursued Mithrobarzanes, and, almost at the moment that the latter was joining the enemy,* gave orders for an attack. The Pisidians, surprised by this new movement, were led to believe that the deserters were acting with bad faith, and by arrangement with Datames, in order that, when received into the camp, they might do them the greater mischief; they therefore attacked them first. The deserters, as they knew not what was in agitation, or why it took place, were compelled to fight with those to whom they had deserted, and to act on the side of those whom they had quitted; and, as neither party spared

* *Qui tantum quod ad hostes pervenerat.*] This reading is an emendation of Lambinus, and it is extremely doubtful whether it ought to have been so favourably regarded by Van Steveren and Bos, who have admitted it into their texts. Some of the manuscripts have *qui dum ad hostes pervenerat.* Heusinger thinks we might read *tantum qui dum*, or *qui tantum dum, tantum dum* being a form of expression similar to *vixdum, nondum.* The Ed. Ultraject. has *qui tantum non ad*, &c. Most of the older common editions have *qui nondum ad*, &c.

them, they were quickly cut to pieces. Datames then set upon the rest of the Pisidians who offered resistance, repelled them at the first onset, pursued them as they fled, killed a great number of them, and captured their camp. By this stratagem he at once both cut off the traitors, and overthrew the enemy, and turned to his preservation what had been contrived for his destruction. We have nowhere read, on the part of any commander, any device more ingeniously conceived than this, or more promptly executed.

VII. Yet from such a man as this his eldest son Scismas deserted, and went over to the king, carrying intelligence of his father's defection. Artaxerxes, being startled at this news (for he was aware that he should have to do with a brave and active man, who, when he had conceived a project, had courage to execute it, and was accustomed to think before he attempted to act), despatched Autophradates into Cappadocia. To prevent this general from entering the country, Datames endeavoured to be the first to secure a forest, in which the Gate of Cilicia* is situate. But he was unable to collect his troops with sufficient expedition, and being obliged to desist from his attempt, he took up with the force which he had got together, a position of such a nature, that he could neither be surrounded by the enemy, nor could the enemy pass beyond him without being incommoded by difficulties on both sides; while, if he wished to engage with them, the numbers of his opponents could not greatly damage his own smaller force.

VIII. Autophradates, though he was aware of these circumstances, yet thought it better to fight than to retreat with so large an army, or to continue inactive so long in one place. He had twenty thousand barbarian cavalry, a hundred thousand infantry, whom they call Cardaces,† and three thousand slingers of the same class. He had besides eight thousand Cappadocians, ten thousand Armenians, five thousand Paphlagonians, ten thousand Phrygians, five thousand Lydians, about three thousand Aspendians and Pisidians, two thousand Cilicians, as many Captianians,‡ three thousand hired men

* *Ciliciæ portæ.*] A pass so called.

† A body of soldiery among the Persians, mentioned by Strabo, Plutarch, Arrian, Pausanias, and others. Hesychius thinks that they had their name from some place or tribe.

‡ *Captianorum.*] A people unknown to geographers. Schottus sug-

from Greece, and a very large number of light-armed troops. Against this force all Datames's hopes rested on himself and the nature of his ground, for he had not the twentieth part of his enemy's numbers. Trusting to himself and his position,* therefore, he brought on a battle, and cut off many thousands of the enemy, while there fell of his own army not more than a thousand men; on which account he erected a trophy the next day on the spot where they had fought the day before. When he had moved his camp from thence, and always, though inferior in forces, came off victorious in every battle (for he never engaged but when he had confined his adversaries in some defile, an advantage which often happened to one acquainted with the ground and taking his measures with skill), Autophradates, seeing that the war was protracted with more loss to the king than to the enemy, exhorted Datames to peace and friendship,† so that he might again be received into favour with the king. Datames, though he saw that peace would not be faithfully kept, nevertheless accepted the offer of it, and said that "he would send deputies to Artaxerxes." Thus the war, which the king had undertaken against Datames, was ended; and Autophradates retired into Phrygia.

IX. But the king, as he had conceived an implacable hatred to Datames, endeavoured, when he found that he could not be overcome in the field, to cut him off by underhand artifices; but most of these he eluded. For instance, when it was told him that some, who were reckoned in the number of his friends, were laying a plot for him (concerning whom, as their enemies were the informers, he thought that the intimation was neither entirely to be believed nor utterly disregarded), he resolved to make trial whether what had been told him was true or false. He accordingly went forward on the road on which they had stated that an ambush would be laid for him; but he selected a man closely resembling himself in

gested that we should read, with a slight alteration, *Caspianorum*, people from the borders of the Caspian sea.—*Bos.* Bos, on the whole, approves this suggestion.

* *Quibus fretus.*] I have given the *quibus* that sense which it evidently requires.

† Peace and friendship with himself, preparatory to his being received into favour by the king. This is Nipperdey's explanation. Other editors have merely complained of the apparent tautology in the passage.

person and stature, gave him his own attire, and ordered him to ride on in that part of the line where he himself had been accustomed to go, while Datames himself, in the equipments and dress of a common soldier, prepared to march among his own body-guard. The men in ambuscade, as soon as the party reached the spot where they were stationed, being deceived by the place and dress, made an assault upon him who had been substituted for Datames. But Datames had previously directed those among whom he was marching, to be ready to do what they should see him do. He, as soon as he saw the conspirators collecting in a body, hurled his darts among them, and, as all the rest did the same, they fell down dead before they could reach him whom they meant to attack.

X. Yet this man, crafty as he was, was at last ensnared by a device of Mithridates, the son of Ariobarzanes; for Mithridates promised the king that he would kill Datames, if the king would allow him to do with impunity whatever he wished, and would give him a pledge to that effect with his right hand after the manner of the Persians. When he received this pledge sent him by the king,* he prepared a force, and though at a distance, made a league with Datames, ravaged the king's provinces, stormed his fortresses, and carried off a great quantity of spoil, part of which he divided among his men, and part he sent to Datames, putting into his hands, in like manner, many strong-holds. By pursuing this course for a long time, he made Datames believe that he had undertaken an everlasting war against the king, while notwithstanding (lest he should raise in him any suspicion of treachery), he neither sought a conference with him, nor showed any desire to come into his sight. Thus, though keeping at a distance, he maintained friendship with him; but so that they seemed to be bound to one another, not by mutual kindnesses, but by the common hatred which they had conceived towards the king.

XI. When he thought that he had sufficiently established this notion, he gave intimation to Datames that it was time for greater armies to be raised, and an attack to be made on the king himself; and that, with reference to this subject, he might, if he pleased, come to a conference with him

* *A rege missam.*] These words are wanting in some editions. The king presented his right hand to some person, in order that that person might present his own to Mithridates in the king's name.

in any place that he might choose. The proposal being accepted, a time was fixed for the conference, and a place in which they were to meet. To this spot Mithridates came some days previously, in company with a person in whom he had the greatest confidence, and buried swords in several different places, carefully marking each spot. On the day of the conference, each of them brought people to examine the place, and to search Datames and Mithridates themselves. They then met, and after they had spent some time in conference, and parted in different directions, and Datames was some distance off, Mithridate , before he went back to his attendants (lest he should excite any suspicion), returned to the same place, and sat down, as if he wished to rest from weariness, on one of the spots in which a sword had been concealed, and, at the same time, called back Datames, pretending that he had forgotten something at their conference. In the mean time he drew out the sword that was hid, and concealed it, unsheathed, under his garment, and observed to Datames, as he was returning, that he had noticed, when going off, that a certain place, which was in sight, was suitable for pitching a camp. While he was pointing this out with his finger, and the other was looking towards it, he ran him through, as his back was turned, with the sword, and put an end to his life before any one could come to his assistance. Thus a man who had gained the mastery over many by prudence, over none by treachery, was ensnared by pretended friendship.

XV. EPAMINONDAS

Remarks on the manners of the Greeks, I.—Youth and manhood of Epaminondas, II.—Excellencies of his character, III.—An instance of his freedom from covetousness, IV.—His ability in speaking, V.—An instance of his power of persuasion; the battle of Leuctra, VI.—His patriotism; his care for the army and its success, VII.—Is brought to trial for retaining his command longer than the law allowed; his defence and acquittal, VIII.—His death at Mantinea, IX.—His apology for not marrying; his horror of civil bloodshed; the glory of Thebes, X.

I. EPAMINONDAS was the son of Polymnis, and was born at Thebes. Before we proceed to write of him, the following caution seems necessary to be given to our readers; that they

should not confound the customs of other nations with their own, or think that those things which appear unimportant to themselves must be equally so to others. We know that skill in music, according to our habits, is foreign to the character of any eminent personage; and that to dance is accounted disparaging to the character;* while all such accomplishments among the Greeks, are regarded both as pleasing and as worthy of admiration.

But as we wish to draw a correct picture of the habits and life of Epaminondas, we seem called upon to omit nothing that may tend to illustrate it. We shall therefore speak in the first place of his birth; we shall then show in what accomplishments, and by whom, he was instructed; next we shall touch upon his manners and intellectual endowments, and whatever other points in his character may deserve notice; and lastly on his great actions, which are more regarded by many than all the best qualities of the mind.†

II. He was the son, then, of the father whom we named, and was of an honourable family, though left poor by his ancestors; but he was so well educated that no Theban was more so; for he was taught to play upon the harp, and to sing to the sound of its strings, by Dionysius, who was held in no less honour among musicians than Damon or Lamprus,‡ whose names are well known; to play on the flutes § by Olympiodorus; and to dance by Calliphron. For his instructor in philosophy he had Lysis ‖ of Tarentum, a Pythagorean, to whom he was so devoted that, young as he was, he preferred

* *In vitiis poni*] "Is accounted among disparagements, disgraces, or vices."

† *A plurimis omnium anteponuntur virtutibus*] "Are by many preferred to the best qualities of all." Many would rather hear of the actions than of the virtues of eminent men.

‡ Damon was an Athenian, mentioned by Plutarch *de Musicâ*, Plato, *de Rep.*, lib. iv., and Athenæus, xiv. 11. Lamprus is also noticed by Plutarch in the same treatise, by Plato in his Menexenus, and by Athenæus, i. 16, ii. 2. Damon is said to have taught Pericles, and Lamprus Sophocles.

§ *Tibiis.*] See the note on this word in the preface.

‖ See Cic. de Orat iii. 34; Off. i. 4; Diod. Sic. lib. vi. in Exc. Peiresc. p. 247; Pausanias, ix. 13; Ælian, V. H. iii. 17; Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. extr.; Jamblich. Vit Pythag. c. 35. . . . A letter of his to a certain Hipparchus is among the Epistles of the Greeks published by Aldus, and also among the fragments of the Pythagoreans added by Casaubon to Diogenes Laërtius.—*Bos.*

the society of a grave and austere old man * before that of all those of his own age; nor did he part with him until he so far excelled his fellow students in learning, that it might easily be perceived he would in like manner excel them all in other pursuits. These acquirements, according to our habits, are trifling, and rather to be despised; † but in Greece, at least in former times, they were a great subject for praise. After he grew up, and began to apply himself to gymnastic exercises, he studied not so much to increase the strength, as the agility, of his body; for he thought that strength suited the purposes of wrestlers, but that agility conduced to excellence in war. He used to exercise himself very much, therefore, in running and wrestling, as long as ‡ he could grapple, and contend standing, with his adversary. But he spent most of his labour on martial exercises.

III. To the strength of body thus acquired were added many good qualities of the mind; for he was modest, prudent, grave, wisely availing himself of opportunities, skilled in war, brave in action, and possessed of remarkable courage; he was so great a lover of truth, that he would not tell a falsehood even in jest; he was also master of his passions, gentle in disposition, and patient to a wonderful degree, submitting to wrong, not only from the people, but from his own friends; he was a remarkable keeper of secrets, a quality which is sometimes not less serviceable than to speak eloquently; and he was an attentive listener to others, because he thought that by this means knowledge was most easily acquired. Whenever he came into a company, therefore, in which a discussion was going on concerning government, or a conversation was being held on any point of philosophy, he never went away till the discourse was brought to its conclusion. He bore poverty so easily, that he received nothing from the state but glory. He did not avail himself of the means of his friends to maintain himself; but he often used his credit to relieve others, to such a degree that

* *Tristem et severum senem in familiaritate antepossuerit.*] "He preferred a grave and austere old man in familiarity," i. e. as an associate.

† *Levia et potius contemnenda.*] The study of philosophy, at least in the time of Nepos, was not numbered by the Romans among despicable pursuits.

‡ *Ad eum finem quoad*, &c.] *Ad eum finem*, as Bos observes, is the same as *usque eò*.

it might be thought all things were in common between him and his friends; for when any one of his countrymen had been taken by the enemy, or when the marriageable daughter of a friend could not be married for want of fortune, he used to call a council of his friends, and to prescribe how much each should give according to his means; and when he had made up the sum required, he brought the man who wanted it to those who contributed, and made them pay it to the person himself, in order that he, into whose hands the sum passed, might know to whom he was indebted, and how much to each.

IV. His indifference to money was put to the proof by Diomedon of Cyzicus; for he, at the request of Artaxerxes, had undertaken to bribe Epaminondas. He accordingly came to Thebes with a large sum in gold, and, by a present of five talents, brought over Micythus, a young man for whom Epaminondas had then a great affection, to further his views. Micythus went to Epaminondas, and told him the cause of Diomedon's coming. But Epaminondas, in the presence of Diomedon, said to him, "There is no need of money in the matter; for if what the king desires is for the good of the Thebans, I am ready to do it for nothing; but if otherwise, he has not gold and silver enough to move me, for I would not accept the riches of the whole world in exchange for my love for my country. At you, who have made trial of me without knowing my character, and have thought me like yourself, I do not wonder; and I forgive you; but quit the city at once, lest you should corrupt others though you have been unable to corrupt me. You, Mycithus, give Diomedon his money back; or, unless you do so immediately, I shall give you up to the magistrates." Diomedon entreating that he might be allowed to depart in safety, and carry away with him what he had brought, "That," he replied, "I will grant you, and not for your sake, but for my own, lest any one, if your money should be taken from you, should say that what I would not receive when offered me, had come into my possession after being taken out of yours." Epaminondas then asking Diomedon "whither he wished to be conducted," and Diomedon having answered, "To Athens," he gave him a guard in order that he might reach that city in safety. Nor did he, indeed, think that precaution sufficient, but also arranged, with the aid of Chabrias the Athenian, of whom we have spoken above, that

he should embark without molestation. Of his freedom from covetousness this will be a sufficient proof. We might indeed produce a great number; but brevity must be studied, as we have resolved to comprise, in this single volume, the lives of several eminent men, whose biographies many writers before us have related at great length.*

V. He was also an able speaker, so that no Theban was a match for him in eloquence; nor was his language less pointed in brief replies than elegant in a continued speech. He had for a traducer, and opponent in managing the government, a certain Meneclidas, also a native of Thebes,† a man well skilled in speaking, at least for a Theban, for in that people is found more vigour of body than of mind. He, seeing that Epaminondas was distinguished in military affairs, used to advise the Thebans to prefer peace to war, in order that his services as a general might not be required. Epaminondas in consequence said to him, "You deceive your countrymen with words, in dissuading them from war, since under the name of peace you are bringing upon them slavery; for peace is procured by war, and they, accordingly, who would enjoy it long, ought to be trained to war. If therefore, my countrymen, you wish to be leaders of Greece, you must devote yourselves to the camp, not to the palæstra."‡ When this Meneclidas also upbraided him with having no children, and with not having taken a wife, and, above all, with presumption in thinking that he had acquired the glory of Agamemnon in war, "Forbear," he rejoined, "Meneclidas, to reproach me with regard to a wife, for I would take nobody's advice on that subject less willingly than yours;" (for Meneclidas lay under a suspicion of making too free with other men's wives;) "and as to supposing that I am emulous of Agamemnon, you are mistaken; for he, with the support of all Greece, hardly took one city in ten years; I, on the contrarv with the force of this

* *Multis millibus versuum.*] "In many thousands of verses." *Versus* was used by the Romans as well for a line in prose as for a line in poetry.

† *Indidem Thebis.*] That is, "from the same place, Thebes."

‡ *Castris est vobis utendum, non palæstrâ.*] That is, you must give your serious attention to the one more than to the other. You may in the *palæstra* inure yourselves to exercise; but you must remember that your thoughts are to be directed beyond the *palæstra* to the camp.

one city of ours, and in one day, delivered all Greece by defeating the Lacedæmonians."

VI. When Epaminondas went to the public assembly of the Arcadians, to request them to join in alliance with the Thebans and Argives, and Callistratus, the ambassador from the Athenians, who excelled all men of that day in eloquence, begged of them, on the other hand, rather to unite in alliance with Athens, and uttered many invectives against the Thebans and Argives, and among them made this remark, "that the Arcadians ought to observe what sort of citizens each city had produced, from whom they might form a judgment of the rest; for that Orestes and Alcmæon, murderers of their mothers, were Argives, and that Œdipus, who, when he had killed his father, had children by his mother, was born at Thebes." Upon this,* Epaminondas, in his reply, when he had done speaking as to other points, and had come to those two grounds of reproach, said that "he wondered at the simplicity of the Athenian rhetorician, who did not consider that those persons, to whom he had alluded, were born innocent, and that, after having been guilty of crimes at home, and having in consequence been banished from their country, they had been received by the Athenians." †

But his eloquence shone most at Sparta (when he was ambassador before the battle of Leuctra), ‡ where, when the ambassadors from all the allies had met, Epaminondas, in a full assembly of the embassies, so clearly exposed the tyranny of the Lacedæmonians, that he shook their power by that speech not less than by the battle of Leuctra; for he was at that

* *Illic.*] Some read *huic*, "to him."

† The argument of Epaminondas, in these observations, is this, referring properly only to Orestes and Œdipus: that they were born, it must be granted, the one at Argos, and the other at Thebes, but that, as they were born innocent, neither of those cities can be blamed merely for having been their birth-place; after they were polluted with crimes, however, and were in consequence expelled from their native cities, they were received by the Athenians, who, by sheltering them, might be considered to have become partakers in their guilt.

‡ *Legati ante pugnam Leuctricam.*] These words are rejected by Longolius, Magius, Lambinus, and Schottus, as a gloss that has intruded itself from the margin into the text. But as they are found in the best copies, Bos, who cannot but suspect them, is content with including them in brackets.

time the cause (as it afterwards appeared) that they were deprived of the support of their allies.

VII. That he was of a patient disposition, and ready to endure wrongs from his countrymen, because he thought it species of impiety to show resentment towards his country there are the following proofs. When the Thebans, from some feeling of displeasure towards him, refused to place him at the head of the army,* and a leader was chosen that was ignorant of war, by whose mismanagement that great multitude of soldiers was brought to such a condition that all were alarmed for their safety, as they were confined within a narrow space and blocked up by the enemy, the energy of Epaminondas began to be in request (for he was there as a private† among the soldiers), and when they desired aid from him, he showed no recollection of the affront that had been put upon him, but brought the army, after releasing it from the blockade, safely home. Nor did he act in this manner once only, but often;‡ but the most remarkable instance was, when he had led an army into the Peloponnesus against the Lacedæmonians, and had two joined in command with him, of whom one was Pelopidas, a man of valour and activity;—on this occasion, when, through the accusations of their enemies, they had all fallen under the displeasure of their countrymen, and their commission was in consequence taken from them, and other commanders came to take their place, Epaminondas did not obey the order of the people, and persuaded his colleagues to follow his example, continuing to prosecute the war which he had undertaken, for he saw that, unless he did so, the whole army would be lost through the incautiousness and ignorance of its leaders. But there was a law at Thebes, which punished any one with death who retained his command longer than was legally appointed. Epaminondas, however, as he saw that this law had been made for the purpose of preserving the state, was unwilling to

* This was the army that was sent into Thessaly to rescue Pelopidas from Alexander of Pheræ. See Diod. Sic. xv. 71, 72.

† He had been accused of treachery, and the people in consequence had taken from him his Βοιωταρχία, and reduced him to a private station. Diod. Sic. *ibid.*

‡ *Sæpius.*] Nepos mentions, however, only two occasions; and no more are discoverable from other authors.

make it contribute to its ruin, and continued to exercise his command four months longer than the people had prescribed.

VIII. When they returned home, his colleagues* were impeached for this offence, and he gave them leave to lay all the blame upon him, and to maintain that it was through his means that they did not obey the law. They being freed from danger by this defence, nobody thought that Epaminondas would make any reply, because, as was supposed, he would have nothing to say. But he stood forward on the trial, denied nothing of what his adversaries laid to his charge, and admitted the truth of all that his colleagues had stated; nor did he refuse to submit to the penalty of the law; but he requested of his countrymen one favour, namely, that they would inscribe in their judicial record of the sentence passed upon him,† "Epaminondas was punished by the Thebans with death, because he obliged them to overthrow the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra, whom, before he was general, none of the Bœotians durst look upon in the field, and because he not only, by one battle, rescued Thebes from destruction, but also secured liberty for all Greece, and brought the power of both people to such a condition, that the Thebans attacked Sparta, and the Lacedæmonians were content if they could save their lives; nor did he cease to prosecute the war, till, after settling Messene,‡ he shut up Sparta with a close siege." When he had said this, there burst forth a laugh from all present, with much merriment, and no one of the judges ventured to pass sentence

* *Collegæ ejus.*] His colleagues and himself.

† *In periculo suo.*] The word *periculum*, in this passage, greatly perplexed the old commentators; no one could find any satisfactory sense for it; and various conjectures were offered as to a substitute for it. At last Gebhard suggested that the passage might be interpreted "Epaminondam petiisse, ut in actis illis, in quibus suum periculum ad memoriam notetur, talia inscriberent," so that *periculum*, in his opinion, would be the same as "adnotatio sive commemoratio periculi illius in tabulis publicis," the record of his *periculum* in the public registers. Schoppius, Verisim. iv. 18, went farther, and said that *periculum* signified "libellum sive annalem publicum." This interpretation was adopted by Bos and Fischer, and subsequently by Bremi and others, and is approved by Gesner in his Thesaurus *sub voce*. Tzschucke interprets it *elogium damnationis*, or *scripta judicii sententia*.

‡ *Messene constituit.*] He settled or built (ἔκτισε) Messene, and brought many colonists to it, says Diod. Sic. xv. 66. See Pausan. ix 14, *atque alibi*.

upon him. Thus he came off from this trial for life with the greatest glory.

IX. When, towards the close of his career, he was commander at Mantinea, and, pressing very boldly upon the enemy with his army in full array, was recognized by the Lacedæmonians, they directed their efforts in a body against him alone, because they thought the salvation of their country depended upon his destruction, nor did they fall back, until, after shedding much blood, and killing many of the enemy, they saw Epaminondas himself, while fighting most valiantly, fall wounded with a spear hurled from a distance. By his fall the Bœotians were somewhat disheartened; yet they did not quit the field till they had put to flight those opposed to them. As for Epaminondas himself, when he found that he had received a mortal wound, and also that if he drew out the iron head of the dart, which had stuck in his body, he would instantly die, he kept it in until it was told him that "the Bœotians were victorious." When he heard these words, he said "I have lived long enough; for I die unconquered." The iron head being then extracted, he immediately died.

X. He was never married; and when he was blamed on this account (as he would leave no children*) by Pelopidas, who had a son of bad character, and who said that he, in this respect, but ill consulted the interest of his country, "Beware," he replied, "lest you should consult it worse, in being about to leave behind you a son of such a reputation. But neither can I," he added, "want issue; for I leave behind me a daughter, the battle of Leuctra, that must of necessity not only survive me, but must be immortal."

At the time when the Theban exiles, under the leadership of Pelopidas, possessed themselves of Thebes, and expelled the garrison of the Lacedæmonians from the citadel, Epaminondas, as long as the slaughter of the citizens continued, confined himself to his own house, for he would neither defend the unworthy, nor attack them, that he might not stain his hands with the blood of his own countrymen. But when the

* *Quòd liberos non relinqueret.*] These words, in most editions, are placed lower down, after *consulere dicceret*, where Lambinus was the first to put them. Bos suspects that they may be altogether spurious.

struggle began at the Cadmea* with the Lacedæmonians, he took his stand among the foremost.

Of his merits and his life enough will have been said, if I add but this one remark, of which none can deny the truth; that Thebes, as well before Epaminondas was born, as after his death, was always subject to some foreign power,† but that, as long as he held the reigns of government, it was the head of all Greece. Hence it may be understood, that one man was of more efficacy than the whole people.

XVI. PELOPIDAS.

Phœbidas seizes on the citadel of Thebes; Pelopidas banished, I.—Pelopidas, with twelve followers, effects a return to Thebes, II.—He delivers his country from the Lacedæmonians, expelling their garrison, III.—His acts in conjunction with Epaminondas, IV.—His contest with Alexander of Pheræ; his death, V.

I. PELOPIDAS, of Thebes, is better known to those acquainted with history than to the multitude. As to his merits, I am in doubt how I shall speak of them; for I fear that, if I begin to give a full account of his actions, I may seem, not to be relating his life, but to be writing a history, or that, if I touch only on his principal exploits, it may not clearly appear to those ignorant of Grecian literature how great a man he was. I will therefore, as far as I can, meet both difficulties, and provide against the satiety, as well as for the imperfect knowledge, of my readers.

Phœbidas, the Lacedæmonian, when he was leading an army to Olynthus,‡ and marching through the territory of Thebes,§ possessed himself (at the instigation of a few of the Thebans,

* *Apud Cadmœam.*] The citadel of Thebes, said to have been founded by Cadmus.

† *Alieno paruisse imperio.*] By these words it is not signified that Thebes was actually subject to any other power, but that it always held a secondary place.

‡ Phœbidas was sent to assist Amyntas, king of Macedonia, who was going to besiege Olynthus with the aid of his allies the Lacedæmonians, because its inhabitants had refused to make satisfaction to him. See Diod. Sic. xv. 19.—*Fischer.*

§ *Per Thebas*] This is evidently the sense.

who, the better to withstand the opposite faction, favoured the interest of the Lacedæmonians,) of the citadel of Thebes, which is called the Cadmea,* and this he did of his own private determination, not from any public resolution of his countrymen. For this act the Lacedæmonians removed him from his command of the army, and fined him a sum of money, but did not show the more inclination, on that account, to restore the citadel to the Thebans, because, as enmity had arisen between them, they thought it better that they should be under a check than left at liberty; for, after the Peloponnesian war was ended, and Athens subdued, they supposed that the contest must be between them and the Thebans, and that they were the only people who would venture to make head against them. With this belief they committed the chief posts to their own friends, while they partly put to death, and partly banished, the leading men of the opposite party; and amongst them Pelopidas, of whom we have begun to write, was expelled from his country.

II. Almost all these exiles had betaken themselves to Athens, not that they might live in idleness, but that, whatever opportunity chance should first offer, they might avail themselves of it to regain their country † As soon, therefore, as it seemed time for action, they, in concert with those who held similar views at Thebes, fixed on a day for cutting off their enemies and delivering their country, and made choice of that very day on which the chief magistrates were accustomed to meet at a banquet together. Great exploits have been often achieved with no very numerous forces, but assuredly never before was so great a power overthrown from so small a beginning. For, out of those who had been banished, twelve young men (there not being in all more than a hundred who were willing to encounter so great a danger,) agreed to attempt the enterprise; and by this small number the power of the Lacedæmonians was overcome; for these youths made war on that occasion, not more upon the faction of their adversaries than upon the Spartans, who were lords of Greece, and whose

* See Epaminondas, c. 10.

† *Ut quemque ex proximo locum fors obtulisset, eo patriam recuperare niterentur.*] "Opportunity" seems to be the sense of *locus* in this passage, as in Hamilc. c. 1, *locus nocendi*. *Quemque* is for *quemcumque*, as Van Staveren remarks.

imperious domination, shaken by this commencement, was humbled not long after in the battle of Leuctra.

These twelve, then, whose leader was Pelopidas, quitting Athens in the day-time, with a view to reach Thebes when the sky was obscured by evening, set out with hunting dogs, carrying nets in their hands, and in the dress of countrymen, in order that they might accomplish their journey with less suspicion. Having arrived at the very time that they had desired, they proceeded to the house of Charon, by whom the hour and day* had been fixed.

III. Here I would observe in passing, although the remark be unconnected with the subject before us,† how great mischief excessive confidence is wont to produce; for it soon came to the ears of the Theban magistrates that some of the exiles had entered the city, but this intelligence, being intent upon their wine and luxuries, they so utterly disregarded, that they did not take the trouble even to inquire about so important a matter. Another circumstance was added, too, which may show their folly in a more remarkable light. A letter was brought from Athens by Archias the hierophant,‡ to Archias, who then held the chief post at Thebes, in which a full account had been written concerning the expedition of the exiles. This letter being delivered to Archias as he was reclining at the banquet, he, thrusting it under the bolster, sealed as it was, said, "I put off serious matters till to-morrow." But those revellers, when the night was far advanced, and they were overcome with wine, were all put to death by the exiles under the command of Pelopidas. Their object being thus effected, and the common people being summoned to take arms and secure their liberty, not only those who were in the city, but also others from all parts out of the country, flocked together to join them; they then expelled the garrison of the Lacedæmonians from the citadel, and delivered their country from thraldom. The

* *Tempus et dies.*] Charon had not only settled the day, but the time of the day.—*Bos.*

† *Sejunctum ab re positâ.*] By *res*, "the subject," we must understand the life of Pelopidas. Yet no apology was necessary for introducing the remark, as it is extremely applicable to the enterprise which Nepos is relating.

‡ *Hierophante.*] A *hierophantes* was one who understood and could interpret religious mysteries. Archias was high-priest of the Eleusinian rites of Ceres.

promoters of the seizure of the Cadmea they partly put to death, and partly sent into exile.

IV. During this period of turbulence, Epaminondas, as we have already observed, remained quiet, so long as the struggle was between fellow-citizens, in his own house. The glory of delivering Thebes, therefore, belongs wholly to Pelopidas; almost all his other honours were gained in conjunction with Epaminondas. In the battle of Leuctra, where Epaminondas was commander-in-chief, Pelopidas was leader of a select body of troops, which were the first to bear down the phalanx of the Spartans. He was present with him, too, in all his dangers. When he attacked Sparta, he commanded one wing of the army; and, in order that Messene might be sooner restored,* he went ambassador to Persia. He was, indeed, the second of the two great personages at Thebes, but second only in such a way that he approached very near to Epaminondas.

V. Yet he had to struggle with adverse fortune. He lived in exile, as we have shown, in the early part of his life; and, when he sought to bring Thessaly under the power of the Thebans, and thought that he was sufficiently protected by the law of embassies, which used to be held sacred by all nations, he was seized, together with Ismenias, by Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ, and thrown into prison. Epaminondas, making war upon Alexander, restored him to liberty. But after this occurrence, he could never be reconciled in feeling to him by whom he had been unjustly treated. He therefore persuaded the Thebans to go to the relief of Thessaly, and to expel its tyrants. The chief command in the expedition being given to him, and he having gone thither with an army, he did not hesitate to come to a battle the moment he saw the enemy. In the encounter, as soon as he perceived Alexander, he spurred on his horse, in a fever of rage, to attack the, and, separating too far from his men, was killed by a shower of darts. This happened when victory was in his favour, for the troops of the tyrant had already given way. Such being the event, all the cities of Thessaly honoured Pelopidas, after his death, with golden crowns and brazen statues, and presented his children with a large portion of land.

* See Epaminondas, c. 8.

XVII. AGESILAUS.

Agesilaus elected king of Sparta, his brother's son being set aside, I.—His expedition to Asia; his strict observance of his truce with Tissaphernes, II.—He lays waste Phrygia; winters at Ephesus; deceives Tissaphernes, III.—Is recalled to defend his country; defeats the Thebans at Coronea; his clemency, IV.—His success in the Corinthian war; spares Corinth, V.—Refuses to go to the battle at Leuctra; saves Sparta by a stratagem, VI.—Replenishes the treasury of his country, VII.—His personal appearance and mode of life; his death at the harbour of Menelaus, VIII.

AGESILAUS the Lacedæmonian has been praised not only by other writers, but, above all, by Xenophon, the disciple of Socrates, for he treated Xenophon as an intimate friend.

In his early days he had a dispute with Leotychides, his brother's son, about the throne; for it was a custom handed down among the Lacedæmonians from their ancestors, that they should always have two kings, in name rather than power, of the two families of Procles and Eurysthenes, who were the first kings of Sparta, of the progeny of Hercules. It was not lawful for a king to be made out of one of these families instead of the other; each of the two, therefore, maintained its order of succession. Regard was had, in the first place, to the eldest of the sons of him who died while on the throne; but if he had left no male issue, the choice then fell on him who was next of kin. King Agis, the brother of Agesilaus, had recently died, and had left a son named Leotychides, whom, during his life, he had not acknowledged, but, at his death, had declared to be his. Leotychides contended for the royal dignity with his uncle Agesilaus, but did not obtain what he sought, for Agesilaus was preferred through the interest of Lysander, a man, as we have already stated, of a factious character, and at that time of great influence.

II. Agesilaus, as soon as he got possession of the throne, solicited the Lacedæmonians to send an army into Asia, and make war upon the king of Persia, assuring them that it was better to fight in Asia than in Europe; for a rumour had gone abroad that Artaxerxes was equipping a fleet, and raising land forces, to send into Greece. Permission being granted him, he exerted so much expedition, that he arrived in Asia with his troops before the king's satraps knew that he had set out; hence it happened that he surprised them all unprepared, and

expecting nothing of the kind. But as soon as Tissaphernes, who had the chief authority among the royal satraps, heard of his arrival, he begged a truce of the Spartan, on pretence that he would try to effect an agreement between the Lacedæmonians and the king, but in reality to gain time for collecting troops; and he obtained a truce for three months. Each of them, however, took an oath to observe the truce without fraud; to which engagement Agesilaus adhered with the greatest honour; but Tissaphernes, on the other hand, did nothing but make preparations for war. Though Agesilaus became aware of his proceedings, he still kept his oath, and said that "he was a great gainer by doing so, for Tissaphernes, by his perjury, both alienated men from his interest, and made the gods angry with him; while he, by being faithful to his obligation, produced confidence among his troops, as they felt that the power of the gods was on their side, and that men were rendered greater friends to them, because they were accustomed to favour those whom they saw keeping faith."

III. When the period of the truce was expired, the barbarian, not doubting that as he had many residences in Caria, and as that province was then thought by far the richest in Asia, the enemy would direct their attacks on that quarter especially, assembled his whole force on that side. But Agesilaus turned into Phrygia, and laid waste the country before Tissaphernes could make a movement in any direction. After enriching his men with abundance of plunder, he led back his army to Ephesus to winter, and erecting forges for arms there, made preparations for war with great industry. That his soldiers might be armed with greater care, too, and equipped with more display, he proposed rewards, with which those were to be presented whose efforts to that end should be remarkably distinguished. He pursued the same course with regard to different kinds of exercises, so as to honour with valuable gifts those who excelled others in them. By this means he succeeded in getting an army most admirably accoutred and trained.

When he thought it time to draw his troops out of winter quarters, he saw that if he openly declared in what direction he was going to march, the enemy would not give credit to his statement, but would occupy other parts with their forces, not doubting that he would do something quite different from

what he said. Agesilaus, accordingly, giving out that he would march for Sardis, Tissaphernes felt convinced that Caria must again be defended. When his expectation deceived him in the matter, and he found himself outwitted by his adversary's shrewdness, he hastened to protect his dependants, but too late, for, when he arrived, Agesilaus had taken many places, and secured abundance of spoil.

The Lacedæmonian king, seeing that the enemy were superior to him in cavalry, never gave them an opportunity of attacking him in the plains, but engaged them in those parts in which infantry would be of greater service. As often as he came to a battle, therefore, he routed forces of the enemy far more numerous than his own; and he so conducted himself in Asia that he was in the judgment of every one accounted superior to his opponent.

IV. While he was thinking of marching into Persia, and attacking the king himself, a messenger came to him from home, by order of the Ephori, to acquaint him that the Athenians and Bœotians had declared war against the Lacedæmonians, and that he should therefore not delay to return. In this juncture his dutifulness to his country is not less to be admired than his merit in war, for though he was at the head of a victorious army, and felt assured, to the utmost, of becoming master of the kingdom of Persia, he obeyed the orders of the absent magistrates with as much respect as if he had been a private person in the *comitium** at Sparta. Would that our generals had followed his example! But let us proceed with our subject. Agesilaus preferred an honourable name to the most powerful empire, and thought it much more glorious to obey the laws of his country than to subdue Asia in war. With these feelings, therefore, he led his forces over the Hellespont, and employed such expedition, that he accomplished in thirty days a journey which Xerxes had taken a year to perform.† When he was not very far from the Peloponnesus, the Athenians and Bœotians, and others in

* *In comitio.*] A Latin word used by the author for the Greek, which would be *ἐφορεῖον*, the court of the Ephori.

† *Quod iter Xerxes anno vertente confecerat.*] *Anno vertente*, sc. *se*, "a year turning itself or revolving," i e. in the course of a year, in a full year. In the Life of Themistocles, however, c. 5, Xerxes is said to have made the journey in six months.

alliance with them, endeavoured to make a stand against him at Coronea, all of whom he defeated in a great battle. It was an eminent merit in his victory, that when a numerous body of the enemy had taken refuge in a temple of Minerva after the defeat, and the question was put to him, "what he would wish to be done with them," he, though he had received some wounds in the battle, and seemed angry with all who had borne arms against him, preferred, nevertheless, respect for religion to the gratification of his resentment, and gave orders that they should suffer no injury. Nor did he act thus in Greece only,—so as to save the temples of the gods from profanation,—but even among the barbarians also, he preserved every image and altar with the utmost scrupulosity. He used publicly to observe, therefore, that "he wondered those were not counted in the number of the sacrilegious who injured the suppliants of the gods,* or that those who lessened respect for religion were not visited with severer punishments than those who robbed temples."

V. After this battle all the war was concentrated about Corinth, and was accordingly called the Corinthian war. During this contest, when, in one battle, in which Agesilaus was general,† there had fallen ten thousand of the enemy, and the strength of his opponents seemed broken by that catastrophe, he was so far from presumptuous boasting,‡ that he expressed commiseration for the fortune of Greece, since it was through the fault of his enemies that so many had been defeated and killed by him, for with that number, if the mind of his adversaries had been but right, the Persians might have been forced to make atonement to Greece. When he had driven the enemy, too, within their walls, and

* *Supplicibus eorum.*] Whether *eorum* refers to *barbaros*, which is nearer to it, or to *deorum*, which is farther from it, has been a question among the commentators. Bos refers it to *deorum*, and I think him right. A recent editor imagines that it is to be referred to *simulacra arasque*. Magius would read *deorum* instead of *eorum*, and his suggestion is approved by Bremi and Büchling.

† This appears to be an error; for Xenophon, Ages. 7, 5, and Plutarch, Vit. Ages. speak of Agesilaus as having heard about the battle; and it is therefore to be concluded, as Magius and Lambinus observe, that he was not present in it, but that it took place while he was on his march homeward.

‡ *Ab insolentia gloriæ.*] "From the presumptuousness of boasting."

many exhorted him to attack Corinth, he said, "that it would not be consistent with his character in war to do so; since he was one," he said, "who would oblige offenders to return to their duty, not one who would destroy the noblest cities of Greece; for if we should proceed," he added, "to extirpate those who have supported us against the barbarians, we should weaken ourselves while the barbarians remain at their ease; and, when this has taken place, they will easily bring us under their power whenever they please."

VI. In the mean time the disaster at Leuctra befel the the Lacedæmonians; and that he might not march thither,* though he was urged by many to go to the field, he refused to go, as if he had a presentiment concerning the event. But when Epaminondas attacked Sparta, and the city was without walls, he proved himself such a commander, that it was apparent to all on that occasion, that if it had not been for him, Sparta would have ceased to exist.† In this time of danger, indeed, the celerity of his proceedings was the preservation of the whole people; for when a number of the young men, alarmed at the approach of the enemy, had determined on going over to the Thebans, and had taken a position on an eminence without the city, Agesilaus, who saw that it would have a most pernicious effect, if it were noticed that any were trying to desert to the enemy, went thither with some of his men, and, as if they had been acting with a good intention, commended their procedure in having taken possession of that spot, and said that he himself had also observed that this ought to be done. Thus, by his pretended commendation, he prevented the young men from deserting, and, after joining some of his followers with them, left the place quite safe; for when the number of those was increased who were unacquainted with the project,‡ the conspirators were

* *Quò ne proficisceretur—exire noluit.*] The conclusion of the sentence does not suit the commencement of it. It is a decided *anacoluthon*, as Harles, Bremi, and Bardilis observe.

† *Nisi ille fuisset, Spartam futuram non fuisse.*] "Unless he had been, Sparta would not have been."

‡ *Aucto numero eorum qui expertes erant consilii.*] Bos suggests this explanation of the passage: that only a part of those who occupied the height intended to go over to the enemy, and designed, by force or persuasion, to bring over the others *qui expertes erant consilii;* but were deterred from doing so when the number of the true men was

afraid to move, and retained their ground the more willingly as they thought that what they had meditated was still unknown.

VII. After the battle of Leuctra, it is certain, the Lacedæmonians never recovered themselves, or regained their former power, though, at that period, Agesilaus did not cease to assist his country by whatever means he could use. When the Lacedæmonians were greatly in want of money, he gave his support to all those * who had revolted from the king, and being presented by them with a large sum, he relieved his country with it. In his character, indeed, this point was particularly worthy of admiration, that, though great presents were given him by kings, princes, and states, he never took any portion of them into his own house, and never departed in the least from the usual diet and dress of the Spartans; he remained content with the same house which Eurysthenes, the progenitor of his family, had inhabited; and whoever entered it could see no indication of luxury or extravagance, but, on the contrary, many proofs of temperance and frugality, for it was furnished in such a manner that it differed in no respect from that of any poor or private person.

VIII. As this great man had found nature favourable in giving him excellent qualities of mind, so he found her unpropitious with regard to the formation of his body; for he was of low stature, small in person, and lame of one foot. These circumstances rendered his appearance the reverse of attractive, and strangers, when they looked at his person, felt only contempt for him, while those who knew his merits could not sufficiently admire him. Such fortune attended him, when, at the age of eighty, he went into Egypt to the aid of Tachos, and lay down with his men on the shore without any shelter, having merely such a couch that the ground was but covered with straw, and nothing more than a skin thrown upon it,† while all his attendants lay in the same manner, in plain and well-worn attire, so that their equipments not only

strengthened by the followers of Agesilaus. Bos, however, suggests at the same time, that we might read *aucti numero eorum*, which Bremi is inclined to adopt.

* Among whom were Tachos of Egypt, and Mausolus, king of Caria, from both of whom he received large presents; as he did also, probably, from Cotys and Autophradates. See Xen. Ages. 2, 26, 27.

† *Huc.*] That is, on the straw.

did not indicate that there was a king among them, but even raised a suspicion that he must be a man not very rich. The news of his arrival having reached the king's officers, presents of every kind were soon brought him; but when the officers inquired for Agesilaus, they could scarcely be made to believe that he was one of those who were sitting before them. When they presented him what they had brought, with a message from the king, he accepted nothing but some veal, and such sorts of meat as his present circumstances required; the ointments, chaplets, and sweetmeats he distributed among the slaves, and the other things he directed to be carried back. Upon this, the barbarians looked upon him still more contemptuously, thinking that he had made choice of what he had taken from ignorance of what was valuable.

As he was returning from Egypt, after having been presented by King Nectanabis * with two hundred and twenty talents, in order that he might bestow them upon his countrymen, and had arrived at what is called the harbour of Menelaus,† lying between Cyrenæ‡ and Egypt, he fell ill and died. His friends, in order the more conveniently to convey him to Sparta, enveloped his body, as they had no honey, in wax, and so carried it home.

* Nectanabis II., nephew of Tachos, whom he dethroned with the aid of Agesilaus.

† *Portum qui Menelai vocatur.*] On the coast of Marmorica.

‡ *Cyrenæ, arum,* or *Cyrene, es,* but the latter is the far more common form.

XVIII. EUMENES.

Eumenes is secretary to Philip and Alexander, and afterwards commander in the cavalry, I.—After the death of Alexander he is allotted the province of Cappadocia, and is a steady friend to Perdiccas, II.—His proceedings on behalf of Perdiccas, III.—He defeats Craterus and Neoptolemus, IV.—Is pursued by Antigonus; his stratagems and escape, V.—His kindness to Olympias and Alexander's children, VI.—His continuance of hostilities against Antigonus; his device in his camp, VII.—He defeats Antigonus; is controlled by Alexander's veterans, VIII.—He eludes Antigonus by a stratagem, IX.—After again defeating Antigonus, he is betrayed by his own men, X.—In his confinement he longs to die, XI.—His death, XII.—After his death the officers of Alexander assume the title of kings; his funeral, XIII.

I. EUMENES was a native of Cardia.* If success equal to his abilities had been granted him, he would not, indeed, have been a greater man (for we estimate great men by merit, not by fortune), but he would have been much more renowned, and more honoured. As he happened to live, however, in the days in which the Macedonians flourished, it was a great disadvantage to him residing among them, that he was of a foreign country. Nor was anything wanting to him but a noble descent; for, though he was of a family of distinction in his native city, the Macedonians were nevertheless dissatisfied that he should ever be preferred to them. They were obliged to submit, however, for he excelled them all in caution, vigilance, endurance, and acuteness and activity of intellect.

When he was but a youth, he was received into favour by Philip, the son of Amyntas, and after a short time was admitted into intimate friendship with him; for, even then, when he was so young, there appeared to be great natural talent in him. He therefore kept him near himself in the office of secretary, which is much more honourable † among the Greeks than among the

* *Cardianus.*] Cardia was a town in the Thracian Chersonese, on the gulf of Melas.

† *Multo honorificentius.*] Because freedmen and slaves, for the most part, purchased the office or secretary among the Romans with money, as is observed by Casaubon in Capitolin. Vit. Macrini, c. 7, and by Lipsius, Elect. i. 32.—*Loccenius.* At Athens, however, Samuel Petit, Comm. in Leges Atticas, l. iii. tit. 2, shows that the office of scribe was as little honourable as it was at Rome.—*Bos.* Such was doubtless the case throughout Greece a few of the more

Romans; for with us, secretaries are regarded as hirelings, as in reality they are; but with them, on the contrary, no one is admitted to that office who is not of good family and of known integrity and ability, because he must of necessity be the confidant of all their political measures. This post of confidence he held for seven years under Philip, and after Philip was assassinated, he was in the same office for thirteen years under Alexander. During the latter portion of this time, also, he commanded one of the two divisions of the cavalry called *Hetærice.** With both these princes he always had a place in the council, and was admitted to a knowledge of all their proceedings.

II. After the death of Alexander at Babylon, when kingdoms were allotted to each of his friends, and the superintendence of affairs was committed to the hands† of Perdiccas, to whom Alexander, when dying, had given his ring (a circumstance from which every one conjectured that Alexander had entrusted his kingdom to him, until his children should come of age to take the government upon themselves;‡ for Craterus and Antipater, who seemed to have the precedence of him, were absent, and Hephæstion, for whom Alexander, as might easily be perceived, had had the highest esteem, was dead), at that time Cappadocia was given to Eumenes, or rather appointed for him, for it was then in the power of the enemy. Perdiccas had sought with great eagerness to attach Eumenes to him, for he saw in him great honour and ability,§ and did not doubt that, if he could gain him over to his side, he would be of great assistance to him in the projects which he was meditating, since he purposed (what all in great power generally covet) to seize and secure for himself the shares of all the rest. Nor did he alone, indeed, entertain such designs, but all the others,

eminent secretaries might be held in esteem and respect, but the majority would be of just the same standing as at Rome.

* Ἑταιρικὴ ἵππος, about a thousand or twelve hundred of the flower of the Macedonian cavalry. The name is from ἑταῖρος, a friend or companion, either because they were united with one another as friends, or because they were associates or companions of the king.

† *Tradita esset tuenda eidem--Perdiccæ.*] "Was committed, to be taken care of, to the same Perdiccas."

‡ *In suam tutelam pervenissent.*] Should come "to their own guardianship," should be out of their minority, and no longer under the guardianship of others.

§ *Industriam.*

who had been friends of Alexander, formed similar intentions. Leonnatus,* in the first place, had resolved to seize upon Macedonia, and had endeavoured, by liberal promises, to prevail upon Eumenes to desert Perdiccas, and form an alliance with himself. Being unable to make any impression upon him, he attempted to take his life, and would have effected his purpose, had he not secretly escaped from his guards by night.

III. In the meantime those wars broke out, which, after the death of Alexander, were carried on to desperation;† and all combined to ruin Perdiccas. Eumenes, though he saw that he was but weak, as he was obliged to stand alone against them all, yet did not forsake a friend, or show himself more desirous of safety than of honour. Perdiccas had set him over that part of Asia which lies between Mount Taurus and the Hellespont, and had opposed him alone to his European adversaries.‡ Perdiccas himself had marched against Ptolemy, to make an attack upon Egypt. Eumenes, as he had an army neither numerous nor strong, for it wanted exercise, and had not long been assembled, while Antipater and Craterus were said to be fast approaching, and to have passed the Hellespont, men who stood high in reputation and experience in war (and the Macedonian soldiers were then held in the same esteem in which the Romans are now held, for those have always been accounted the bravest who have attained the greatest power), Eumenes, I say, was aware, that if his troops should learn against whom they were being led, they would not only not proceed, but would disperse at the intelligence; and it was therefore a very clever stratagem of his, to lead his men through bye-roads, in which they could not hear the truth, and to make them believe that he was marching against some of the barbarians. In this artifice he successfully persevered, and drew out his army into the field, and joined battle, before the men were aware with whom they were engaged. He succeeded, also, by an advantageous choice of ground, in fighting more with his cavalry, in which he had

* A distinguished officer in the army of Alexander, after whose death he had the government of Phrygia on the Hellespont.

† *Ad internecionem.*] Properly, "to the utter destruction" of one of the two contending parties.

‡ Antipater, Craterus, and their supporters

the superiority, than with his infantry, in which he was but weak.

IV. After they had continued the contest, with desperate efforts, through the greater part of the day, Craterus, the commander-in-chief, was killed, as well as Neoptolemus who held the second place in authority. With Eumenes Neoptolemus himself encountered, and as they grappled with one another, and fell from their horses to the ground (so that it might easily be seen that they fought with feelings of enmity, and warred more with their minds than with their bodies), they could not be separated till life left one of the two. Eumenes received some wounds from Neoptolemus, yet did not, on that account, retire from the field, but pressed more vigorously upon the enemy. The horse being routed, Craterus the general slain, and many, chiefly of high rank, being made prisoners, the infantry, as they were forced into a position from which they could not escape without the permission of Eumenes, begged peace of him. But when they had obtained it, they did not adhere to their word, but went off, as soon as they could, to Antipater. Eumenes endeavoured to save the life of Craterus, who was carried half dead from the field; but, not being able to succeed, he interred him, suitably to his dignity and their former friendship (for he had been intimate with him in Alexander's life-time), with a magnificent funeral, and sent his bones into Macedonia to his wife and children.

V. During the course of these proceedings on the Hellespont, Perdiccas was killed by Seleucus and Antigonus* on the river Nile, and the chief command was conferred upon Antipater. Upon this, those who had deserted him were condemned to death in their absence, the army giving their suffrage to that effect; and among those condemned was Eumenes, who, though he was affected at this blow,† did not sink under it, or conduct the war with the less vigour.

* *A Seleuco et Antigono.*] For *Antigono* it is now generally supposed that we should read *Antigene*, Antigenes being mentioned by Diod. Sic. xviii. 59, as one of the leaders of the Argyraspides; another being Teutamus. Antigenes was the first to attack Perdiccas, as Van Staveren observes, referring to Arrian apud Photium, p. 224. The same critic suggests that we might even, with some probability alter *Seleuco* into *Teutamo*, but does not wish to press this conjecture

† *Plagâ.*] Meaning the death of Perdiccas.

But a course of necessitous circumstances, though they could not subdue the energy of his spirit, had yet some effect in diminishing it. Antigonus, however, who pursued him, was often, though he had plenty of all kinds of troops, severely harassed by him on the march, nor could he ever come to an engagement with him except in places in which a few could resist many. But at last, when he could not be taken by manœuvring, he was hemmed in by numbers; still he extricated himself, though with the loss of several men, and took refuge in a fortress of Phrygia, called Nora; where, being besieged, and fearing that, by remaining in one place, he should lose his war-horses, as there was no room for exercising them, he adopted an ingenious expedient,* by which the animal might be warmed and exercised standing, so that it might take its food more freely, and not be deprived of the benefit of bodily motion. He tied up its head† so high with a halter, that it could not quite touch the ground with its fore-feet; he then forced it, by lashing it behind, to leap up and throw back its heels; which motions excited perspiration no less than if the animal had run in an open course. Hence it happened (what was a matter of astonishment to all), that he led out his horses from the fortress, though he had been several months under siege, equally as sleek as if he had been keeping them in open fields. During that siege, as often as he desired, he either set on fire or demolished the works and defences of Antigonus. He, however, kept himself in that one place as long as the winter lasted; but, as the fortress could have no relief from without, and the spring was coming on, he pretended to be desirous of surrendering, and, while he was treating about the terms, eluded the officers of Antigonus, and brought himself and all his men off safe.

VI. When Olympias, who was the mother of Alexander, sent letters and messengers into Asia to Eumenes, to consult him whether she should proceed to re-possess herself of Macedonia (for she was then living in Epirus), and take upon herself the government there, he advised her, "above all

* *Callidum fuit ejus inventum, quemadmodum,* &c.] "It was an ingenious contrivance of his, how the animal might be warmed," &c.

† *Caput.*] Not only the head, however, but all the fore-part of the body must have been tied up, the strap being passed round the body behind the fore-legs.

things, not to stir, but to wait till Alexander's son should get the throne; yet, if she should be hurried into Macedonia by any irresistible longing, he recommended her to forget all injuries, and not to exercise too severe an authority over any one." But with neither of these suggestions did she comply; for she both went to Macedonia, and acted there with the greatest cruelty. She then entreated Eumenes, while he was still at a distance, "not to allow the bitterest enemies of Philip's house and family to extirpate his very race, but to give his support to the children of Alexander;" adding that, "if he would do her such a favour, he might raise troops as soon as possible, and bring them to her aid; and, in order that he might do so more easily, she had written to all the governors of the provinces that preserved their allegiance, to obey him, and follow his counsels." Eumenes, moved with this communication, thought it better, if fortune should so order it, to perish in showing his gratitude to those who had deserved well of him, than to live ungrateful.

VII. He therefore assembled troops, and prepared for war against Antigonus. But as there were with him several noble Macedonians, amongst whom were Peucestes, who had been one of Alexander's body-guard, and was then governor of Persia, and Antigenes, under whose command the Macedonian phalanx was, dreading envy (which, nevertheless, he could not escape), if he, being a foreigner, should have the chief authority rather than others of the Macedonians, of whom there was a great number there, he erected a pavilion at head quarters,* in the name of Alexander, and caused a gold chair, with a sceptre and diadem, to be placed in it, directing that all should meet at it daily, that counsel might be taken there concerning matters of importance; for he thought that he should incur less envy if he appeared to manage the war under show of the authority, and with assumption of the name, of Alexander; and in this point he succeeded; for, as the meetings were held, not at the tent of Eumenes, but at that of the king, and measures concerted there, his superiority was

* *In principiis.*] See note on Florus, iii. 10, Bohn's Cl. Library. Eumenes, to give effect to this device, pretended, as Polyænus tells us, to have received directions from the spirit of Alexander, which had appeared to him in a dream. It is strange that the Macedonian officers should have allowed themselves to be so deluded.

in some degree concealed, though all was done by his agency alone.

VIII. He engaged with Antigonus in the country of the Parætaci, not with his army in full array, but on the march, and forced him, after being severely handled, to return into Media to winter. He himself distributed his troops in winter-quarters through the neighbouring country of Persia, not as he chose, but as the will of his soldiers obliged him; for the phalanx of Alexander the Great, which had over-run Asia, and subdued the Persians, desired, in consequence of their established renown, and also through long-continued license, not to obey their officers but to command them, as our veterans now do. There is danger, therefore, lest ours should do what those did, and, by their insubordination and excessive licentiousness, ruin all, not less those whom they have supported than those whom they have opposed. And if any one reads the acts of those veterans, he will find the proceedings of ours like theirs, and be of opinion that there is no other difference between them but that of time. But I return to those of Macedonia. They had fixed upon their winter-quarters, not from regard to convenience for warfare, but for luxurious indulgence; and had separated into parties at a great distance from one another. Antigonus, hearing of their dispersion, and being aware that he was not a match for his enemies when prepared to receive him, resolved that some new plan must be adopted. There were two ways by which he might march from the country of the Medes, where he was wintering, to the winter-quarters of his adversaries, of which the shorter lay through desert tracts, which nobody inhabited by reason of the scarcity of water, but was only about ten days' march. The other, by which everybody travelled, presented a circuitous route of twice the length, but was well-supplied, and abounded with all necessaries. If he went by the latter, he felt sure that the enemy would know of his approach before he had accomplished the third part of the distance; but if he hurried through the deserts, he hoped that he might surprise his adversaries unawares. To effect his object, he ordered as many skins and sacks as possible to be got in readiness; and then forage and dressed provisions for ten days; desiring that as little fire as possible should be made in the camp. The route which he had in view he concealed from every one.

Being thus provided, he set forward in the direction on which he had determined.

IX. He had accomplished about half the distance, when, from the smoke of his camp, a suspicion was hinted to Eumenes that an enemy was approaching. His officers held a meeting; and it was considered what ought to be done. They were all aware that their troops could not be assembled so soon as Antigonus seemed likely to be upon them; and while they were all consequently in perplexity, and despairing of their safety,* Eumenes said that "If they would but use activity, and execute his orders (which they had not done before), he would put an end to their difficulties; for, though the enemy might now finish his journey in five days, he would take care that they should be delayed not less than as many days more.† They must therefore go about, and each collect his troops."

To retard the progress of Antigonus he adopted the following stratagem. He sent trustworthy men to the foot of the mountains, which lay over against the enemy's route, and ordered them, as soon as night came on, to make as large fires and as far dispersed, as they could; to reduce them at the second watch, and to make them very small at the third; and, by imitating the usages of a camp, to raise a suspicion in the enemy that there was actually a camp in those parts, and that intelligence had been given of their approach; and he told them to act in the same way on the following night. The men to whom this commission was given carefully observed their instructions. Antigonus, when darkness came on, saw the fires, and supposed that something had been heard of his coming, and that his enemies had assembled their force on that quarter. He therefore changed his intention, and, thinking that he could not surprise them unawares, altered his route, and took the longer circuit of the well-supplied road, on which he halted for one day, to refresh his weary men and recruit his horses, that he might come to battle with his army in better condition.

X. On this occasion Eumenes overreached a crafty general by stratagem, and obviated the suddenness of his attack; yet

* *De rebus summis.*] "Of their chief concerns."

† *Non minus totidem dierum spatio.*] "Not less than the space of just as many days.

he gained but little by his success; for through the envy of the officers with whom he had to act, and the treachery of the Macedonian veterans, he was delivered up, after he had come off superior in the field, to Antigonus, though they had previously sworn, at three several times, that they would defend him and never forsake him. But such was the eagerness of some to detract from his merit, that they chose rather to break their faith than not betray him. Antigonus, however, though he had been a violent enemy to him, would have spared his life, if he had but been allowed to do so by his friends, because he was certain that he could not be better assisted by any one in those difficulties which, as was apparent to all, were likely to fall upon him. For Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy, now powerful in resources, were assuming a threatening attitude, and he would be obliged to contend with them for supremacy. But those who were about him would not allow of such clemency; for they saw that if Eumenes were admitted to his councils, they themselves would be of small account in comparison with him. As for Antigonus himself, he had been so incensed against him, that he could never have been induced to relent, except by a strong expectation of eminent services from him.

XI. When he had committed him to custody, therefore, and the commander of the guard inquired how he would have him kept, he replied, "As the most furious lion, or the most savage elephant;" for he had not then determined whether he should spare his life or not. Meanwhile two classes of people crowded to gaze upon Eumenes, those who, from hatred of him, wished to feast their eyes* on his degradation and those who, from old friendship, desired to speak with him and console him. Many also came with them who were anxious to look at his person, and to see what sort of man he was whom they had feared so long and so much, and in whose destruction they had placed their hopes of victory. But Eumenes, when he had been some time under confinement, said to Onomarchus, in whose hands the chief command of the guard was, that "he wondered why he was thus kept a third day; for that it was not consistent with prudence on the part of Antigonus to treat† one whom he had conquered in such a

* *Fructum oculis capere.*] "To gain gratification for their eyes."

† *Ut deuteretur.*] The word *deutor* is not found elsewhere. It seems

manner, but that he should order him either to be put to death or released." As he seemed to Onomarchus to express himself somewhat arrogantly, he replied, "Why, if you were of such a spirit, did you not rather die on the field of battle, than fall into the hands of your enemy?" "Would indeed that that had befallen me," rejoined Eumenes, "but it did not happen because I never engaged with a stouter than myself; for I have never crossed swords with any one who did not yield to me; and I have not fallen by the prowess of my enemies, but by the perfidy of my friends." Nor was this assertion false; for he was a man not only of a graceful * and dignified bearing, but of strength sufficient for enduring fatigue; yet he was not so much distinguished for tallnes of person as for handsomeness of shape.

XII. As Antigonus would not venture alone to determine concerning him, he referred the decision to a council; where, when almost all the officers, in great excitement, expressed their surprise that death had not been already inflicted on a man by whom they had been harassed so many years, so severely that they were often reduced to despair, a man who had cut off leaders of the greatest eminence; and in whom, though but a single individual, there was so much to be dreaded, that as long as he lived they could not think themselves safe, while, if he were put to death, they would have no further anxiety; and in conclusion they asked Antigonus, "if he gave Eumenes his life, what friends he would employ? for that they would not act under him with Eumenes." After thus learning the sentiments of the council, he nevertheless took time for consideration till the seventh day following; when, being afraid that a mutiny might break out in the army, he gave orders that no one should be admitted to Eumenes, and that his daily food should be withheld; for he said that "he would offer no personal violence to a man who had once been his friend." Eumenes, however, after suffering from hunger not more than three days, was killed by his guards on the removal of the camp, without Antigonus's knowledge.

not to be the same with *abutor*, as some suppose, but to have much the same sense as the simple verb. But most editions have *se uteretur*, an alteration of Lambinus.

* This is so little of a reason for Eumenes' success against his opponents in the field, that Buchner, Bos, and others, suppose that some words have been lost out of the text.

XIII. Thus Eumenes, at the age of five-and-forty years, after having attended on Philip, as we have shown above, for seven years from the age of twenty, and having held the same office under Alexander for thirteen years, during one of which he had commanded a troop of cavalry; and after having, subsequently to Alexander's death, conducted armies as commander in-chief, and having sometimes repelled and sometimes cut off the most eminent generals, being made prisoner, not by the ability of Antigonus, but by the perjury of the Macedonians, ended his life in this manner.* How great awe was entertained of him by all those who were styled kings after the death of Alexander the Great, may be easily judged from the following fact, that no one of them, while Eumenes lived, was called a king, but only a governor; but that, after his death, they at once assumed the regal dress and title; nor did they care to perform what they had originally promised, namely, to guard the throne for Alexander's children; but, as soon as the only defender of the children was removed, they disclosed what their real views were. In this iniquity the leaders were Antigonus, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander.

Antigonus gave the dead body of Eumenes to his relations for burial; and they interred him with a military and magnificent funeral, and took care that his bones should be conveyed to Cappadocia to his mother, wife, and children.

XIX. PHOCION.

Phocion better known for his virtues than his military achievements, I.—In his old age he incurred the displeasure of his countrymen on various accounts, II.—Is exiled; his pleading before Philip; is sent back to Athens, III.—Is condemned at Athens, and put to death there, IV.

I. Though Phocion the Athenian was often at the head of armies, and held the most important commands, yet the blamelessness of his life is much better known than his exertions in war. Of the one, accordingly, there is no recollection.†

* The sentence begins with *Sic Eumenes*, and ends with *talem habuit exitum vitæ*, a fault similar to that which has been noticed in Ages. c. 6.

† *Memoria est nulla*] That is, no one thinks of praising his military exploits equally with his moral virtues.

but of the other the fame is great; and hence he was surnamed The Good. He was always poor, though he might have been extremely rich, by reason of the numerous offices conferred upon him, and the high commissions given him by the people. When he refused the present of a large sum of money from King Philip, and Philip's ambassadors urged him to receive it, and at the same time reminded him, that if he himself could easily do without it, he should nevertheless have some regard for his children, for whom it would be difficult, in the depth of poverty, to act up to the high character of their father, he gave them this answer: "If my children be like me, this same little farm, which has enabled me to reach my present eminence, will maintain them; but if they prove unlike me, I should not wish their luxury to be supported and increased at my expense."

II. After fortune had continued favourable to him almost to his eightieth year, he fell, towards the close of his life, into great unpopularity with his countrymen. In the first place, he had acted in concert with Demades in delivering up the city to Antipater; and, by his suggestions, Demosthenes and others, who were thought to deserve well of their country, had been sent into banishment by a decree of the people. Nor had he given offence only in this respect, that he had ill consulted the interest of his country, but also in not having observed the obligations of friendship; for though he had risen to the eminence which he then held through being supported and aided by Demosthenes, when he furnished him with means of defence against Chares,* and though he had several times come off with acquittal on trials, when he had to plead for his life, through having been defended by Demosthenes, he not only did not take the part of Demosthenes when he was in peril, but even betrayed him. But his fate was decided chiefly on one charge, that, when the supreme government of the state was in his hands, and he was warned by Dercyllus that Nicanor, the prefect of Cassander, was

* *Quum adversus Charetem eum subornaret.*] I have given to *subornaret* the sense to which Bos thinks it entitled. To what part of Phocion's life this passage relates is uncertain. Bos refers to Plutarch, Phocion, c. 14, where it is stated that Phocion was sent to Byzantium with a force to accomplish what Chares had failed in doing. But no mention is made there of any support given to Phocion by Demosthenes.

forming designs upon the Piræeus, and Dercyllus begged him, at the same time, to take care that the city should not want provisions, Phocion told him in the hearing of the people, that there was no danger, and engaged to be security for the truth of his statement; whereas Nicanor, not long after, became master of the Piræeus; and when the people assembled under arms to defend that harbour, without which Athens could not at all subsist, Phocion not only did not call any body to arms, but would not even take the command of those who were armed.

III. There were at that period in Athens two parties, one of which espoused the cause of the people, and the other that of the aristocracy; to the latter Phocion and Demetrius Phalereus were attached. Each of them relied on the support of the Macedonians; for the popular party favoured Polysperchon, and the aristocracy took the side of Cassander. After a time Cassander was driven from Macedonia by Polysperchon; and the people, in consequence, getting the superiority, immediately expelled from their country the leaders of the opposite faction, after they had been capitally convicted;* and among them Phocion and Demetrius Phalereus; and they then sent a deputation on the subject to Polysperchon, to request him to confirm their decrees. Phocion went to him at the same time, and as soon as he arrived he was summoned to plead his cause, nominally before King Philip,† but in reality before Polysperchon; for he at that time held the direction of the king's affairs. Being accused by Agnonides‡ of having betrayed the Piræeus to Nicanor, and being thrown, by order of the council, into confinement, he was then conveyed to Athens, that a trial might there be held upon him according to law.

IV. On his arrival, as he was weak in his feet through age, and was brought to the city in a carriage, great crowds of people gathered about him, of whom some, calling to mind his former reputation, expressed commiseration for his declining

* *Capitis damnatos.*] That is, made *atimous*, or infamous, deprived of civil rights, and condemned, perhaps, in addition, to exile or death.

† Philip Aridæus, the half brother and nominal successor of Alexander the Great.

‡ An Athenian demagogue, who was put to death by the people of Athens soon after the death of Phocion.

years but the greater number were violently exasperated against him, from the suspicion that he had betrayed the Piræeus, but especially because he had opposed the interest of the people in his old age. Hence not even the liberty of making a speech, and of pleading his cause, was granted him, but being forthwith sentenced to death, after some formalities of law had been despatched, he was delivered over to the eleven,* to whom public criminals, by the custom of the Athenians, are wont to be consigned. As he was being led to execution, Emphyletus, a man with whom he had been very intimate, met him, and having exclaimed, with tears, "O what unworthy treatment you suffer, Phocion!" Phocion rejoined, "But not unexpected, for most of the famous men of Athens have come to this end." So violent was the hatred of the multitude towards him, that no free person dared to bury him; and he was accordingly interred by slaves.

XX. TIMOLEON.

Timoleon delivers Corinth from the tyranny of his brother, and causes him to be put to death, I.—He expels Dionysius the younger from Sicily; defeats Hicetas; overcomes the Carthaginians, II.—After settling affairs in Sicily, he lays down the government, III.—He loses his sight from old age, but still attends to the interests of his country; builds a temple to Fortune, IV.—Instances of his patience; his death, V.

I. TIMOLEON of Corinth was doubtless a great man in the opinion of everybody, since it happened to him alone (for I know not that it happened to any one else),† to deliver his country, in which he was born, from the oppression of a tyrant, to banish a long established slavery from Syracuse (to the assistance of which he had been sent), and, on his arrival,

* *Undecim viris.*] Eleven petty officers, whose duty was to see the sentences of the law put in execution.

† *Namque huic uni contigit, quod nescio an nulli.*] I have endeavoured to give a satisfactory turn in the English to that which is not very satisfactory in the Latin. "For (that) happened to (him) alone, (of) which I know not whether (it happened) to any one (else)." If it happened to him alone, it of course happened to no one else. Some editors read *ulli*: but *nulli* appears to be the right reading, *nescio an* being taken in the sense of "perhaps."

to restore Sicily, which had been disturbed by war for many years, and harassed by barbarians,* to its former condition. But in these undertakings he struggled not with one kind of fortune only, and, what is thought the more difficult, he bore good much more discreetly than evil fortune; for when his brother Timophanes, on being chosen general by the Corinthians, had made himself absolute by the aid of his mercenary troops, and Timoleon himself might have shared the sovereignty with him, he was so far from taking part in his guilt, that he preferred the liberty of his countrymen to the life of his brother, and thought it better to obey the laws of his country than to rule over his country. With this feeling, he contrived to have his brother the tyrant put to death by a certain augur, a man connected with them both, as their sister by the same parents† was married to him. He himself not only did not put his hand to the work, but would not even look upon his brother's blood; for, until the deed was done, he kept himself at a distance on the watch, lest any of his brother's guards should come to his aid. This most noble act of his was not equally approved by all; for some thought that natural affection had been violated by him, and endeavoured, from envy, to lessen the praise of his virtue. His mother, indeed, after this proceeding, would neither admit her son into her house, nor look upon him, but, uttering imprecations against him, called him a fratricide, and destitute of natural feeling. With this treatment he was so much affected, that he was sometimes inclined to put an end to his life, and withdraw himself by death from the sight of his ungrateful fellow-creatures.

II. In the meantime, after Dion was assassinated at Syracuse, Dionysius again became master of that city, and his enemies solicited assistance from the Corinthians, desiring a general whose services they might employ in war. Timoleon, being in consequence despatched thither, expelled Dionysius, with wonderful success, quite out of Sicily. Though he might have put him to death, he refused to do so, and secured him a safe passage to Corinth, because the Corinthians had often

* *A barbaris.*] The Carthaginians, when they were at war with the elder Dionysius.

† *Soror ex iisdem parentibus nata.*] She was *whole sister* to him and Timophanes.

been supported by the aid of both the Dionysii, and he wished the memory of that kindness to be preserved, esteeming that victory noble in which there was more clemency than cruelty; and, finally, he wished it not only to be heard, but seen, what a personage he had reduced from such a height of power to so low a condition. After the departure of Dionysius, he had to go to war with Icetas, who had been the opponent of Dionysius; but that he did not disagree with him from hatred of tyranny, but from a desire for it, this was a sufficient proof, that after the expulsion of Dionysius he was unwilling to lay down his command. Timoleon, after defeating Hicetas, put to flight a vast army of the Carthaginians on the river Crimessus, and obliged those who had now for several years maintained their ground in Sicily, to be satisfied if they were allowed to retain Africa. He took prisoner also Mamercus, an Italian general, a man of great valour and influence, who had come into Italy to support the tyrants.

III. Having achieved these objects, and seeing not only the lands, but also the cities, deserted through the long continuance of the war, he assembled, in the first place, as many Sicilians as he could, and then sent for settlers also from Corinth, because it was by the Corinthians that Syracuse had been originally founded. He gave back to the old inhabitants their own lands, and divided such estates as had lost their owners in the war, among the new colonists; he repaired the dilapidated walls of the cities, and the neglected temples;* he restored their laws and liberties to the several communities, and, after a most destructive war, established such tranquillity through the whole island, that he, and not those who had brought colonists thither at first, might have been thought the founder of those cities. The citadel of Syracuse, which Dionysius had built to overawe the city, he demolished to its foundations; other bulwarks of tyranny he removed, and exerted his efforts that as few traces as possible of servitude might be left.

Though he was possessed of so much influence that he

* *Fana deserta.*] Bos retains *deserta* in his text, but shows an inclination, in his note, to adopt the emendation of Lambinus, *deleta; deserta*, however, which is found, I believe, in all the manuscripts, is susceptible of a very good interpretation; for temples that were deserted or neglected might have fallen into decay, and require to be repaired or rebuilt.

might have ruled the Syracusans even against their will, and though he had so strongly gained the affection of all the Sicilians that he might have assumed supreme power without opposition from any one, he chose rather to be loved than to be feared. He therefore laid down his authority as soon as he could, and lived as a private person at Syracuse during the remainder of his life. Nor did he act in this respect injudiciously; for, what other rulers could scarcely effect by absolute power, he attained by the good will of the people. No honour was withheld from him; nor, when any public business was afterwards transacted at Syracuse, was a decision made upon it before Timoleon's opinion was ascertained. Not only was no man's advice ever preferred to his, but no man's was even compared to it; nor was this occasioned more by the good will of others towards him, than by his own prudence.

IV. When he was advanced in age he lost the sight of his eyes, without any apparent disease in them; a misfortune which he bore with so much patience, that neither did any one ever hear him complain, nor did he take a less part in private and public business. He used to come to the theatre,* when any assembly of the people was held there, riding in a carriage by reason of his infirmity, and used to state from the vehicle what he thought proper. Nor did any one impute this to pride; for nothing arrogant or boastful ever came out of his mouth. Indeed when he heard his praises repeated, he never made any other observation than that "he paid and felt the utmost gratitude to the immortal gods for this favour, that when they had resolved on regenerating Sicily, they had appointed him, above all others, to be the leader to execute their will." For he thought that nothing in human affairs was done without the directing power of the gods; and he therefore erected a temple to Fortune† in his own house, and used to worship at it most religiously.

V. To this eminent virtue in his character were added certain wonderful incidents in his life; for he fought all his most remarkable battles on his birth-day; and hence it

* *In theatrum.*] Public assemblies were often held in theatres.

† *Sacellum Αὐτοματαίας.*] A word compounded of *αὐτος, self,* and *μάω, to desire* or will, and applied to Fortune as acting from her own will or impulse.

happened that all Sicily kept his birth-day as a festival. When one Lamestius, an impudent and ungrateful fellow, wanted to compel him to give bail for his appearance, as he said that he was merely dealing with him according to law, and several persons, flocking about him, would have curbed the insolence of the man by laying hands upon him, Timoleon entreated them all "not to do so, for that he had encountered extreme labours and dangers in order that Lamestius and others might enjoy such privileges; since this was the true form of liberty, if it were permitted to every one to try at law what he pleased." When a person, too, something like Lamestius, by name Demænetus, had proceeded to detract from his actions before an assembly of the people, and uttered some invectives against Timoleon himself, he observed, that "he now enjoyed the fulfilment of his prayers,* for that he had always made this his request to the immortal gods, that they would re-establish that degree of liberty among the Syracusans, in which it would be lawful for every man to say what he wished of any one with impunity." When he died, he was buried at the public expense by the Syracusans, in the Gymnasium, which is called the Timoleontean Gymnasium,† all Sicily attending his funeral.

XXI. OF KINGS.

The Spartan kings, kings only in name; the most eminent kings of Persia, I.—The greatest kings of Macedonia; the only great sovereign of Sicily, II.—The kings that arose after the death of Alexander the Great, III.

I. These were almost all the generals of Greece‡ that seemed worthy of record, except kings, for we would not treat of them, because the actions of them all are narrated separately;§ nor are they indeed very numerous. As for

* *Se voti esse damnatum.*] The meaning is, that he was now obliged to the fulfilment of that which he had vowed when he prayed for such a degree of freedom.

† *Timoleonteum.*] Sc. Gymnasium.

‡ *Græcæ gentis.*] All the preceding biographies are those of Greeks, except that of Datames.

§ *Separatim sunt relatæ.*] In another book written by Nepos, which

Agesilaus the Lacedæmonian, he was a king in name, not in power, just like the other Spartan kings. But of those who were sovereigns with absolute authority, the most eminent were, as we think, Cyrus, king of the Persians, and Darius, the son of Hystaspes, both of whom, originally in a private station, obtained thrones by merit. The first of these was killed in battle among the Massagetæ; Darius died a natural death at an advanced age. There are also three others of the same nation; Xerxes and the two Artaxerxes, Macrochir and Mnemon.* The most remarkable act of Xerxes was, that he made war upon Greece, by land and sea, with the greatest armies in the memory of man. Macrochir is greatly celebrated for a most noble and handsome person, which he rendered still more remarkable by extraordinary bravery in the field; for no one of the Persians was more valorous in action than he. Mnemon was renowned for his justice; for, when he lost his wife through the wickedness of his mother, he indulged his resentment so far only, that filial duty overcame it.† Of these, the two of the same name died a natural death;‡ the third was killed with the sword by Artabanus, one of his satraps.

II. Of the nation of the Macedonians, two kings far excelled the rest in renown for their achievements; Philip, the son of Amyntas, and Alexander the Great. One of these was cut off by a disease at Babylon; Philip was killed by Pausanias, near the theatre at Ægæ, when he was going to see the games. Of Epirus, the only great king was Pyrrhus, who made war upon the people of Rome; he was killed by a blow from a stone, when he was besieging the city of Argos in the Peloponnesus. There was also one great sovereign of Sicily, Dionysius the

contained the lives of kings, as Lambinus thinks; and Vossius *de Hist. Lat.* i. 14, is of the same opinion. I rather imagine that the writings of other authors, who have spoken of the acts of kings, are intended; for if Nepos had meant a composition of his own, he would have said *à me sunt relatæ*, as in the Life of Cato. c. 3, he says *in eo libro quem separatim de eo fecimus.— Bos.*

* Macrochir, *Longimanus*, or "long-handed." Mnemon, *μνήμων*, signifying one that has a good memory.

† There was no remarkable proof of his justice given on this occasion. His mother Parysatis poisoned his wife Statira; but he spared Parysatis, and put to death Gingis, who had merely been her tool. See Plutarch, Life of Artaxerxes, c. 19.

‡ *Morbo naturæ debitum reddiderunt.*] "Paid (tl eir) debt to nature oy disease."

elder; for he was both brave in action and skilful in military operations, and, what is not commonly found in a tyrant, was far from being sensual, or luxurious, or avaricious, and was covetous indeed of nothing but absolute and firmly-established sovereignty; and to attain that object he was cruel; for in his eagerness to secure it he spared the life of no one that he thought to be plotting against it. After having gained absolute power for himself by his abilities, he preserved it with remarkable good fortune, and died at the age of more than sixty, with his dominions in a flourishing condition. Nor in the course of so many years did he see the funeral of any one of his offspring, though he had children by three wives, and several grand-children had been born to him.

III. There arose also some great kings from among the followers of Alexander the Great, who assumed regal authority after his death. Among these were Antigonus, and his son Demetrius, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy; of whom Antigonus was killed in battle, when he was fighting against Seleucus and Lysimachus; and Lysimachus was cut off in a similar way by Seleucus, for the alliance between the two being broken, they went to war with one another. Demetrius, after he had given his daughter to Seleucus in marriage, and yet the alliance between them could not be maintained the more faithfully on that account, was taken prisoner in battle, and died of some disease, the father-in-law in the custody of his son-in-law. Not long after, Seleucus was treacherously killed by Ptolemy Ceraunus, whom he had entertained, when he was expelled by his father from Alexandria, and stood in need of assistance from others. As for Ptolemy himself, he is said, after having resigned his throne to his son during his life, to have been deprived of life by that same son.

But, as we think that sufficient has been said concerning these, it seems proper not to omit Hamilcar and Hannibal, who, as is agreed, surpassed all the natives of Africa in power and subtilty of intellect

XXII. HAMILCAR.

Hamilcar's success in Sicily; his defence of Eryx, and honourable capitulation, I.—His suppression of the rebellion raised by the Carthaginian mercenaries, II.—He takes his son Hannibal with him into Spain, and his son-in-law Hasdrubal, III.—Is killed in battle in Spain, IV.

I. HAMILCAR the Carthaginian, the son of Hannibal, and surnamed Barcas, began in the first Punic war, but towards the end of it, to hold the command of the army in Sicily; and though, before his coming, the efforts of the Carthaginians were unsuccessful both by sea and land, he, after he arrived, never gave way to the enemy,* or afforded them any opportunity of doing him harm, but, on the contrary, often attacked the foe when occasion presented itself, and always came off with the advantage. Afterwards, though the Carthaginians had lost almost every place in Sicily, he so ably defended Eryx,† that there seemed to be no war going on there. In the meantime, the Carthaginians, having been defeated at sea, near the islands called Ægates,‡ by Caius Lutatius, the Roman consul, resolved on putting an end to the war, and left the settlement of the matter to the judgment of Hamilcar, who, though he ardently desired to continue in arms, thought it, nevertheless, necessary to submit to make peace, because he saw that his country, exhausted by the expenses of the war, was no longer in a condition to bear the pressure of it; but such was his feeling on the occasion, that he soon meditated, if the affairs of his country should be but in a small degree improved, to resume the war, and to pursue the Romans with hostilities, until they should indisputably obtain the mastery, or, being conquered, should make submission. With this resolution he concluded a peace, but showed such a spirit in the transaction, that when Catulus refused to desist from hostilities unless Hamilcar, with such of his men as were in

* *Nunquam hosti cessit.*] Not exactly true; but he doubtless resisted the enemy vigorously.

† *Erycem.*] Not the mountain, as Bos observes, but the town situated between the top and the foot of the mountain, of both of which the Romans had possession. See Polyb. i. 58; ii. 7; Diod. Sic. xxiv. 2; Cluverius, Sicil. Antiq. ii. 1.

‡ Three islands on the western coast of Sicily. This battle brought the first Punic war to an end.

possession of Eryx, should lay down their arms and quit Sicily, Hamilcar replied, that, though his country submitted, he himself would rather perish on the spot than return home under such disgrace, for that it was not consistent with his spirit to resign to his enemies arms which he had received from his country as a defence against enemies.

II. Catulus yielded to his resolution. But Hamilcar, when he arrived at Carthage, found the republic in a far different condition than he had expected; for, through the long continuance of foreign troubles, so violent a rebellion had broken out at home, that Carthage was never in such danger, except when it was actually destroyed. In the first place, the mercenary troops, who had served against the Romans, and the number of whom amounted to twenty thousand, revolted; and these drew the whole of Africa over to their side, and laid siege to Carthage itself. With these disasters the Carthaginians were so much alarmed, that they requested aid even from the Romans, and obtained it. But at last, when they were almost sunk into despair, they made Hamilcar general, who not only repulsed the enemy from the walls of Carthage, though they amounted to a hundred thousand men in arms, but reduced them to such a condition, that being shut up in a confined space, they perished in greater numbers by famine than by the sword. All the towns that had revolted, and among them Utica and Hippo, the strongest cities of all Africa, he brought back to their allegiance to his country. Nor was he satisfied with these successes, but extended even the bounds of the Carthaginian empire, and re-established such tranquillity through all Africa, that there seemed to have been no war in it for many years.

III. These objects being executed according to his desire, he then, by dint of a spirit confident and incensed against the Romans, contrived, in order more easily to find a pretext for going to war with them, to be sent as commander-in-chief with an army into Spain, and took with him thither his son Hannibal, then nine years old. There also accompanied him a young man named Hasdrubal, a person of high birth and great beauty, who, as some said, was beloved by Hamilcar with less regard to his character than was becoming; for so great a man could not fail to have slanderers. Hence it happened that Hasdrubal was forbidden by the censor of public morals

to associate with him; but Hamilcar then gave him his daughter in marriage, because, according to their usages, a son-in-law could not be interdicted the society of his father-in-law. We have inserted this notice of Hasdrubal, because after Hamilcar was killed, he took the command of the army, and achieved great exploits; and he was also the first that corrupted the ancient manners of the Carthaginians by bribery. After his death Hannibal received the command from the army.

IV. Hamilcar, however, after he had crossed the sea, and arrived in Spain, executed some great undertakings with excellent success; he subdued some very powerful and warlike nations, and supplied all Africa with horses, arms, men, and money. But as he was meditating to carry the war into Italy, in the ninth year after his arrival in Spain, he was killed in a battle with the Vettones.

His constant hatred to the Romans seems to have been the chief cause of producing the second Punic war; for Hannibal, his son, was so wrought upon by the continual instigations of his father, that he would have chosen to die rather than not make trial of the Romans.

XXIII. HANNIBAL.

Hannibal, the greatest of generals, suffers from the envy of his countrymen, I.—Was the deadly enemy of the Romans, II.—He reduces Spain; besieges Saguntum; crosses the Alps, III.—His successful battles in Italy, IV. - His further proceedings in that country, V.—Is recalled to the defence of his country, and defeated by Scipio, VI.—Quits his country, and seeks refuge with Antiochus, VII.—Endeavours in vain to excite his countrymen to war; defeats the Rhodians, VIII.—Eludes the avarice of the Cretans, IX.—Stirs up Prusias against the Romans, X.—His stratagem in contending with Eumenes, XI. - Commits suicide to escape being delivered to the Romans, XII.—His attachment to literature, XIII.

I. HANNIBAL was the son of Hamilcar, and a native of Carthage. If it be true, as no one doubts, that the Roman people excelled all other nations in warlike merit, it is not to be disputed that Hannibal surpassed other commanders in ability as much as the Romans surpassed all other people in

valour; for as often as he engaged with the Romans in Italy, he always came off with the advantage; and, had not his efforts been paralyzed by the envy of his countrymen at home, he would appear to have been capable of getting the mastery over the Romans. But the jealous opposition of many prevailed against the ability of one. He, however, so cherished in his mind the hatred which his father had borne the Romans, and which was left him, as it were, by bequest, that he laid down his life before he would abate it; for even when he was exiled from his country, and stood in need of support from others, he never ceased in thought to make war with the Romans.

II. To say nothing of Philip,* whom he rendered an enemy to the Romans, though at a distance from him, Antiochus was the most powerful of all kings at that period; and him he so inflamed with a desire for war, that he endeavoured to bring troops against Italy even from the Red Sea.† As some ambassadors from Rome were sent to that prince, in order to gain information respecting his intentions, and to endeavour, by underhand contrivances, to render Hannibal an object of suspicion to the king (as if, being bribed by them, he entertained other sentiments than before); and as they were not unsuccessful in their attempts, and Hannibal became aware of that fact, and found himself excluded from the privy council he went at a time appointed to the king himself, and, after having said much concerning his attachment to him and his hatred to the Romans, he added the following statement: 'My father Hamilcar," said he, "when I was a very little boy, being not more than nine years old, offered sacrifices at Carthage, when he was going as commander into Spain, to Jupiter, the best and greatest of the gods; and while this religious ceremony was being performed, he asked me *whether I should like to go with him to the camp.* As I willingly expressed my consent, and proceeded to beg him not to hesitate to take me, he replied, '*I will do so, if you will give me the promise which I ask of you.*' At the same time he led me to the altar at which he had begun to sacrifice, and, sending the rest of the company away, required me, taking hold of the altar, to swear

* Son of Demetrius, and last king but one of Macedonia. See Justin, xxviii. 4; xxix. 1—4; xxx. 3; xxxii. 2.

† *A Rubro Mari.*] It is the *Mare Erythræum* that is meant, lying between Arabia and India.

that *I would never be in friendship with the Romans.* This oath, thus taken before my father, I have so strictly kept even to this day, that no man ought to doubt but that I shall be of the same mind for the rest of my life. If, therefore, you entertain any friendly thoughts towards the Romans, you will not act imprudently if you conceal them from me; but whenever you prepare war, you will disappoint yourself unless you constitute me leader in it."

III. At this age, accordingly, he accompanied his father into Spain. After his father's death, when Hasdrubal was made general-in-chief, he had the command of all the cavalry. When Hasdrubal also was killed, the army conferred upon him the supreme command, and this act, when reported at Carthage, received public approbation.

Hannibal being thus made commander-in-chief, at the age of five-and-twenty, subdued in war, during the next three years, all the nations of Spain, took Saguntum, a city in alliance with the Romans, by storm, and collected three vast armies, of which he sent one into Africa, left another with his brother Hasdrubal in Spain, and took the third with him into Italy. He made his way through the forests of the Pyrenees,* he engaged, wherever he directed his course, with all the inhabitants of the country, and let none go unconquered. On arriving at the Alps, which separate Italy from Gaul, and which no one had ever crossed with an army before him, (except Hercules the Greek, from which achievement the forest there is now called the Grecian forest), he cut to pieces the people of the Alps who endeavoured to prevent his passage, laid open those parts, made roads, and put things in such a state, that an elephant fully equipped could walk where previously one unarmed man could scarcely crawl. Along this tract he led his army, and arrived in Italy.

IV. On the banks of the Rhone he engaged with the consul Publius Cornelius Scipio, and put him to flight. At the Po he fought with the same consul for the possession of Clastidium,† and expelled him from that place wounded and

* *Saltum Pyrenæum.*] The forest, i.e. the woody chain or range of the Pyrenees.

† *Clastidio.*] *Clastidio,* thus given by Bos, without a preposition or any word to govern it, cannot be right. It seems necessary either to read *Clastidii,* or, with Lambinus, *de Clastidio.* I have adopted the

defeated. The same Scipio, with his colleague Tiberius Longus, came against him a third time at the Trebia; he came to battle with them, and put both of them to flight. He then passed through the country of the Ligurians over the chain of the Apennines, directing his course towards Etruria. During this march he was afflicted with so violent a distemper in his eyes, that he never had the use of his right eye so well afterwards. But even when he was troubled with this malady, and carried in a litter, he cut off Caius Flaminius the consul at the lake Trasimenus, being caught with his army in an ambush; and not long after he killed the prætor Caius Centenius, who was occupying the forest with a choice body of troops. He then proceeded into Apulia, where the two consuls, Caius Terentius Varro, and Paulus Æmilius, met him, both of whose armies he routed in one battle; the consul Paulus he killed, with several others of consular dignity, and among them Cnæus Servilius Geminus, who had been consul the year before.

V. After fighting this battle, he marched towards Rome, nobody opposing him, and halted on the hills near the city. When he had lain encamped there some days, and was turning back towards Capua, Quintus Fabius Maximus, the Roman dictator, threw himself in his way in the Falernian territory. Here, though enclosed in a confined space, he extricated himself without any loss to his army. He deceived Fabius, a most skilful commander; for, when night had come on, he set fire to some bundles of twigs, tied upon the horns of oxen, and drove forward a vast number of those cattle, scattering themselves hither and thither. By presenting this object suddenly to their view,* he struck such terror into the army of the Romans, that nobody ventured to stir beyond the rampart. Not many days after this success, he put to flight Marcus Minucius Rufus, master of the horse, who was equal in power with the dictator, and who had been drawn into an engagement by a stratagem. While he was at

latter, as the termination in *o* is found in all the manuscripts. But no account of a battle between Hannibal and Scipio at Clastidium (a town of Gallia Cispadana, at no great distance from the Po), is found in any other author. Ithe has therefore ventured, somewhat boldly, to eject *Clastidio* from his text altogether.

* *Quo repentino objectu viso.*] "Which sudden appearance being seen" by the R ans.

a distance, too, he cut off* Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, consul for the second time, in the country of the Lucanians, after he had been inveigled into an ambush. In like manner he caused the death of Marcus Claudius Marcellus, consul for the fifth time, at Venusia. To enumerate his battles would occupy too much time; and this one observation, accordingly, (from which it will be understood how great a general he was), will be sufficient, that, as long as he continued in Italy, none made a stand against him in a regular engagement, none, after the battle of Cannæ, pitched a camp against him in the field.

VI. Being recalled, without having suffered any defeat, to defend his country, he maintained a war with the son of that Publius Scipio whom he had routed first on the Rhone, again on the Po, and a third time on the Trebia. As the resources of his country were now exhausted, he wished, by a treaty with him, to put a stop to the war for a time, in order that he might engage in it afterwards with greater vigour. He came to a conference with him, but the conditions were not agreed upon. A few days after this meeting, he came to battle with Scipio at Zama; and being defeated (incredible to relate!) he made his way to Adrumetum, which is about three hundred miles† from Zama, in two days and two nights. In the course of his retreat, some Numidians, who had left the field in his company, formed a conspiracy against him; however he not only escaped them, but deprived them of life. At Adrumetum he assembled those who had survived the defeat, and, with the aid of new levies, drew together, in a few days, a numerous force.

VII. While he was most vigorously engaged in preparing for action, the Carthaginians made an end of the war by a treaty with the Romans. He had nevertheless afterwards the command of the army, and continued to act, as well as his brother Mago, in Africa, until the time when Publius Sulpicius and Caius Aurelius became consuls; for, during their term of office, ambassadors from Carthage went to Rome, to thank the Roman senate and people for having made peace with

* *Absens—sustulit.*] The battle being fought by one of Hannibal's generals in his absence.

† *Circiter millia passuum trecenta.*] One hundred and fifty miles is supposed to be nearer the truth.

them, and to present them, on that account, with a crown of gold, requesting, at the same time, that their hostages might reside at Fregellæ,* and that their prisoners might be restored. An answer was made them, by a resolution of the senate, that "their present was acceptable and welcome, and that their hostages should live in the place which they desired, but that they would not restore the prisoners, because the Carthaginians retained Hannibal, by whose acts the war had been occasioned, and who was the bitterest of enemies to the name of Rome, in command of the army, as also his brother Mago." The Carthaginians, on hearing this answer, recalled Hannibal and Mago home. When he returned, he was made prætor,† in the two-and-twentieth year after he had been appointed king;‡ for, as consuls are elected at Rome, so, at Carthage, two kings are annually chosen, retaining their office for a year. In that post Hannibal conducted himself with the same activity as he had exhibited in war; for he took care, not only that there should be money raised from new taxes, to be paid to the Romans according to the treaty, but that there should be a surplus to be deposited in the treasury.

In the year after his prætorship, when Marcus Claudius and Lucius Furius were consuls, ambassadors from Rome came again to Carthage; and Hannibal, supposing that they were sent to demand that he should be delivered to the Romans, went secretly, before an audience of the senate was given them, on board a vessel, and fled into Syria to Antiochus. His departure being made public, the Carthaginians sent two ships to seize him, if they could overtake him. His property they confiscated; his house they razed to its foundations; and himself they declared an outlaw.

VIII. In the third year, however, after he had fled from home, and in the consulship of Lucius Cornelius and Quintus Minucius, Hannibal landed with five ships in Africa, on the coast of the Cyrenæans, to try if he could move the Carthaginians to war, by giving them hope and confidence in Antiochus,

* A town on the Liris, in the Volscian territory.

† *Prætor.*] This office seems, from what follows, to have been in a great degree financial; but judicial duties were probably combined in it.

‡ *Rex.*] The two annual magistrates at Carthage were called *suffetes* in the Punic tongue; the Greeks and Romans called them kings.

whom he had now persuaded to proceed with his forces to Italy. Thither he summoned his brother Mago; and, when the Carthaginians knew of the circumstance, they inflicted on Mago the same penalties as they had laid on his absent brother. When they had let loose their vessels, and sailed off, in despair of success, Hannibal went to join Antiochus. Of Mago's end two accounts have been given; for some have left on record that he perished by shipwreck, others that he was killed by his own slaves.

Antiochus, if he had been as ready to obey Hannibal's advice in conducting the war as he had resolved to be when he undertook it, might have fought for the empire of the world nearer the Tiber than Thermopylæ.* Hannibal, however, though he saw him attempt many things imprudently, left him in nothing unsupported. He took the command of a few ships, which he had been directed to bring from Syria into Asia, and with these he engaged the fleet of the Rhodians in the Pamphylian sea,† and though his men were overpowered in the struggle by the number of the enemy, he had the advantage himself in the wing in which he acted.

IX. After Antiochus was put to flight,‡ Hannibal, fearing that he should be delivered to the Romans (an event which would doubtless have come to pass, if he had given the king an opportunity of securing him), went off to the people of Gortyn, in Crete, that he might there consider in what place he should settle himself. But, as he was the most perspicacious of all men, he saw that unless he took some precautions, he should be in great danger from the covetousness of the Cretans; for he carried with him a large sum of money, of which he knew that a report had gone abroad. He therefore adopted the following contrivance; he filled several pots with lead, covering the upper part with gold and silver, and deposited them, in the presence of the leading men§, in the temple of Diana, pretending that he trusted his fortune to

* Antiochus here suffered a defeat from the Romans.

† *In Pamphylio mari*] The sea on the coast of Pamphylia in Asia Minor.

‡ *Antiocho fugato.*] Viz., in the battle near Magnesia, at the bottom of Mount Sipylus in Lydia.

§ *Principibus præsentibus.*] Many of the old editions have *Gortyniis præsentibus*, a manifest error, as Bos observes. *Principibus* occurs in three manuscripts.

their honesty. Having thus deceived them, he filled the whole of some brazen statues, which he carried with him, with his money, and threw them down in an open place at his own residence. The Gortynians, meanwhile, guarded the temple with extreme care, not so much against others as against Hannibal himself, lest he should remove any thing without their knowledge, and carry it off with him.

X. The Carthaginian, having thus saved his property, and deceived all the Cretans, went into Pontus to Prusias, with whom he showed himself of the same mind as to Italy; for he did nothing but excite the king to arms, and animate him against the Romans, and seeing that he was not at all strong in domestic resources, he induced other princes to join him, and united warlike nations on his side. Eumenes, king of Pergamus, was at variance with Prusias, and war was maintained between them by sea and land, for which reason Hannibal was the more desirous that he should be crushed. Eumenes had the superiority on both elements, and Hannibal thought that, if he could but cut him off, his other projects would be easier of execution. To put an end to his life, therefore, he adopted the following stratagem. They were to engage by sea in a few days; Hannibal was inferior in number of vessels, and had to use art in the contest, as he was no match for his enemy in force. He accordingly ordered as many poisonous serpents as possible to be brought together alive, and to be put into earthen vessels, of which when he had collected a large number, he called the officers of his ships together, on the day on which he was going to fight at sea, and directed them all to make an attack upon the single ship of King Eumenes, and to be content with simply defending themselves against others, as they might easily do with the aid of the vast number of serpents; adding that he would take care they should know in what ship Eumenes sailed, and promising that, if they took or killed him, it should be of great advantage to them.

XI. After this exhortation was given to the soldiers, the fleets were brought out for action by both parties. When the line of each was formed, and before the signal was given for battle, Hannibal, in order to show his men where Eumenes was, despatched to him a letter-carrier in a boat with a herald's staff; who, when he reached the enemy's line of

vessels, held out a letter, and signified that he was looking for the king; he was therefore immediately taken to Eumenes, because nobody doubted that there was something written in the letter relating to peace. The messenger, having thus made the king's ship known to his party, returned to the same place from which he had come. Eumenes, on opening the letter, found nothing in it but what was meant to ridiculo him; and though he wondered as to the motive of it, and none could be discovered, yet he did not hesitate to come at nce to battle. In the conflict, the Bithynians, according to the direction of Hannibal, fell all at once upon the ship of Eumenes. That prince, as he was unable to withstand their onset, sought safety in flight, but would not have found it, nad he not taken refuge behind his guards, which had been posted on the neighbouring shore. As the rest of the Pergamenian ships bore hard upon the enemy, the earthen pots, of which we have previously spoken, began suddenly to be hurled into them. These, when thrown, at first excited laughter among the combatants, nor could it be conceived why such a thing was done; but when they saw their ships filled with serpents, and, startled at the strangeness of the occurrence, knew not what to avoid first, they put about their ships, and retreated to their camp upon the coast. Thus Hannibal, by his stratagem, prevailed over the force of the Pergamenians. Nor was this the only occasion; but often, at other times, he defeated the enemy with his troops on land, and with equally skilful management.

XII. While these transactions were taking place in Asia, it happened accidentally at Rome that certain ambassadors from Prusias took supper at the house of Lucius Quintius Flamininus, one of the consuls; and there, as mention was made of Hannibal, one of them observed that he was in the dominions of Prusias. This information Flamininus communicated the next day to the senate. The conscript fathers, who thought that they would never be free from plots as long as Hannibal was alive, sent ambassadors to Bithynia, and among them Flamininus, to request the king not to keep their bitterest enemy with him, but to deliver him up to them. To this embassy Prusias did not dare to give a refusal; he made some opposition, however, to one point, begging them

not to require of him* what was contrary to the rights of hospitality, saying that they themselves might make Hannibal prisoner, if they could, as they would easily find out the place where he was. Hannibal indeed confined himself to one place, living in a fortress which had been given him by the king, and this he had so constructed that it had outlets on every side of the building, always fearing lest that should happen which eventually came to pass. When the Roman ambassadors had gone thither, and had surrounded his house with a number of men, a slave, looking out at a gate, told Hannibal that several armed men were to be seen, contrary to what was usual. Hannibal desired him to go round to all the gates of the castle, and bring him word immediately whether it was beset in the same way on all sides. The slave having soon reported how it was, and informed him, that all the passages were secured, he felt certain that it was no accidental occurrence, but that his person was menaced, and that his life was no longer to be preserved. That he might not part with it, however, at the pleasure of another, and dwelling on the remembrance of his past honours, he took poison, which he had been accustomed always to carry with him.

XIII. Thus this bravest of men, after having gone through many and various labours, found repose in the seventieth year of his age. Under what consuls he died, is not agreed; for Atticus has left it recorded in his chronicle that he ended his life in the consulship of Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Quintus Fabius Labeo; but Polybius says in that of Lucius Æmilius Paullus and Cnæus Bæbius Tamphilus; and Sulpicius in that of Publius Cornelius Cethegus and Marcus Bæbius Tamphilus.

This great man, though occupied in such vast military operations, devoted some portion of his time to literature; for there are some books of his written in the Greek language, and amongst them one addressed to the Rhodians on the acts of Cnæus Manlius Vulso in Asia.

Of the wars which he conducted many have given the history; and two of them were persons that were with him in the camp, and lived with him as long as fortune allowed,

* *Illud recusavit, ne id a se fieri postularent.*] "He refused this, (requesting) that they would not require that to be done by him."

Silenus and Sosilus the Lacedæmonian; and this Sosilus Hannibal had as his instructor in the Greek language.

But it is now time to make an end of this book, and to give an account of commanders among the Romans, that, when the actions of both are compared, it may be the better determined which generals deserve the preference.

XXIV. MARCUS PORCIUS CATO.

FROM THE SECOND BOOK OF CORNELIUS NEPOS.

Cato's birth, youth, and the offices that he held, I.—His consulship in Hither Spain; his severity as censor, II.—His eulogy; his studies and writings, III.

I. Cato,* born in the municipal town of Tusculum,† resided, when a very young man, and before he turned his attention to the attainment of office, in the territory of the Sabines, because he had an estate there which had been left him by his father. It was at the persuasion of Lucius Valerius Flaccus, whom he had for a colleague in his consulate and censorship, that he removed, as Marcus Perperna Censorius was accustomed to relate, to Rome, and proceeded to employ himself in the forum. He served his first campaign at the age of seventeen, in the consulship of Quintus Fabius Maximus and Marcus Claudius Marcellus. He was military tribune in Sicily. When he returned from thence, he attached himself to the staff of Caius Claudius Nero, and his service was thought of great value in the battle near Sena, in which Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, fell. As quæstor, he happened to be under the consul, Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, with whom he did not live according to the intimate connexion of his office; for he was at variance with him during his whole life. He was made ædile of the commons‡ with Caius Helvius. As prætor he had the province of Sardinia, from which, when he was returning

* Cato the censor, the great grandfather of the Cato that killed himself at Utica.

† Situate about ten miles south-east of Rome, not far from the modern *Frascati*.

‡ *Ædilis plebis.*] There were two sorts of ædiles, plebeian and curule.

from Africa some time before in the character of quæstor, he had brought Quintus Ennius, the poet, an act which we value not less than the noblest triumph that Sardinia could have afforded.

II. He held the consulship with Lucius Valerius Flaccus, and had by lot Hither Spain for his province, from which he gained a triumph. As he stayed there a long time, Publius Scipio Africanus, when consul for the second time, wanted to remove him from his province, and to succeed him himself, but was unable, through the senate, to effect that object, even though he then possessed the greatest authority in the state; for the government was then conducted, not with regard for personal influence, but according to justice. Being displeased with the senate on this account, Scipio, after his consulship was ended, remained in the city as a private person.*

Cato, being made censor with the Flaccus above mentioned, exercised that office with severity; for he inflicted penalties on many noblemen, and introduced many new regulations into his edict,† by means of which luxury, which was even then beginning to germinate, might be repressed. For about eighty years,‡ from his youth to the end of his life, he never ceased to incur enmity in behalf of the commonwealth. Though attacked by many,§ he not only suffered no loss of character, but increased in reputation for virtue as long as he lived.

III. In all his pursuits he gave proofs of singular intelligence and industry; for he was a skilful agriculturist, well-informed in political affairs, experienced in the law, an

* *Privatus in urbe mansit.*] That is, he did not take any other foreign province. Plutarch, however, in his life of Cato, says that Scipio was appointed to succeed Cato in Spain, but that, being unable to procure from the senate a vote of censure on Cato's administration, he passed his term of office in inactivity.

† *Edictum.*] The code of regulations which a magistrate published on entering upon his office, adopting what he chose from the edicts of his predecessors, and adding what he thought proper of his own. See Adam's Rom. Ant. p. 111, 8vo. ed.

‡ *Circiter annos octoginta.*] This passage is in some way faulty. Bos thinks that the number is corrupt, or that the three words have been intruded from the margin into the text. Pighius would read *Vixit circiter annos octoginta, et*, &c.

§ *A multis tentatus.*] Plutarch, in his life of Cato, c. 15, says that Cato was attacked or accused about fifty times in the course of his olitical life.—*Bos.*

eminent commander, a respectable orator. He was also much devoted to literature, and though he had entered on the study of it at an advanced age, yet he made such progress in it, that you could not easily discover anything, either in Grecian or Italian history, that was unknown to him. From his youth he composed speeches. In his old age he began to write his Histories, of which there are ten books. The first contains the acts of the kings of Rome; the second and third show from whence each Italian state had its rise, for which reason he seems to have called the whole body of them *Origines;* in the fourth is related the first Carthaginian war; in the fifth the second; and all these subjects are treated in a summary way. Other wars he has narrated in a similar manner, down to the prætorship of Lucius Galba, who spoiled the Lusitanians. The leaders in these wars, however, he has not named, but has stated the facts without the names. In the same books he has given an account of whatever seemed remarkable in Italy and Spain; and there are shown in them much labour and industry, and much learning.

Of his life and manners we have spoken more at large in the book which we wrote expressly concerning him at the request of Titus Pomponius Atticus; and we therefore refer those who would know Cato to that volume.

XXV. TITUS POMPONIUS ATTICUS.

Birth, talents, and education of Atticus, I.—He goes to Athens; assists the Athenians with money; his popularity there, II. III.—Is favourably regarded by Sylla; returns to Rome, IV.—Inherits property from Quintus Cæcilius; his friendship with Cicero and Hortensius, V.—He abstains from seeking offices or honours, but maintains his dignity of character, VI.—In the civil war he offends neither Pompey nor Cæsar, VII.—After Cæsar is killed, he supplies Brutus with money, VIII.—Is not even an enemy to Antony, whose wife and children he relieves, IX.—Antony's regard for the services of Atticus, X.—He aids many of the proscribed, XI.—He uses his interest only to avert dangers and troubles from his friends, XII.—Of his private life; is a good father and citizen, XIII.—His meals; his prudence in pecuniary matters, XIV.—His love of truth and diligence, XV.—Agreeable to the old in his youth, and to the young in his old age, XVI.—His dutifulness to his mother, XVII.—His love of antiquity, and literature in general, XVIII.—His connexion with Cæsar Octavianus, XIX.—His friendship with Cæsar and Antony, XX.—His last illness, XXI.—He starves himself to death; his funeral, XXII.

I. Titus Pomponius Atticus, descended from a most ancient Roman family,* held the equestrian rank received in uninterrupted succession from his ancestors. He had a father who was active, indulgent, and, as times then were, wealthy, as well as eminently devoted to literature; and, as he loved learning himself, he instructed his son in all branches of knowledge with which youth ought to be made acquainted. In the boy, too, besides docility of disposition, there was great sweetness of voice, so that he not only imbibed rapidly what was taught him, but repeated it extremely well. He was in consequence distinguished among his companions in his boyhood, and shone forth with more lustre than his noble fellow-students could patiently bear; hence he stirred them all to new exertions by his application. In the number of them were Lucius Torquatus, Caius Marius the younger, and Marcus Cicero, whom he so attached to himself by his intercourse with them, that no one was ever more dear to them.

II. His father died at an early age. He himself, in his youth, on account of his connexion with Publius Sulpicius, who

* *Ab origine ultimâ stirpis Romanæ*] "From the most remote origin of the Roman race." His family was so old that it reached back to the earliest age of Rome.

was killed when tribune of the people, was not unapprehensive of sharing in his danger; for Anicia, Pomponius's cousin, was married to Marcus Servius, the brother of Sulpicius. When he saw that the state, therefore, after the death of Sulpicius, was thrown into confusion by the disturbances of Cinna, and that no facility was allowed him of living suitably to his dignity without offending one side or the other (the feelings of the citizens being divided, as some favoured the party of Sylla and others that of Cinna) he thought it a proper time for devoting himself to his studies, and betook himself to Athens. He nevertheless, however, assisted young Marius, when declared an enemy, by such means as he could, and relieved him in his exile with money. And, lest his sojourn in a foreign country should cause any detriment to his estate, he transported thither a great portion of his fortune. Here he lived in such a manner, that he was deservedly much beloved by all the Athenians; for, in addition to his interest, which was great for so young a man, he relieved their public exigencies from his own property; since, when the government was obliged to borrow money,* and had no fair offer of it, he always came to their aid, and in such a way, that he never received any interest of them, and never allowed them to be indebted to him longer than had been agreed upon; both which modes of acting were for their advantage, for he neither suffered their debt to grow old upon them, nor to be increased by an accumulation of interest. He enhanced this kindness also by other instances of liberality; for he presented the whole of the people with such a supply of corn, that seven *modii*† of wheat (a kind of measure which is called a *medimnus* at Athens) were allotted to each person.

* *Versuram faccre.*] *Versura*, according to Festus *sub voce*, properly signifies borrowing from one to pay another. Our language has no word corresponding to it.

† *Septem modii.*] This is the reading of the old editions, and of the manuscripts of Manutius, Gifanius, Schottus, Leid. and Medic. 2. But since it appears from Cicero in Verr. iii. 45, 46, 49, as well as from Ausonius, Suidas, and other ancient writers, that the *medimnus* contained six *modii*, Manutius, Faernus, and Ursinus, following Georg. Agricola de Mens. et Pond. Gr. et Rom. lib. ii, substituted *sex* for *septem* in this passage, and Lambinus, with all the subsequent editors of Nepos, adopted it. There seem, however, to have been variations in the content of the *medimni* and *modii* According to the old author on measures, published by Rigaltius among the *Auctores*

III. He also conducted himself in such a way, that he appeared familiar with the lowest, though on a level with the highest. Hence it happened that they publicly bestowed upon him all the honours that they could, and offered to make him a citizen of Athens; an offer which he would not accept, because some are of opinion that the citizenship of Rome is forfeited by taking that of another city. As long as he was among them, he prevented any statue from being erected to him; but when absent, he could not hinder it; and they accordingly raised several statues both to him and Phidias,* in the most sacred places, for, in their whole management of the state, they took him for their agent and adviser. It was the gift of fortune, then, in the first place, that he was born in that city, above all others, in which was the seat of the empire of the world, and had it not only for his native place but for his home; and, in the next, it was a proof of his wisdom, that when he betook himself to a city which excelled all others in antiquity, politeness, and learning, he became individually dear to it beyond other men.

IV. When Sylla arrived at Athens in his journey from Asia, he kept Pomponius in his company as long as he remained there, being charmed with the young man's politeness and knowledge; for he spoke Greek so well that he might have been thought to have been born at Athens; while there was such agreeableness in his Latin style, as to make it evident that the graces of it were natural, not acquired. He also recited verses, both in Greek and Latin, in so pleasing a manner that nothing could have been added to its attractions. It was in consequence of these accomplishments that Sylla would never suffer him to be out of his company, and wanted to take him away with him to Rome. But when he endeavoured to persuade him to go, "Do not desire, I entreat you," replied Pomponius, "to lead me with you *against those*, with whom, that I might not bear arms *against you*, I quitted

Finium Regundorum, p 335, five *modii* made a *medimnus*; and Isidore, Orig. xvi. 25, makes the same statement. . . . . Phavorinus, again, says that the *medimnus* was *μόδιοι ἑπτα.—Bos.* On the whole, therefore, Bos prefers that *septem* should stand. The *modius* was 1 gal. 7·8576 pints English.

* *Phidiæ.*] Some editions have *Pilæ.* "This was some Phidias, who, though unmentioned by any other writer, was known to Nepos through Atticus with whom he was intimate." See c. 13.— *Van Staveren.*

Italy." Sylla, commending the good feeling of the young man, directed, at his departure, that all the presents which he had received at Athens should be carried to his house.

Though he resided at Athens many years, paying such attention to his property as a not unthrifty father of a family ought to pay, and devoting all the rest of his time either to literature or to the public affairs of the Athenians, he nevertheless afforded his services to his friends at Rome; for he used to come to their elections, and whatever important business of theirs was brought forward, he was never found wanting on the occasion. Thus he showed a singular fidelity to Cicero in all his perils; and presented him, when he was banished from his country, with the sum of two hundred and fifty sestertia.* And when the affairs of the Romans became tranquil, he returned to Rome, in the consulship, as I believe, of Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus; and the whole city of Athens observed the day of his departure in such a manner, that they testified by their tears the regret which they would afterwards feel for him.

V. He had an uncle, Quintus Cæcilius, a Roman knight, an intimate friend of Lucius Lucullus, a rich man, but of a very morose temper, whose peevishness he bore so meekly, that he retained without interruption, to the extremity of old age, the good will of a person whom no one else could endure. In consequence, he reaped the fruit of his respectful conduct; for Cæcilius, at his death, adopted him by his will, and made him heir to three-fourths of his estate, from which bequest he received about ten thousand sestertia.†

A sister of Atticus was married to Quintus Tullius Cicero; and Marcus Cicero had been the means of forming the connexion, a man with whom Atticus had lived in the closest intimacy from the time that they were fellow-students, in much greater intimacy, indeed, than with Quintus; whence it may be concluded that, in establishing friendship, similarity of manners has more influence than affinity. He was likewise so intimate with Quintus Hortensius, who, in those times, had the highest reputation for eloquence, that it could not be decided which of the two had the greater love for him, Cicero or Hortensius; and he succeeded in effecting what was most

* About £1600 of our money.
† About £80,729 3*s.* 4*d.*

difficult, namely, that no enmity should occur between those between whom there was emulation for such eminence, and that he himself should be the bond of union between such great men.

VI. He conducted himself in such a manner in political affairs, that he always was, and always was thought to be, on the best side; * yet he did not mingle in civil tumults, because he thought that those who had plunged into them were not more under their own control than those who were tossed by the waves of the sea. He aimed at no offices (though they were open to him as well through his influence as through his high standing), since they could neither be sought in the ancient method, nor be gained without violating the laws in the midst of such unrestrained extravagance of bribery, nor be exercised for the good of the country without danger in so corrupt a state of the public morals. He never went to a public sale,† nor ever became surety or farmer in any department of the public revenue.‡ He accused no one, either in his own name or as a subscriber to an accusation.§ He never went to law about property of his own, nor was ever concerned in a trial. Offers of places, under several consuls and prætors, he received in such a way as never to follow any one into his province, being content with the honour, and not solicitous to make any addition to his property; for he would not even [illegible] into Asia with Quintus Cicero, when he might have held the office of legate under him; for he did not think it became him, after he had declined to take the prætorship,‖ to become the attendant on a prætor. In such conduct he consulted not only

* *Optimarum partium.*] Ursinus and Schottus conjecture *optimatum partium*.—Heusinger thinks *optimarum* right.

† *Ad hastam publicam nunquam accessit.*] That is, to a sale of the property confiscated in the proscriptions. A *hasta*, or spear, set up, was the signal of an auction; a custom derived from the sale of spoils taken in war.

‡ *Nullius rei neque præs, neque manceps factus est.*] The farmers, *mancipes*, of the revenues were chiefly *equites*, but Atticus, though of that order, neither became a farmer himself, nor a surety, *præs*, for any farmer.

§ *Neque suo nomine neque subscribens.*] He neither brought accusations against people himself, nor supported the accusations of others by setting his hand to them. This is said with reference to the time of the proscriptions

‖ That he declined offices generally is stated above in this chapter; there is no particular mention that he declined the prætorship.

his dignity but his quiet; since he avoided even the suspicion of evil practices. Hence it happened that attentions received from him * were more valued by all, as they saw that they were attributable to kindness, not to fear or hope.

VII. When he was about sixty years old, the civil war with Cæsar broke out; but he availed himself of the privilege of his age, and went nowhere out of the city. Whatever was needful for his friends when going to Pompey, he supplied for them out of his own property. To Pompey himself, who was his intimate friend, he gave no offence; for he had accepted no distinction from him like others, who had gained honours or wealth by his means, and of whom some followed his camp most unwillingly, and some remained at home to his great disgust. But to Cæsar the neutrality of Atticus was so pleasing, that when he became conqueror, and desired money from several private persons by letter, he not only forebore to trouble Atticus, but even released, at his request, his sister's son and Quintus Cicero from Pompey's camp. Thus, by adhering to his old course of life, he avoided new dangers.

VIII. Then followed the time,† when, on the assassination of Cæsar, the commonwealth seemed to be in the hands of the Bruti ‡ and Cassius, and the whole state turned towards them. Atticus, at that period, conducted himself towards Brutus in such a way, that that young man was not in more familiar intercourse with any one of his own age, than with him who was so advanced in years, and not only paid him the highest honour at the council, but also at his table. It was projected by some that a private fund should be formed by the Roman knights for the assassins of Cæsar; a scheme which they thought might easily be accomplished if even only the leading men of that order would furnish contributions. Atticus was accordingly solicited by Caius Flavius, an intimate friend of Brutus, to consent to become a promoter of the plan. But

* *Ejus observantia.*] *Observantia*, as Bos and Fischer observe, is evidently to be understood actively.

† *Secutum est illud, occiso Cæsare*, &c.] The commencement of this chapter is extremely bald. Whether *tempus*, which Bos understands with *illud*, has dropped out of the text, or whether the author purposely omitted it, must remain doubtful. Perhaps more words than one are lost.

‡ *Penes Brutos.*] Some editions have *Brutum*. I prefer the plural, says Bos, Marcus and Decimus being meant

Atticus, who thought that services were to be done to friends without regard to party, and had always kept himself aloof from such schemes, replied that, "If Brutus wished to make use of any of his property, he might avail himself of it as far as it would allow; but that about that project he would never confer or join with any man." Thus that combination of a party was broken by his dissent alone. Not long after, Antony began to get the advantage; so that Brutus and Cassius, despairing of their fortune, went into exile, into the provinces which had been given them for form's sake by the consuls. Atticus, who had refused to contribute with others to that party when it was prosperous, sent to Brutus, when he was cast down and retiring from Italy, a hundred sestertia † as a present; and, when he was parted from him, he ordered three hundred ‡ to be sent to him in Epirus. Thus he neither paid greater court to Antony when in power, nor deserted those that were in desperate circumstances.

IX. Next followed the war that was carried on at Mutina, § in which, if I were only to say that he was *wise*, I should say less of him than I ought; for he rather proved himself *divine*, if a constant goodness of nature, which is neither increased nor diminished by the events of fortune, may be called divinity. || Antony, being declared an enemy, had quitted Italy, nor was

* *Dicis – causâ.*] Bos's text, and many others, with all the manuscripts, have *necis causâ*. *Dicis causâ* is a conjecture of Cujacius. *Necis* is defended by Savaro, who says that the provinces were given to Brutus and Cassius for killing Cæsar. Gebhard supports Savaro, referring to Vell. Pat. ii. 62: *Bruto Cassioque provinciæ, quas jam ipsi sine ullo senatus consulto occupaverant, decretæ.* Bos, too, quotes from Appian, Ἡ βουλὴ γέρα τοῖς ἀπελοῦσιν ὡς τυραννοκτόνοις ἐψηφίζετο. But, as Ernstius observes, the provinces could not have been given to Brutus and Cassius particularly for killing Cæsar, for they were not the only ones concerned in his death; and he therefore prefers *dicis causâ*, supposing that the provinces were given to them merely to afford them an honourable pretext for leaving the city to avoid the fury of the lower orders. Heusinger not unhappily conjectures *necessitatis causâ*.

† £807 5*s.* 10*d.*

‡ £2421 17*s.* 6*d.*

§ A war that arose between Mark Antony and Octavius (see Florus, iv. 4), through a dispute about the will of Cæsar, in which Octavius had been set before Antony, who, in displeasure, had recourse to arms, and besieged Decimus Brutus, who took the side of Octavius, in Mutina, now *Modena.* – *Fisch r.*

|| *Divinatio.*] We should rather read *divinitus*, as Buchner first observed. *Divinatio* occurs below, c. 16, but in its proper sense.

there any hope of bringing him back. Not only his open enemies, who were then very powerful and numerous, but also such as had lent themselves to the party opposed to him, and hoped to gain some share of praise * by doing him injury, persecuted his friends, sought to spoil his wife Fulvia of all her property, and endeavoured even to get his children put to death. Atticus, though he lived in intimate friendship with Cicero, and was very warmly attached to Brutus, yet would not only never give them his consent to act against Antony, but, on the contrary, protected, as much as he could, such of his friends as fled from the city, and supplied them with whatever they wanted. On Publius Volumnius, indeed, he conferred such obligations, that more could not have proceeded from a father. To Fulvia herself, too, when she was distracted with law-suits, and troubled with great alarms, he gave his services with such constancy, that she never appeared to answer to bail † without the attendance of Atticus. He was her surety in all cases; and even when she had bought an estate, in her prosperous circumstances, to be paid for by a certain day, and was unable after her reverse of fortune to borrow money to discharge the debt,‡ he came to her aid, and lent her the money without interest, and without requiring any security for the repayment, thinking it the greatest gain to be found grateful and obliging, and to show, at the same time, that it was his practice to be a friend, not to fortune but to men; and when he acted in such a manner, no one could imagine that he acted for the sake of time-serving, for it entered into nobody's thoughts that Antony could regain his authority. But he gradually incurred blame from some of the nobles, because he did not seem to have sufficient hatred towards bad citizens.

X. Being under the guidance of his own judgment, however, he considered § rather what it was right for him to do, than

* *Commendationem.*] Manuscripts and editions are divided between this word and *commoditatem.*

† *Stiterit vadimonium.*] *Promittere vadimonium* is to give bail for one's appearance in court on a certain day; *sistere* or *obire vadimonium* is to appear according to the obligation entered into when the bail was given.

‡ *Versuram faccre.*] See note on c. 2.

§ *Ille autem sui judicii—intuebatur.* &c.] The words *sui judicii* must be taken as a genitive of the quality, *Ille autem,* cùm vir esset *sui judicii,* &c. But they are, as they stand, by no means satisfactory;

what others would commend. On a sudden fortune was changed. When Antony returned into Italy, every one thought that Atticus would be in great peril, on account of his close intercourse with Cicero and Brutus. He accordingly withdrew from the forum on the approach of the leaders,* from dread of the proscription, and lived in retirement at the house of Publius Volumnius, to whom, as we have said, he had not long before given assistance; (such were the vicissitudes of fortune in those days, that sometimes one party, and sometimes the other, was in the greatest exaltation or in the greatest peril;) and he had with him Quintus Gellius Canus, a man of the same age, and of a character very similar to his own; and this also may be given as an instance of the goodness of Atticus's disposition, that he lived in such close intimacy with him whom he had known when a boy at school, that their friendship increased even to the end of their lives. But Antony, though he was moved with such hatred towards Cicero, that he showed his enmity, not only to him, but to all his friends, and resolved to proscribe them, yet, at the instance of many, was mindful of the obliging conduct of Atticus; and, after ascertaining where he was, wrote to him with his own hand, that he need be under no apprehension, but might come to him immediately; as he had excepted him and Gellius Canus, for his sake, from the number of the proscribed; and that he might not fall into any danger, as the message was sent at night, he appointed him a guard. Thus Atticus, in a time of the greatest alarm, was able to save, not only himself, but him whom he held most dear; for he did not seek aid from any one for the sake of his own security only, but in conjunction with his friend; so that it might appear that he wished to endure no kind of fortune apart from him. But if a pilot is extolled with the greatest praise, who saves a ship from a tempest in the midst of a rocky sea, why should not his prudence be thought of the highest character, who arrives at safety through so many and so violent civil tumults?

XI. When he had delivered himself from these troubles, he had no other care than to assist as many persons as possible,

something seems to be wanting in the text. Schottus, however, thinks them an intruded gloss.

* *Imperatorum.*] The triumvirs, Cæsar, Antony, and Lepidus. At their approach he retired from the forum, i.e., from all public business.

by whatever means he could. When the common people, in consequence of the rewards offered by the triumvirs, were searching for the proscribed, no one went into Epirus* without finding a supply of everything; and to every one was given permission to reside there constantly. After the battle of Philippi, too, and the death of Caius Cassius and Marcus Brutus, he resolved on protecting Lucius Julius Mocilla, a man of prætorian rank, and his son, as well as Aulus Torquatus, and others involved in the same ill fortune, and caused supplies of everything to be sent them from Epirus to Samothrace.

To enumerate all such acts of his would be difficult; nor are they necessary to be particularized. One point we would wish to be understood, that his generosity was not time-serving or artful, as may be judged from the circumstances and period in which it was shown; for he did not make his court to the prosperous, but was always ready to succour the distressed. Servilia, for instance, the mother of Brutus, he treated with no less consideration after Brutus's death than when she was in the height of good fortune. Indulging his liberality in such a manner, he incurred no enmities, since he neither injured any one, nor was he, if he received any injury, more willing to resent than to forget it. Kindnesses that he received he kept in perpetual remembrance; but such as he himself conferred, he remembered only so long as he who had received them was grateful. He accordingly made it appear to have been truly said, that "Every man's manners make his fortune." Yet he did not study his fortune† before he formed himself, taking care that he might not justly suffer for any part of his conduct.

XII. By such conduct, therefore, he brought it to pass, that Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, who was united in the closest intimacy with young Cæsar, though, through his own interest and Cæsar's influence, he had power to choose a wife from any rank whatever, fixed on a connexion with him rather than

* Where Atticus had estates. See c. 14.

† *Neque tamen priùs ille fortunam, quàm se ipse, finxit.*] A very inapplicable observation. Nepos first says that a man's manners fashion his fortune, and then speaks of Atticus forming himself and his fortune. The word *tamen* would intimate some opposition; but there is none. Atticus, having formed his manners, might leave his manners to form his fortune.

with any other, and preferred a marriage with the daughter of a Roman knight to an alliance with the most noble of women. The promoter of this match (for it is not to be concealed) was Mark Antony, when triumvir for settling the state; but though Atticus might have increased his property by the interest of Antony, he was so far from coveting money, that he never made use of that interest except to save his friends from danger or trouble;* a fact which was eminently remarkable at the time of the proscription; for when the triumviri, according to the way in which things were then managed, had sold the property of Lucius Saufeius, a Roman knight, who was of the same age as Atticus, and who, induced by a love for the study of philosophy, had lived with him several years at Athens, and had valuable estates in Italy, it was effected by the efforts and perseverance of Atticus, that Saufeius was made acquainted by the same messenger, that "he had lost his property and had recovered it." He also brought off Lucius Julius Calidus, whom I think I may truly assert to have been the most elegant poet that our age has produced since the death of Lucretius and Catullus, as well as a man of high character, and distinguished by the best intellectual accomplishments, who, in his absence, after the proscription of the knights, had been enrolled in the number of the proscribed by Publius Volumnius, the captain of Antony's engineers, on account of his great possessions in Africa; an act on the part of Atticus, of which it was hard to judge at the time, whether it were more onerous or honourable. But it was well known that the friends of Atticus, in times of danger, were not less his care in their absence than when they were present.

XIII. Nor was he considered less deserving as a master of a family than as a member of the state; for though he was very rich, no man was less addicted to buying or building than he. Yet he lived in very good style, and had everything of the best; for he occupied the house that had belonged to Tamphilus† on the Quirinal hill, which was bequeathed to him by his uncle, and the attractions of which consisted, not in

* *Nisi in deprecandis amicorum aut periculis aut incommodis.*] "Unless in deprecating either the dangers or troubles of his friends."

† *Domum Tamphilanam.*] To what Tamphilus the house had belonged is not known. There were two consuls with that surname, A.U.C. 570, 571.

the building itself, but in the wood by which it was surrounded; for the edifice, constructed after the ancient fashion, showed more regard to convenience* than expense, and Atticus made no alteration in it except such as he was obliged to make by the effects of time. He kept an establishment of slaves of the best kind, if we were to judge of it by its utility, but if by its external show, scarcely coming up to mediocrity; for there were in it well-taught youths, excellent readers, and numerous transcribers of books, insomuch that there was not even a footman† that could not act in either of those capacities extremely well. Other kinds of artificers.‡ also, such as domestic necessities require, were very good there, yet he had no one among them that was not born and instructed in his house; all which particulars are proofs, not only of his self-restraint, but of his attention to his affairs; for not to desire inordinately what he sees desired by many, gives proof of a man's moderation; and to procure what he requires by labour rather than by purchase, manifests no small exertion. Atticus was elegant, not magnificent; polished, not extravagant; he studied, with all possible care, neatness, and not profusion. His household furniture was moderate, not superabundant, but so that it could not be considered as remarkable in either respect. Nor will I omit the following particular, though I may suppose that it will be unimportant to some: that though he was a hospitable Roman knight, and invited, with no want of liberality, men of all ranks to his house, we know that he was accustomed to reckon from his day-book, as laid out in current expenses, not more than three thousand asses§ a

* *Plus salis.*] The word *salis* does not admit of a very satisfactory explanation in this passage. Most interpreters, says Bœcler, take it for *gratia, venustas, ars, elegantia.*

† *Pedissequus.*] The word signifies any slave or servant who follows or attends on his master; a footman, lacquey, or page Many of the better sort of slaves, among the Romans, were so well educated that, while they still continued *pedissequi*, they were able to act as *anagnostæ* or *librarii*, readers or transcribers.

‡ *Artifices cæteri.*] Workmen of all kinds.

§ *Terna millia æris.*] Such is the reading of all the manuscripts and editions, but no commentator has thought it a sufficient sum. It amounts only to £24 4*s.* 4½*d.* Hotomannus, Tract. de Re Nummariâ, p. 87, would read *tricena*, thirty, but even £240 a month would be a very small expenditure for a man of such income as Atticus. Conjecture, however, in such a case, is useless.

month, one month with another; and we relate this, not as hearsay, but as what we know, for we were often present, by reason of the intimacy between us, at his domestic arrangements.

XIV. At his banquets no one ever heard any other entertainment for the ears* than a reader; an entertainment which we, for our parts, think in the highest degree pleasing; nor was there ever a supper at his house without reading of some kind, that the guests might find their intellect gratified no less than their appetite, for he used to invite people whose tastes were not at variance with his own. After a large addition, too, was made to his property, he made no change in his daily arrangements, or usual way of life, and exhibited such moderation, that he neither lived unhandsomely, with a fortune of two thousand sestertia,† which he had inherited from his father, nor did he, when he had a fortune of a hundred thousand sestertia,‡ adopt a more splendid mode of living than that with which he had commenced, but kept himself at an equal elevation in both states. He had no gardens, no expensive suburban or maritime villa, nor any farm except those at Ardea and Nomentum; and his whole revenue arose from his property in Epirus and at Rome. Hence it may be seen that he was accustomed to estimate the worth of money, not by the quantity of it, but by the mode in which it was used.

XV. He would neither utter a falsehood himself, nor could he endure it in others. His courtesies, accordingly, were paid with a strict regard to veracity, just as his gravity was mingled with affability; so that it is hard to determine whether his friends' reverence or love for him were the greater. Whatever he was asked to do, he did not promise without solemnity,§ for he thought it the part, not of a liberal, but of a light-minded man, to promise what he would be unable to perform. But in striving to effect what he had once engaged to do, he used to take so much pains, that he seemed to be

* *Aliud acroama.*] *Acroama*, as Fischer observes, generally signified among the Latins, not a thing, but a person; and it may be so interpreted in this passage.

† *In sestertio vicies.*] £16,145 16*s.* 8*d.*

‡ *In sestertio centies.*] £80,729 3*s* 4*d.*

§ *Religiosè promittebat.*] He made no promise lightly, but as if he were religiously determined to fulfil it.

engaged, not in an affair entrusted to him, but in his own. Of a matter which he had once taken in hand, he was never weary; for he thought his reputation, than which he held nothing more dear, concerned in the accomplishment of it. Hence it happened that he managed all the commissions* of the Ciceros, Cato, Marius, Quintus Hortensius, Aulus Torquatus, and of many Roman knights besides. It may therefore be thought certain that he declined business of state, not from indolence, but from judgment.

XVI. Of his kindness of disposition, I can give no greater proof than that, when he was young, he was greatly liked by Sylla, who was then old, and when he was old, he was much beloved by Marcus Brutus, then but young; and that with those friends of the same age as himself, Quintus Hortensius and Marcus Cicero, he lived in such a manner that it is hard to determine to which age his disposition was best adapted, though Marcus Cicero loved him above all men, so that not even his brother Quintus was dearer or more closely united to him. In testimony of this fact (besides the books in which Cicero mentions him, and which have been published to the world), there are sixteen books of letters, written to Atticus, which extend from his consulship to his latter days, and which he that reads will not much require a regular history of those times; for all particulars concerning the inclinations of leading men, the faults of the generals, and the revolutions in the government, are so fully stated in them that every thing is made clear; and it may be easily concluded that wisdom is in some degree divination, as Cicero not only predicted that those things would happen which took place during his life, but foretold, like a prophet, the things which are coming to pass at present.

XVII. Of the affectionate disposition of Atticus towards his relatives, why should I say much, since I myself heard him proudly assert, and with truth, at the funeral of his mother, whom he buried at the age of ninety, that "he had never had occasion to be reconciled to his mother,"† and that "he had never been at all at variance with his sister," who was nearly of the

* *Omnia negotia.*] This must be taken with much limitation; he might do all the business with which they troubled him.

† *Nunquam cum matre in gratiam rediisse.*] Never having had any disagreement with her

same age with himself, a proof that either no cause of complaint had happened between them, or that he was a person of such kind feelings towards his relatives, as to think it an impiety to be offended with those whom he ought to love. Nor did he act thus from nature alone, though we all obey her, but from knowledge; for he had fixed in his mind the precepts of the greatest philosophers, so as to use them for the direction of his life, and not merely for ostentation.

XVIII. He was also a strict imitator of the customs of our ancestors, and a lover of antiquity, of which he had so exact a knowledge, that he has illustrated it throughout in the book in which he has characterized* the Roman magistrates; for there is no law, or peace, or war, or illustrious action of the Roman people, which is not recorded in it at its proper period, and, what was extremely difficult, he has so interwoven in it the origin of families, that we may ascertain from it the pedigrees of eminent men. He has given similar accounts too, separately, in other books; as, at the request of Marcus Brutus, he specified in order the members of the Junian family, from its origin to the present age, stating who each was, from whom sprung, what offices he held, and at what time. In like manner, at the request of Marcellus Claudius, he gave an account of the family of the Marcelli; at the request of Scipio Cornelius and Fabius Maximus, of that of the Fabii and Æmilii; than which books nothing can be more agreeable to those who have any desire for a knowledge of the actions of illustrious men.

He attempted also poetry, in order, we suppose, that he might not be without experience of the pleasure of writing it; for he has characterized in verse such men as excelled the rest of the Roman people in honour and the greatness of their achievements, so that he has narrated, under each of their effigies, their actions and offices, in not more than four or five lines; and it is almost inconceivable that such important matters could have been told in so small a space. There is also a book of his, written in Greek, on the consulship of Cicero.

These particulars, so far, were published by me whilst Atticus was alive.

* *Ornavit.*] Bos, Vossius, and others, prefer *ordinavit.* But Heusinger thinks *ornavit* may very well be taken in the sense in which I have rendered it.

XIX. Since fortune has chosen that we should outlive him, we will now proceed with the sequel, and will show our readers by example, as far as we can, that (as we have intimated above) "it is in general a man's manners that bring him his fortune."* For Atticus, though content in the equestrian rank in which he was born, became united by marriage with the emperor Julius's son, whose friendship he had previously obtained by nothing else but his elegant mode of living, by which he had charmed also other eminent men in the state, of equal birth,† but of lower fortune; for such prosperity attended Cæsar, that fortune gave him everything that she had previously bestowed upon any one, and secured for him what no citizen of Rome had ever been able to attain. Atticus had a granddaughter, the daughter of Agrippa, to whom he had married his daughter in her maidenhood; and Cæsar betrothed her, when she was scarcely a year old, to Tiberius Claudius Nero, son of Drusilla, and step-son to himself; an alliance which established their friendship, and rendered their intercourse more frequent.

XX. Even before this connexion, however, Cæsar not only, when he was absent from the city, never despatched letters to any one of his friends without writing to Atticus what he was doing, what, above all, he was reading, in what place he was, and how long he was going to stay in it, but even when he was in Rome, and through his numberless occupations enjoyed the society of Atticus less frequently than he wished, scarcely any day passed in which he did not write to him, sometimes asking him something relating to antiquity, sometimes proposing to him some poetical question, and sometimes, by a jest, drawing from him a longer letter than ordinary. Hence it was, that when the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, built in the Capitol by Romulus, was unroofed and falling down through age and neglect, Cæsar, on the suggestion of Atticus, took care that it should be repaired.

Nor was he less frequently, when absent, addressed in letters by Mark Antony; so that, from the remotest parts of the earth, he gave Atticus precise information what he was doing, and what cares he had upon him. How strong such

* *Conciliare fortunam*] "Procure him his fortune," make his fortune. As the *mores* are, so the fortune will be.

† *Dignitate pari.*] It is evidently dignity of birth that is intended.

attachment is, he will be easily able to judge, who can understand how much prudence is required to preserve the friendship and favour of those between whom there existed not only emulation in the highest matters, but such a mutual struggle to lessen one another as was sure to happen between Cæsar and Antony, when each of them desired to be chief, not merely of the city of Rome, but of the whole world.

XXI. After he had completed, in such a course of life, seventy-seven years, and had advanced, not less in dignity, than in favour and fortune (for he obtained many legacies on no other account than his goodness of disposition), and had also been in the enjoyment of so happy a state of health, that he had wanted no medicine for thirty years, he contracted a disorder of which at first both himself and the physicians thought lightly, for they supposed it to be a tenesmus, and speedy and easy remedies were proposed for it; but after he had passed three months under it without any pain, except what he suffered from the means adopted for his cure, such force of the disease fell into the one intestine,* that at last a putrid ulcer broke out through his loins. Before this took place, and when he found that the pain was daily increasing, and that fever was superadded, he caused his son-in-law Agrippa to be called to him, and with him Lucius Cornelius Balbus and Sextus Peducæus. When he saw that they were come, he said, as he supported himself on his elbow, "How much care and diligence I have employed to restore my health on this occasion, there is no necessity for me to state at large, since I have yourselves as witneses; and since I have, as I hope, satisfied you, that I have left nothing undone that seemed likely to cure me, it remains that I consult for myself. Of this feeling on my part I had no wish that you should be ignorant; for I have determined on ceasing to feed the disease; as, by the food and drink that I have taken during the last few days, I have prolonged life only so as to increase my pains without hope of recovery. I therefore entreat you, in the first place, to give your approbation to my resolution, and in the next, not to labour in vain by endeavouring to dissuade me from executing it."

* *In unum intestinum.*] Barthius wished to alter it to *imum intestinum*, because, I suppose, he knew that there was the seat of the disease. . . . But there is no need of change; *unum* is the same as *solum*.—*Bos.*

XXII. Having delivered this address with so much steadiness of voice and countenance, that he seemed to be removing, not out of life, but out of one house into another,—when Agrippa, weeping over him and kissing him, entreated and conjured him "not to accelerate that which nature herself would bring, and, since he might live some time longer,* to preserve his life for himself and his friends,"—he put a stop to his prayers, by an obstinate silence. After he had accordingly abstained from food for two days, the fever suddenly left him, and the disease began to be less oppressive. He persisted, nevertheless, in executing his purpose; and in consequence, on the fifth day after he had fixed his resolution, and on the last day of February, in the consulship of Cnæus Domitius and Caius Sosius, he died.† His body was carried out of his house on a small couch, as he himself had directed, without any funereal pomp, all the respectable portion of the people attending,‡ and a vast crowd of the populace. He was buried close by the Appian way, at the fifth milestone from the city, in the sepulchre of his uncle Quintus Cæcilius.

* *Temporibus superesse.*] The commentators are not agreed about the exact sense of these words. I follow Heusinger, who understands them in the sense of "getting over, and surviving, the troubles and danger of the present time."

† A.U.C. 720; B.C. 34.

‡ *Comitantibus omnibus bonis.*] This *omnibus*, like the *omnia* in c. 15, must be understood in a limited sense.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF EVENTS MENTIONED BY CORNELIUS NEPOS.

In this Chronological Summary such events only are noticed as more immediately concern Cornelius Nepos. Facts that are not found here may be sought in the Chronology appended to Justin in this volume, or in general Chronological Tables. The dates are taken from Tzschucke.

B.C

512. Miltiades sent to the Chersones. Milt. 1
507. ——— returns to Athens. Milt. 3.
489. ——— dies. Milt. 7.
483. Aristides banished. Arist. 1.
—— Themistocles begins to construct the harbour of the Piræeus.
479. ——— prevails on the Athenians to rebuild the walls of their city. Them. 6.
477. ——— completes the Piræeus. Them. 6.
—— Pausanias sails to Cyprus with the combined fleet of Greece. Paus. 2.
—— Aristides establishes the treasury of Greece at Delos. Arist. 3.
471. Themistocles flees to Artaxerxes. Them. 8.
467. Death of Aristides. Arist. 3.
466. ——— Themistocles. Them. 10.
463. Cimon subdues the Thasians. Cim 2.
461. ——— banished. Cim. 3.
455. ——— recalled. *Ib.*
450. ——— defeats the Persians in Cyprus. *Ib.*
449. ——— dies in Cyprus. *Ib.*
416. Alcibiades, with Nicias and Lamachus, sails against Syracuse. Alcib. 3.
415. ———, accused of treachery to his country, flees to Sparta. Alcib 4.
414. ——— prevails on the Lacedæmonians to fortify Decelia. *Ib.*
411. ——— joins the Athenian army; is united in command with Thrasybulus and Theramenes; defeats the Lacedæmonians. Alcib. 5.
408. ——— is unsuccessful, and banished. Alcib. 6, 7.
405. Dionysius the elder becomes tyrant of Syracuse. Dion. 1; De Reg 2.

B.C.
405. Lysander terminates the Peloponnesian war. Lys. 1; Alcib. 8; Conon 1
404. Alcibiades killed. Alcib. 10.
403. Lysander tried for attempting to bribe the oracle of Jupiter Ammon. Lys. 3.
401 Thrasybulus overthrows the Thirty Tyrants. Thras. 1.
400. Agesilaus becomes king of Sparta. Ages. 1.
398. Plato goes to Syracuse. Dion 2.
396. Lysander falls in battle against the Thebans at Haliartus. Lys. 3.
395. Conon defeats Pisander at Cnidus. Con. 4.
394. ———, with the aid of the Thebans, rebuilds the walls of Athens. Con. 4, 5.
—— ——— is made prisoner by Tiribazus at Sardis. *Ib.*
393 Iphicrates defeats the Spartans at Corinth. Iph. 2.
390. Thrasybulus killed at Aspendus. Thras 4.
387. Chabrias subdues Cyprus. Chab. 2.
385. Datames made governor of Cilicia by Artaxerxes. Dat. 1.
382. Phœbidas seizes on the citadel of Thebes. Pelop. 1.
378. The Theban exiles retake it Pelop. 3.
377. Agesilaus invades Bœotia; is withstood by Chabrias. Chab. 1.
—— Chabrias assists Acoris king of Egypt. Chab. 3.
—— Iphicrates goes to the assistance of Artaxerxes. Iph. 2.
376. Timotheus defeats the Lacedæmonians at Leucate. Tim. 2.
374. Iphicrates returns to Athens. Iph. 2.
371. Epaminondas defeats the Spartans at Leuctra. Epam. 8
370. Iphicrates protects Eurydice of Macedonia. Iph. 3.
369. Epaminondas invades Laconia, advances on Sparta, and restores Messene. Epam. 7, 8.
—— ——— and Pelopidas support the Arcadians in their struggle with the Spartans. Pelop. 4.
—— Iphicrates assists the Lacedæmonians. Iph. 2.
368. Pelopidas imprisoned by Alexander of Pheræ. Pelop. 5.
—— ——— rescued by Epaminondas. *Ib.*
366. Epaminondas at war in the Peloponnesus. Epam. 7.
364. Pelopidas killed in a battle with Alexander of Pheræ. Pelop. 5.
—— Timotheus at war with the Olynthians. Tim. 1.
363. Epaminondas falls victorious at Mantinea. Epam. 9.
362. Death of Agesilaus. Ages. 8.
—— Datames revolts from Artaxerxes. Dat.
358. Death of Chabrias. Chab. 4.
—— Dion flees from Dionysius, and prepares to go to war with him. Dion. 4.
357. —— takes possession of Syracuse. Dion. 5.
356. The Athenians, under Chares, Iphicrates, and Timotheus, at war with their allies. Tim. 3.
—— Timotheus fined by the Athenians. Tim. 3.
355. Dion assassinated at Syracuse. Dion 9; Timol. 2.
345. Expedition of Timoleon to Syracuse; he gives liberty to the Syracusans. *Ib.*
344. Timoleon expels Dionysius, who goes to Corinth. *Ib.*

B.C.
342. Timoleon re-establishes a republican form of government at Syracuse; secures peace to all Sicily. *Ib.*
337. ——— dies. Timol. 4.
322. Phocion procures for Athens the protection of Antipater. Phoc. 2.
321. Eumenes defeats Craterus and Neoptolemus. Eum. 3, 4.
—— ——— besieged by Antigonus at Nora. Eum. 5.
318. Nicanor, at the command of Cassander, takes possession of the Piræeus. Phoc. 2.
—— Death of Phocion. Phoc. 4.
317. Eumenes commences hostilities against Antigonus. Eum. 7.
316. ——— taken and put to death by Antigonus. Eum. 10—12.
301. Antigonus killed at Ipsus. De Reg. 3.
272. Pyrrhus killed at Argos. De Reg. 2.
248. Hamilcar made commander of the Punic fleet. Hamil. 1.
238. ——— sent as commander-in-chief into Spain. Hamil. 3; Hann. 2.
229. ———'s death. Ham. 3.
221. Hannibal becomes commander-in-chief in Spain. Hamil. 3; Hann. 3.
214. Cato military tribune. Cat. 1.
205. —— quæstor to Publius Scipio. *Ib.*
198. —— prætor, with Sardinia for his province. Cat. 1.
195. —— made consul with Lucius Valerius Flaccus. Cat. 1, 2.
194. —— obtains a triumph for his successes in Spain. Cat. 2.
184. —— Censor with L. Flaccus. Cat. 2.
149. —— dies at the age of 85. Cat. 2.
109. Birth of Pomponius Atticus.
88. Publius Sulpicius, tribune of the people, killed by Sylla. Att. 2.
87. Atticus retires to Athens. *Ib.*
84. Sylla visits Athens in his return from Asia. Att. 4.
65. Atticus returns to Rome. *Ib.*
32. Death of Atticus. Att. 22.

EUTROPIUS'S

ABRIDGMENT OF ROMAN HISTORY.

TO THE EMPEROR VALENS, MAXIMUS, PERPETUUS, AUGUSTUS.*

ACCORDING to the pleasure of your Clemency,† I have arranged in a brief narrative, in the order of time, such particulars in the history of Rome as seemed most worthy of notice, in transactions either of war or peace, from the foundation of the city to our own days; adding concisely, also, such matters as were remarkable in the lives of the emperors; that your Serenity's divine mind may rejoice to learn that it has followed the actions of illustrious men in governing the empire, before it became acquainted with them by reading.‡

* The title stands thus: DOMINO VALENTI MAXIMO PERPETUO AUGUSTO. On the last two words Tzschucke has this note: "For *Perpetuo Augusto* Sextus Rufus" (who wrote a *Breviarum de Victoriis et Provinciis Populi Romani*, dedicated to Valens), "has in his dedication *Semper Augusto*. The Germans would say *Allzeit Mehrer des Reichs*. See Pütman *De Titulo* Semper Augustus, p. 60." Tzschucke, apparently, took *perpetuo* as an adverb, equivalent to *semper*. But Cellarius and others consider it as an adjective. Cellarius cites, in comparison with it, from Gruter. Inscript. p. 285, n. 8, *D. N. Valentiniano Perpetuo ac Felici Semper Augusto*, and p 279, n. 4, *Æterno Imperatori Nostro Maximo Optimoque Principi Aurelio Valeriano Diocletiano*; adding, also, that Theodosius is called *perennis princeps* in Reines. Class Inscr iii. 62. I have accordingly given *Perpetuo* as an adjective. Sextus Rufus's dedication, too, as edited by Cellarius, Verheyk, and others, has *Perpetuo Semper Augusto*.

† *Mansuetudinis tuæ*] Similarly, a few lines below, he says *Tranquillitatis tuæ mens divina*, "your Serenity's divine mind." The use of such titles gradually became common in the lower age of Roman literature, commencing soon after the reign of Tiberius. They were the parents of our highness, majesty, excellency, &c

‡ However Eutropius meant to flatter Valens, he could not as-

BOOK I.

Origin of Rome, I.—Characters and acts of the seven kings of Rome, II.—VIII.—Appointment of consuls on the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud, IX.—War raised by Tarquin; he is supported by Porsena, X. XI.—First dictator, XII.—Sedition of the people, and origin of the tribunitial power, XIII.—A victory over the Volsci, XIV.—Coriolanus, being banished, makes war on his country with the aid of the Volsci; is softened by the entreaties of his wife and mother, XV.—War of the Fabii with the Vejentes; the census, XVI.—Dictatorship of Cincinnatus, XVII. The Decemviri, XVIII.—War with the Fidenates, Vejentes, and Volsci, XIX.—Destruction of Rome by the Gauls, XX.

I. THE Roman empire, than which the memory of man can recal scarcely any one smaller in its commencement, or greater in its progress throughout the world, had its origin from Romulus; who, being the son of a vestal virgin, and, as was supposed, of Mars, was brought forth at one birth with his brother Remus. While leading a predatory life among the shepherds, he founded, when he was eighteen years of age, a small city on the Palatine Hill, on the 21st day of April, in the third year of the sixth Olympiad, and the three hundred and ninety-fourth after the destruction of Troy.*

surely have shown him better, than by addressing him thus, to be such as he is described by Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxix., *subrusticus homo*, and xxxi. 41, *Subagrestis ingenii, nec liberalibus studiis eruditus.*—*Vinetus.* Some have doubted the genuineness of this dedication to Valens, because the Greek translator has not included it in his version; but the authority of manuscripts, and the resemblance of its style to that of Eutropius, have induced Cellarius, Verheyk, Tzschucke, and most other commentators, to believe it genuine.

* The words *ut, qui plurimum minimumque, tradunt*, which occur in all editions before the date, are not translated; for nothing satisfactory has yet been said as to their grammatical construction. Madame Dacier suggested that we should supply *ut eos præteream qui.* But *præteream* is not to the purpose. Hausius's explanation is *ut ego inter eos tradam qui plurimum minimumque tradunt.* The Berlin edition of 1791 interprets better: *ut medium inter eos qui—tradunt, ego tradam.* There is no doubt that Eutropius meant that he would take a middle point between those who give the highest and those who give the lowest date; but the words to be supplied for the construction seem not to have been yet discovered. Perhaps the sense is "as those say who give the highest and lowest dates, *and take a middle point between them*," something equivalent to the words in italics being intended to be understood. The same words occur in b. x. c. 18, with the construction equally uncertain.

II. After founding the city, which he called Rome, from his own name, he proceeded principally as follows. He took a great number of the neighbouring inhabitants into the city; he chose a hundred of the older men, by whose advice he might manage all his affairs, and whom, from their age, he named senators. Next, as both himself and his people were in want of wives, he invited the tribes contiguous to the city to an exhibition of games, and seized upon their young women. Wars having arisen in consequence of this outrage in capturing the females, he conquered the Cæninenses, the Antemnates, the Crustumini, the Sabines, the Fidenates, and the Vejentes; all whose towns lay around the city. And since, after a tempest that suddenly arose, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, he was no longer to be seen, he was believed to have been translated to the gods, and was accordingly deified. The senators then ruled at Rome by periods of five days; and under their government a year was passed

III. Afterwards Numa Pompilius was elected king, who engaged indeed in no wars, but was of no less service to the state than Romulus; for he established both laws and customs among the Romans, who, by the frequency of their wars, were now regarded as robbers and semi-barbarians. He divided the year, before unregulated by any computation, into ten months; and founded numerous sacred rites and temples at Rome. He died a natural death in the forty-third year of his reign.

IV. To him succeeded Tullus Hostilius, who re-commenced war. He conquered the Albans, who lay twelve miles distant from Rome. He overcame also in battle the Vejentes and Fidenates, the one six, the other eighteen miles from Rome; and increased the dimensions of the city by the addition of the Cœlian hill. After reigning thirty-two years, he was struck by lightning, and consumed together with his house.

V. After him, Ancus Martius, the grandson of Numa by a daughter, succeeded to the government. He fought against the Latins, added the Aventine and Janiculan hills to the city, and founded Ostia, a city on the sea-coast, sixteen miles from Rome. He died a natural death in the twenty-fourth year of his reign.

VI. Priscus Tarquinius was next invested with the government. He doubled the number of the senators, built a Circus at Rome, and instituted the Roman games which continue

even to our time. He also conquered the Sabines, and added a considerable extent of territory, which he took from that people, to the lands of Rome; he was also the first that entered the city in triumph. He built the walls and sewers, and commenced the Capitol. He was killed in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, by the sons of Ancus, the king whom he had succeeded.

VII. After him Servius Tullius was placed on the throne, the son of a woman of noble origin, but who was, nevertheless, a captive and a slave. He also defeated the Sabines; annexed three hills, the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline, to the city; and formed trenches round the city walls. He was the first to institute the census, which till that time was unknown throughout the world. The people being all subjected to a census during his reign, Rome was found to contain eighty-four thousand citizens, including those in the country. He was cut off in the forty-fifth year of his reign, by the criminal machinations of his son-in-law Tarquin the Proud, the son of the king to whom he had succeeded, and of his own daughter, whom Tarquin had married.

VIII. Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, the seventh and last of the kings, overcame the Volsci, a nation not far from Rome, on the road to Campania; reduced the towns of Gabii and Suessa Pometia; made peace with the Tuscans; and built a temple to Jupiter in the Capitol. Afterwards, while he was besieging Ardea, a town that lay about eighteen miles from the city, he was deprived of his throne; for, as his younger son, who was also named Tarquin, offered violence to Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, a most noble and chaste woman; and as she, after complaining to her husband, her father, and her friends, of the injury that she had suffered, slew herself in the sight of them all; Brutus, in consequence, who was a kinsman of Tarquinius,* excited an insurrection among the people, and deprived Tarquin of his regal authority. The army, also, which was engaged with the king in besieging

* *Parens et ipse Tarquinii.*] This passage perplexed the commentators, until it was discovered that *parens* was used by writers of the lower ages for *cognatus;* for which sense of the word Tzschucke refers to Lampridius in Alex. c. 67, and to Casaubon on Capitolinus in M. Philosoph. c. 5. The Greek translator has Βρούτος γένει προσήκων τῷ Ταρκυνίῳ. See Scheller's Lexicon, s. v. *Parens.*

Ardea, soon after deserted him; and the king himself, on going to the city, found the gates closed against him; and, after having reigned five-and-twenty years, was forced to take flight with his wife and children.

Thus a regal form of government continued at Rome, under seven kings, for the space of two hundred and forty-three years, while as yet the dominion of the city, where its extent was greatest, hardly reached fifteen miles.

IX. Henceforth, instead of one king, two consuls were chosen, with this view, that, if one should be disposed to act unjustly, the other, having equal authority, might exercise a control over him. It was determined also that they should not hold their office longer than a year; in order that they might not, by continued possession of power, grow too overbearing; but, knowing that in a year they would return to the level of private persons, might constantly conduct themselves with moderation.

In the first year, then, after the expulsion of the king and his family, the consuls were Lucius Junius Brutus, who had been the chief agent in the banishment of Tarquin, and Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia. But that dignity was soon taken from Tarquinius Collatinus; for it was enacted that no one who bore the name of Tarquin should remain in the city. Having collected, therefore, all his private property, he removed from the city, and Valerius Publicola was made consul in his stead. King Tarquin, however, after his expulsion, stirred up war against Rome, and, having collected a large force from all quarters, in order that he might be reinstated on the throne, took the field.

X. In the first encounter, Brutus and Aruns, Tarquin's son, killed each other; but the Romans left the field conquerors. The Roman matrons mourned for Brutus, the guardian of their honour, as if he had been their common father, for the space of a year. Valerius Publicola fixed upon Spurius Lucretius Tricipitinus, the father of Lucretia, for his colleague; and he dying of some disease, he next chose Horatius Pulvillus for his fellow consul.

Thus the first year had five consuls; Tarquinius Collatinus having left the city on account of his name, Brutus having fallen in battle, and Spurius Lucretius having died a natural death.

XI. In the second year also, Tarquin, with a view to being re-established on the throne, again made war on the Romans, and, as Porsena, king of Tuscany, afforded him aid, almost took Rome. But he was also defeated on that occasion.

In the third year after the expulsion of the royal family, Tarquin, as he could not get himself re-admitted into the kingdom, and as Porsena, who had made peace with the Romans, gave him no support, retired to Tusculum, a town which is not far from Rome; where he and his wife lived for fourteen years in a private station, and reached an advanced age.

In the fourth year after the abolition of the kingly power, the Sabines, having made war on the Romans, were conquered; and a triumph was celebrated over them.

In the fifth year, Lucius Valerius, the colleague of Brutus, and consul for the fourth time, died a natural death, and in such extreme poverty, that the expenses of his funeral were defrayed by a public subscription.* The matrons mourned for him, as for Brutus, during a year.

XII. In the ninth year after the overthrow of the kingly power, the son-in-law of Tarquin, having assembled a vast army, in order to avenge the wrongs of his father-in-law, a new office was introduced at Rome, which was called the dictatorship, and which was more absolute than the consulate. In the same year also a master of the horse was appointed to be an officer under the dictator. Nor can anything be named more like to the imperial authority, which your Serenity † now enjoys, than the ancient dictatorship, especially since Cæsar Octavianus, also, of whom we shall speak hereafter, and Caius Cæsar before him, ruled with the title and rank of dictator. The first dictator at Rome was Lartius; the first master of the horse, Spurius Cassius.

XIII. In the sixteenth year after the termination of the regal power, the people at Rome, thinking themselves oppressed by the senate and consuls, broke out into a sedition. On this occasion they created for themselves tribunes of the people, as their own peculiar judges and defenders, by whom they might be protected against the senate and the consuls.

XIV. In the following year the Volsci recommenced hos-

* *Ut collatis è populo nummis, sumptum habuerit sepulturæ.*] "He had the expense of his funeral from money contributed by the people."

† *Tranquillitas vestra.*] See note on the dedication.

tilities against the Romans; and being overcome in the field, lost also Corioli, the best city that they had.

XV. In the eighteenth year after the banishment of the royal family, Quintius Marcius, the Roman general who had taken Corioli, the city of the Volsci, being compelled to flee from Rome, directed his course, in resentment, to the Volsci themselves, and received from them support against the Romans. He obtained several victories over the Romans; he made his way even to the fifth mile-stone from the city; and, refusing to hear a deputation that came to sue for peace, would have laid siege even to the place of his birth, had not his mother Veturia and his wife Volumnia gone out from the city to meet him, by whose tears and supplications he was prevailed on to withdraw his army. He was the next after Tarquin that acted as general against his country.

XVI. In the consulate of Cæso Fabius and Titus Virginius, three hundred noblemen, members of the Fabian family, undertook alone a war against the Vejentes, assuring the senate and the people that the whole contest should be brought to an end by themselves. These illustrious men, therefore, each of whom was capable of commanding a large army, setting out on their expedition, all fell in battle One only remained out of so numerous a family, who, from his extreme youth, could not be taken with them to the field. After these events a census was held in the city, in which the number of the citizens was found to be a hundred and nineteen thousand three hundred and nineteen.

XVII. In the following year, in consequence of the blockade of a Roman army on Mount Algidus, about twelve miles from the city, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus was appointed dictator; a man who, possessing only four acres of land, cultivated it with his own hands. He, being found at his work, and engaged in ploughing, assumed, after wiping the sweat from his brow, the *toga prætexta;* and set free the army with great slaughter among the enemy.

XVIII. In the three hundred and second* year from the founding of the city, the consular government ceased; and, instead of two consuls, ten magistrates were appointed to hold the supreme authority, under the title of decemviri. These during the first year conducted themselves with honour; but

* See note on iv. 10.

in the second, one of them, Appius Claudius, proceeded to offer violence to the maiden daughter of a certain Virginius, who was at that time filling an honourable post on military service against the Latins on Mount Algidus; but the father slew her with his own hand, that she might not suffer violation from the decemvir, and, returning to the army, raised an insurrection among the soldiers. Their power was in consequence taken from the decemviri, and they themselves received sentences of condemnation.*

XIX. In the three hundred and fifteenth year from the founding of the city, the Fidenates rebelled against the Romans. The Vejentes and their king Tolumnius gave them assistance. These two states are so near to Rome, that Fidenæ is only seven, Veii only eighteen miles distant. The Volsci also joined them; but they were defeated by Marcus Æmilius the dictator, and Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus the master of the horse, and lost also their king. Fidenæ was taken, and utterly destroyed.

XX. Twenty years afterwards, the people of Veii resumed hostilities. Furius Camillus was sent as dictator against them, who first defeated them in battle, and then, after a long siege, took their city, the oldest and richest in Italy. He next took Falisci, a city of no less note. But popular odium was excited against him, on the ground that he had made an unfair division of the booty, and he was condemned on that charge and banished.

Soon after the Galli Senones marched towards Rome; and, pursuing the Romans, whom they defeated at the river Allia, eleven miles from the city, possessed themselves of the city itself, no part of which could be defended against them, except the Capitol. After they had besieged it a long time, and the Romans were suffering from famine, Camillus, who was in exile in a neighbouring city, attacked the Gauls unexpectedly, and gave them a severe defeat. Afterwards,† on receiving a sum

* *Damnati sunt.*] Appius and Oppius, before the day for their trial came, committed suicide. Their colleagues went into banishment voluntarily, as appears from Livy. Claudius was sentenced to death, but allowed to go into exile through the intercession of Virginius. See Liv. iii 58.

† *Postea tamen.*] The word *tamen*, which disturbs the drift of the passage, is not translated. The text seems hardly sound. Livy tells the story differently.

in gold, to desist from the siege of the Capitol, they retreated; Camillus, however, pursued them, and routed them with such a slaughter, that he recovered both the gold which had been given to them, and all the military standards which they had taken. Thus he entered the city for the third time in triumph, and received the appellation of a second Romulus, as if he also had been a founder of the city.

BOOK II.

Military tribunes created instead of consuls; Camillus overcomes the Volsci, Æqui, and Sutrini, Cincinnatus the Prænestini, I. II.—Consular government restored, III.—Death and eulogy of Camillus, IV.—Flight of the Gauls, V.—The census, VI.—Combat of Valerius Corvus with a Gaul, VII.—The Latin war, VIII.—Various defeats of the Samnites, IX.—The Gauls, Etrurians, and Samnites defeated, X.—The war with Pyrrhus, XI.—XIV.—Ptolemy, king of Egypt, sends ambassadors to Rome, XV.—The Picenians and Sallentines subdued, XVI. XVII.—Another census; the first Punic war, XVIII.—XXVIII.

I. In the three hundred and sixty-fifth year after the foundation of the city, and the first after its capture by the Gauls, the form of government was changed; and, instead of two consuls, military tribunes, invested with consular power, were created. From this time the power of Rome began to increase; for that very year Camillus reduced the state of the Volsci, which had persisted to make war for seventy years; also the cities of the Æqui and Sutrini; and, overthrowing their armies, took possession of them all; and thus enjoyed three triumphs at the same time.

II. Titus Quintius Cincinnatus, also, having pursued the Prænestini, who had advanced in a hostile manner to the very gates of Rome, defeated them on the river Allia, annexing eight cities that were under their dominion to the Roman empire; and, attacking Præneste itself, forced it to surrender; all which acts were accomplished by him in the space of twenty days; and a triumph was decreed him.

III. But the office of military tribunes did not last long; for, after a short time, it was enacted that no more should be created; and four years passed in the state in such a manner

that none of the superior magistrates were appointed. The military tribunes, however, were re-instated in their office with consular authority, and continued for three years, when consuls were again elected.

IV. In the consulship of Lucius Genucius and Quintus Servilius, Camillus died, and honour next to that of Romulus was paid him.

V. Titus Quintius was sent out as dictator against the Gauls, who had marched into Italy; and had encamped about four miles from the city, on the other side of the river Anio. Titus Manlius, one of the noblest of the senators, encountering a Gaul who had challenged him to single combat, slew him; and, having taken from his neck a chain of gold, and put it on his own, secured the appellation of Torquatus to himself and his posterity for ever. The Gauls were repulsed, and soon afterwards entirely defeated by Caius Sulpicius the dictator. Shortly after, the Tuscans were defeated by Caius Marcius, and eight thousand of them were taken prisoners and led in triumph.

VI. A census was again taken; and as the Latins, who had been subdued by the Romans, refused to furnish troops, recruits were levied from among the Romans only, and ten legions were raised, making sixty thousand fighting men, or upwards; so great was the power of the Romans in war, while their territory was as yet but small. These troops having marched out against the Gauls, under the conduct of Lucius Furius Camillus, one of the Gauls challenged the most valiant among the Romans to single combat; when Marcus Valerius, a tribune of the soldiers, came forward to accept the challenge; and, as he advanced in full armour, a crow settled upon his right shoulder. Afterwards, too, when he commenced the encounter with the Gaul, the same crow, with his wings and talons, furiously assailed the Gaul's eyes, so that he was not able to see before him, and thus, being slain by the tribune Valerius, he gave him not only a victory, but a name; for he was afterwards called Corvus. For the same service also, at the age of three and twenty, he was made consul.

VII. The Latins, who had refused to furnish troops, proceeded also to demand of the Romans, that one of the consuls should be elected from their own people, the other from the Romans; this demand having been rejected, war was

commenced against them, and they were overcome in a great battle; and a triumph was celebrated on account of their defeat. Statues were erected to the consuls in the Rostra, for their service in gaining this victory.

VIII. The Romans had now begun to be powerful; for a war was carried on by them against the Samnites, who hold a middle situation between Picenum, Campania, and Apulia, at the distance of nearly a hundred and thirty miles from the city. Lucius Papirius Cursor went to conduct that war with the rank of dictator, and, on returning to Rome, gave orders to Quintus Fabius Maximus, his master of the horse, whom he left in charge of the army, not to fight during his absence. He, however, seeing a favourable opportunity, commenced an engagement with great success, and utterly defeated the Samnites; he was accordingly condemned to death by the dictator, for fighting contrary to his orders, but was saved by the powerful interposition of the soldiers and people, so great a tumult having been excited against Papirius, that he was almost slain.

IX. The Samnites subsequently, in the consulate of Titus Veturius and Spurius Posthumius, defeated the Romans with signal ignominy, and compelled them to pass under the yoke. The peace, however, which had been concluded with them through mere necessity, was broken by the senate and people. After this the Samnites were defeated by Lucius Papirius the consul, and seven thousand of them made to pass under the yoke. Papirius was granted a triumph over the Samnites. About the same time Appius Claudius the censor brought the Claudian water into the city, and made the Appian way.

The Samnites, renewing the war, defeated Quintus Fabius Maximus, with the slaughter of three thousand of his troops; but afterwards, his father, Fabius Maximus, being appointed his lieutenant, he both defeated the Samnites, and took several of their towns. Subsequently, Publius Cornelius Rufinus and Manius Curius Dentatus, the two consuls, being sent against the Samnites, reduced their strength in some considerable battles. Thus they brought the war with the Samnites to an end; a war which had lasted for forty-nine years. Nor was there any enemy in Italy that put the valour of the Romans more to the test.

X. After an interval of a few years, the forces of the Gauls

united with the Tuscans and Samnites against the Romans; but, as they were marching to Rome, were cut off by the consul Cnæus Cornelius Dolabella.

XI. War was at the same time proclaimed against the Tarentines (who are still a people at the extremity of Italy), because they had offered violence to some Roman ambassadors. These people asked aid against the Romans of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who derived his origin from the family of Achilles. He soon after passed over into Italy, and it was then that the Romans fought for the first time with an enemy from beyond sea. The consul Publius Valerius Lævinus was sent against him; who, having seized some spies of Pyrrhus, ordered them to be led through the camp, and the whole army to be exhibited to them, and then to be dismissed, that they might tell Pyrrhus whatever was going on among the Romans. An engagement taking place soon after, Pyrrhus, when on the point of fleeing, got the victory by means of his elephants, at the sight of which the Romans, to whom they were strange, were greatly terrified; but night put an end to the battle. Lævinus however fled during the night. Pyrrhus took a thousand eight hundred Romans prisoners, and treated them with the greatest honour; the slain he buried. On observing those lying dead, with their wounds in front, and with stern countenances, he is said to have lifted up his hands to heaven, exclaiming that "he might himself have been master of the whole world, if such soldiers had fallen to his lot."

XII. Pyrrhus afterwards, having united to him the Samnites, the Lucanians, and the Bruttii, proceeded towards Rome. He laid all waste with fire and sword, depopulated Campania, and advanced to Præneste, eighteen miles from Rome. Soon after, through fear of an army which was pursuing him with a consul at its head, he fell back upon Campania. Ambassadors, who were sent to treat with Pyrrhus respecting the ransom of the captives, were honourably entertained by him; and he sent the captives back to Rome without payment. Fabricius, one of the Roman ambassadors, he admired so much, that, finding he was poor, he endeavoured to draw him over to his side with the promise of a fourth part of his kingdom, but he was repulsed with disdain by Fabricius. Pyrrhus, therefore, being struck with admiration at the character of the Romans, sent an eminent man, Cineas by name, as ambassador, to ask

for peace on reasonable terms, provided that he might retain possession of that part of Italy, of which he had already become master in the war.

XIII. Such terms of peace were not satisfactory, and an answer was returned by the senate to Pyrrhus, that "he could have no peace with the Romans, unless he retired from Italy." The Romans then ordered that all the prisoners whom Pyrrhus had sent back should be considered *infamous*,* because they had suffered themselves to be taken with arms in their hands; and not to be restored to their former rank, until they had each produced the spoils of two slain enemies. Thus the ambassador of Pyrrhus returned; and, when Pyrrhus asked him "what kind of a place he had found Rome to be," Cineas replied, that "he had seen a country of kings, for that all there were such, as Pyrrhus alone was thought to be in Epirus and the rest of Greece."

The consuls Publius Sulpicius and Decius Mus were sent out as generals against Pyrrhus. A battle being commenced, Phrrhus was wounded, his elephants killed, twenty thousand of the enemy slain, and of the Romans only five thousand. Pyrrhus was forced to retire to Tarentum.

XIV. After the lapse of a year, Fabricius was sent out against Pyrrhus, the same who, when he was before among the ambassadors, could not be won with a promise of the fourth part of his kingdom. As Fabricius and the king had their camps near to each other, the physician of Pyrrhus came to Fabricius by night, offering to despatch Pyrrhus by poison, if he would promise him some remuneration; upon which Fabricius ordered that he should be taken back in chains to his master, and that information should be given to Pyrrhus of the proposals which the physician had made against his life. The king, struck with admiration of his conduct, is reported to have exclaimed on the occasion, "That excellent Fabricius is a man who can less easily be diverted from the path of honour, than the sun from its course." Pyrrhus then departed for Sicily. Fabricius, after defeating the Samnites and Lucanians, obtained a triumph.

* *Infames.*] They all suffered some sort of degradation. Those who had been in the cavalry were made to serve in the infantry, and those who had been in the infantry were sent among the slingers. See Val. Max. ii. 7, 15.

The consuls Manius Curius Dentatus and Cornelius Lentulus were next sent against Pyrrhus; and Curius came to an engagement with him, cut off his army, drove him back to Tarentum, and took his camp. On that day were slain twenty-three thousand of the enemy. Curius Dentatus triumphed in his consulate. He was the first that brought elephants to Rome, in number, four. Pyrrhus also soon after quitted Tarentum, and was killed at Argos, a city of Greece.

XV. In the consulship of Caius Fabricius Licinus and Caiu Claudius Canina, in the four hundred and sixty-first year from the foundation of the city, ambassadors, from Alexandria, despatched by Ptolemy, arrived at Rome, and obtained from the Romans the friendship which they solicited.

XVI. In the consulate of Quintus Ogulnius and Caius Fabius Pictor, the Picenians commenced a war, and were conquered by the succeeding consuls Publius Sempronius and Appius Claudius, and a triumph was celebrated over them. Two cities were founded by the Romans, Ariminum in Gaul, and Beneventum in Samnium.

XVII. When Marcus Attilius Regulus and Lucius Junius Libo were consuls, war was declared against the Sallentines in Apulia; and the Brundusians and their city were taken, and a triumph granted on their subjugation.

XVIII. In the four hundred and seventy-seventh year of the city, although the Roman name had now become famous, yet their arms had not been carried out of Italy. That it might be ascertained, therefore, what the forces of the Romans were, a census was taken. On this occasion the number of citizens was found to be two hundred and ninety-two thousand, three hundred and thirty-four, although from the founding of the city wars had never ceased. It was then that the first war was undertaken against the Africans, in the consulate of Appius Claudius and Quintus Fulvius. A battle was fought with them in Sicily; and Appius Claudius obtained a triumph for a victory over the Africans and Hiero king of Sicily.

XIX. In the year following, Valerius Marcus and Otacilius being consuls, great deeds were achieved by the Romans in Sicily. The Tauromenitani, Catanians, and fifty cities more, were received into alliance. In the third year the war against Hiero in Sicily was brought to an end. He, with all the Syracusan nobility, prevailed upon the Romans to grant them

peace, paying down two hundred talents of silver. The Africans were defeated in Sicily, and a triumph over them granted at Rome a second time.

XX. In the fifth year of the Punic war, which was carried on against the Africans, the Romans first fought by sea, in the consulate of Caius Duilius and Cnæus Cornelius Asina, having provided themselves with vessels armed with beaks, which they term Liburnian galleys. The consul Cornelius fell a victim to treachery.* Duilius, joining battle, defeated the commander of the Carthaginians, took thirty-one of their ships, sunk fourteen, took seven thousand of the enemy prisoners, and slew three thousand; nor was there ever a victory more gratifying to the Romans, for they were now not only invincible by land, but eminently powerful at sea.

In the consulship of Caius Aquilius Florus and Lucius Scipio, Scipio laid waste Corsica and Sardinia, carried away several thousand captives from thence, and obtained a triumph.

XXI. When Lucius Manlius Vulso and Marcus Attilius Regulus were consuls, war was carried over into Africa against Hamilcar the general of the Carthaginians. A naval engagement was fought, and the Carthaginian utterly defeated, for he retired with the loss of sixty four of his ships. The Romans lost only twenty-two; and, having then crossed over into Africa, they compelled Clypea, the first city at which they arrived in Africa, to surrender. The consuls then advanced as far as Carthage; and, having laid waste many places, Manlius returned victorious to Rome, and brought with him twenty-seven thousand prisoners. Attilius Regulus remained in Africa. He drew up his army against the Africans; and, fighting at the same time against three Carthaginian generals, came off victorious, killed eighteen thousand of the enemy, took five thousand prisoners, with eighteen elephants, and received seventy-four cities into alliance. The vanquished Carthaginians then sued to the Romans for peace, which Regulus refusing to grant, except upon the hardest conditions, the Africans sought aid from the Lacedæmonians, and, under a leader named Xantippus, who had been sent them by the Lacedæmonians, Regulus, the Roman general, was overthrown

* He was deceived and made prisoner by one of Hannibal's officers. Polyb. i. 23; Oros. iv. 7; Polyæn. vi. 16, 5.

with a desperate slaughter; for two thousand men only escaped of all the Roman army; five hundred, with their commander Regulus, were taken prisoners, thirty thousand slain, and Regulus himself thrown into prison.

XXII. In the consulship of Marcus Æmilius Paulus and Servius Fulvius Nobilior, both the Roman consuls set sail for Africa, with a fleet of three hundred ships. They first overcame the Africans in a sea-fight; Æmilius the consul sunk a hundred and four of the enemy's ships, took thirty, with the soldiers in them, killed or took prisoners fifteen thousand of the enemy, and enriched his own army with much plunder; and Africa would then have been subdued, but that so great a famine took place that the army could not continue there any longer. The consuls, as they were returning with their victorious fleet, suffered shipwreck on the coast of Sicily, and so violent was the storm, that out of four hundred and sixty-four ships, eighty could scarcely be saved; nor was so great a tempest at sea ever heard of at any period. The Romans, notwithstanding, soon refitted two hundred ships, nor was their spirit at all broken by their loss.

XXIII. Cnæus Servilius Cæpio and Caius Sempronius Blæsus, when consuls, set out for Africa with two hundred and sixty ships, and took several cities. As they were returning with a great booty, they suffered shipwreck; and, as these successive calamities annoyed the Romans, the senate in consequence decreed that wars by sea should be given up, and that only sixty ships should be kept for the defence of Italy.

XXIV. In the consulship of Lucius Cæcilius Metellus and Caius Furius Pacilus, Metellus defeated a general of the Africans in Sicily, who came against him with a hundred and thirty elephants and a numerous army, slew twenty thousand of the enemy, took six and twenty elephants, collected the rest, which were dispersed, with the aid of the Numidians whom he had to assist him, and brought them to Rome in a vast procession, filling all the roads with elephants, to the number of a hundred and thirty.

After these misfortunes, the Carthaginians entreated Regulus, the Roman general whom they had taken, to go to Rome, procure them peace from the Romans, and effect an exchange of prisoners.

XXV. Regulus, on arriving at Rome, and being conducted into the senate, would do nothing in the character of a Roman, declaring that, "from the day when he fell into the hands of the Africans, he had ceased to be a Roman." For this reason he both repelled his wife from embracing him, and gave his advice to the Romans, that "peace should not be made with the Carthaginians; for that they, dispirited by so many losses, had no hope left; and that, with respect to himself, he was not of such importance, that so many thousand captives should be restored on his account alone, old as he was, and for the sake of the few Romans who had been taken prisoners." He accordingly carried his point, for no one would listen to the Carthaginians, when they applied for peace. He himself returned to Carthage, telling the Romans, when they offered to detain him at Rome, that he would not stay in a city, in which, after living in captivity among the Africans, it was impossible for him to retain the dignity of an honourable citizen. Returning therefore to Africa, he was put to death with torture of every description.

XXVI. When Publius Claudius Pulcher and Caius Junius were consuls, Claudius fought in opposition to the auspices, and was defeated by the Carthaginians; for, out of two hundred and twenty ships, he escaped with only thirty; ninety, together with their men, were taken, the rest sunk, and twenty thousand men made prisoners. The other consul also lost his fleet by shipwreck, but was able to save his troops, as the shore was close at hand.

XXVII. In the consulate of Caius Lutatius Catulus and Aulus Posthumius Albinus, in the twenty-third year of the Punic war, the conduct of the war against the Africans was committed to Catulus. He set sail for Sicily with three hundred ships. The Africans fitted out four hundred against him. Lutatius Catulus embarked in an infirm state of health, having been wounded in a previous battle. An encounter took place opposite Lilybæum, a city of Sicily, with the greatest valour on the part of the Romans, for seventy-three of the Carthaginian ships were taken, and a hundred and twenty-five sunk; thirty-two thousand of the enemy were made prisoners, and thirteen thousand slain; and a vast sum in gold and silver fell into the hands of the Romans. Of the Roman fleet twelve ships were sunk The battle was fought on the 10th of

of March. The Carthaginians immediately sued for peace, and peace was granted them. The Roman prisoners who were in the hands of the Carthaginians were restored; the Carthaginians also requested permission to redeem such of the Africans as the Romans kept in captivity. The senate decided that those who were state prisoners should be restored without ransom; but that those who were in the hands of private persons should return to Carthage on the payment of a sum to their owners; and that such payment should be made from the public treasury, rather than by the Carthaginians.

XXVIII. Quintus Lutatius and Aulius Manlius, being created consuls, made war upon the Falisci, formerly a powerful people of Italy, which war the consuls in conjunction brought to a termination within six days after they took the field; fifteen thousand of the enemy were slain, and peace was granted to the rest, but half their land was taken from them.

BOOK III.

Ptolemy, king of Egypt, declines the aid offered him by the Romans against Antiochus; Hiero, king of Sicily, comes to see the games at Rome, I.—War with the Ligurians; the Carthaginians think of resuming hostilities, but are pacified, II.—Peace throughout the dominions of Rome, III.—The Illyrian war, IV.—Disasters of the Gauls that invaded Italy, V. VI.—The second Punic war, VII.–XXIII.

I. The Punic war being now ended, after having been protracted though three and twenty years, the Romans, who were now distinguished by transcendent glory, sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, with offers of assistance; for Antiochus, king of Syria, had made war upon him. He returned thanks to the Romans, but declined their aid, the struggle being now over. About the same time, Hiero, the most powerful king of Sicily, visited Rome to witness the games, and distributed two hundred thousand modii * of wheat among the people.

II. In the consulship of Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Fulvius Flaccus, in whose time Hiero came to Rome, war was carried on, within the limits of Italy, against the Ligurians,

* See note on Corn. Nep. Life of Atticus, c. 2.

and a triumph obtained over them. The Carthaginians, too, at the same time, attempted to renew the war, soliciting the Sardinians, who, by an article of the peace, were bound to submit to the Romans, to rebel. A deputation, however, of the Carthaginians came to Rome, and obtained peace.

III. Under the consulate of Titus Manlius Torquatus and Caius Attilius Bulbus, a triumph was obtained over the Sardinians; and, peace being concluded on all sides, the Romans had now no war on their hands, a circumstance which had happened to them but once before since the building of the city, in the reign of Numa Pompilius.

IV. Lucius Posthumius Albinus and Cnæus Fulvius Centumalus, when consuls, conducted a war against the Illyrians; and, having taken many of their towns, reduced their kings to a surrender, and it was then for the first time that a triumph was celebrated over the Illyrians.

V. When Lucius Æmilius was consul, a vast force of the Gauls crossed the Alps; but all Italy united in favour of the Romans; and it is recorded by Fabius the historian, who was present in that war, that there were eight hundred thousand men ready for the contest. Affairs, however, were brought to a successful termination by the consul alone; forty thousand of the enemy were killed, and a triumph decreed to Æmilius.

VI. A few years after, a battle was fought with the Gauls within the borders of Italy, and an end put to the war, in the consulship of Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Cnæus Cornelius Scipio. Marcellus took the field with a small body of horse, and slew the king of the Gauls, Viridomarus, with his own hand. Afterwards, in conjunction with his colleague, he cut to pieces a numerous army of the Gauls, stormed Milan, and carried off a vast booty to Rome. Marcellus, at his triumph, bore the spoils of the Gaul, fixed upon a pole on his shoulders.

VII. In the consulate of Marcus Minucius Rufus and Publius Cornelius, war was made upon the Istrians, because they had plundered some ships of the Romans, which were bringing a supply of corn, and they were entirely subdued.

In the same year the second Punic war was commenced against the Romans by Hannibal, general of the Carthaginians, who, in the twentieth year of his age, proceeded to besiege Saguntum, a city of Spain, in alliance with the

Romans, having assembled for that purpose an army of fifty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. The Romans warned him, by deputies sent for the purpose, to desist from hostilities, but he refused them audience. The Romans sent also to Carthage, requiring that orders should be sent to Hannibal, not to make war on the allies of the Roman people; but the reply made by the Carthaginians promised no compliance. The Saguntines in the meantime, worn out with famine, were taken by Hannibal, and put to death with the utmost cruelty.

VIII. Publius Cornelius Scipio then went with an army into Spain, and Tiberius Sempronius into Sicily. War was declared against the Carthaginians. Hannibal, leaving his brother Hasdrubal in Spain, passed the Pyrenees, and made a way over the Alps, which, in that part, were previously impassable. He is said to have brought into Italy eighty thousand foot, twenty thousand horse, and thirty-seven elephants. Numbers of the Ligurians and Gauls joined him on his march. Sempronius Gracchus, hearing of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, conveyed over his army from Sicily to Ariminum.

IX. The first to meet Hannibal was Publius Cornelius Scipio; a battle being commenced, and his troops put to flight, he retired wounded into his camp. Sempronius Gracchus also came to an engagement with him near the river Trebia, and he too was defeated. Numbers in Italy submitted to Hannibal; who, marching from thence into Tuscany, encountered the consul Flaminius. Flaminius himself he cut off; and twenty-five thousand of the Romans were slain; the rest saved themselves by flight. Quintus Fabius Maximus was afterwards sent by the Romans to oppose Hannibal. This general, by avoiding an engagement, checked his impetuosity; and soon after, finding a favourable opportunity, defeated him.

X In the five hundred and fortieth year from the foundation of the city, Lucius Æmilius and Publius Terentius Varro were sent against Hannibal, and took the place of Fabius, who forewarned both the consuls, that they could conquer Hannibal, who was a bold and energetic leader, only by declining a pitched battle with him. But an engagement being brought on, through the impetuosity of the consul Varro, in opposition to his colleague, near a village called Cannæ, in Apulia, both the consuls were defeated by Hannibal. In this battle three

thousand of the Africans fell, and a great part of Hannibal's army were wounded. The Romans, however, never received so severe a blow at any period of the Punic wars; for the consul Æmilius Paulus was killed; twenty officers of consular and prætorian rank, thirty senators, and three hundred others of noble descent, were taken or slain, as well as forty thousand foot-soldiers, and three thousand five hundred horse. During all these calamities, however, not one of the Romans deigned to speak of peace. A number of slaves were set free and made soldiers, a measure never before adopted.

XI. After this battle, several cities of Italy, which had been subject to the Romans, went over to Hannibal. Hannibal made proposals to the Romans concerning the redemption of the prisoners, but the senate replied, that "such citizens as would suffer themselves to be taken with arms in their hands were of no value to them." Hannibal then put them all to death with various tortures, and sent three modii* of gold rings to Carthage, which he had taken from the fingers of Roman knights, senators, and soldiers. In the meantime, Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, who had remained in Spain with a numerous army, in order to reduce all that country under the dominion of the Africans, was defeated there by the two Scipios, the Roman generals, and lost thirty-five thousand men in the battle; of these ten thousand were made prisoners, and twenty-five thousand slain. Upon this, twelve thousand foot, four thousand horse, and twenty elephants were sent to him by the Carthaginians to reinforce his army.

XII. In the fourth year after Hannibal's arrival in Italy, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, one of the consuls, engaged him with success at Nola, a city of Campania. But Hannibal possessed himself of several of the Roman cities in Apulia, Calabria, and the country of the Bruttii. About this time also Philip, king of Macedonia, sent ambassadors to him, offering him assistance against the Romans, on condition that, when he had subdued them, he, in turn, should receive assistance from Hannibal against the Greeks. But Philip's ambassadors being taken, and the affair thus discovered, the Romans ordered Marcus Valerius Lævinus to proceed to Macedonia, and Titus Manlius, as proconsul, into Sardinia; for that island also, at the solicitation of Hannibal, had revolted from the Romans

* See note on C. Nep. Life of Atticus, c. 2.

XIII. Thus war was carried on at the same time in four different places; in Italy, against Hannibal; in Spain, against Hasdrubal his brother; in Macedonia, against Philip; in Sardinia, against the Sardinians and another Hasdrubal, also a Carthaginian. Hasdrubal was taken alive by Titus Manlius the proconsul, who had been sent into Sardinia; twelve thousand of his men were slain, fifteen hundred made prisoners, and Sardinia brought under subjection to the Romans. Manlius, being thus successful, brought Hasdrubal and his other prisoners to Rome. In the meantime, Philip also was defeated by Lævinus in Macedonia, and Hasdrubal and Mago, a third brother of Hannibal, by the Scipios in Spain.

XIV. In the tenth year after Hannibal's arrival in Italy, in the consulship of Publius Sulpicius and Cnæus Fulvius, Hannibal advanced within four miles of Rome, and his cavalry rode up to the very gates; but soon after, through fear of the consuls, who were coming upon him with an army, he withdrew into Campania. In Spain, the two Scipios, who had been victorious for many years, were killed by his brother Hasdrubal; the army however remained in full strength, for the generals had been ensnared rather by accident than the valour of the enemy. About this time, also, a great part of Sicily, which the Africans had begun to appropriate, was recovered by the consul Marcellus, and vast spoil brought to Rome from the celebrated city of Syracuse. In Macedonia, Lævinus made an alliance with Philip, and several of the Grecian states, as well as with Attalus, king of Asia; and, proceeding afterwards to Sicily, took Hanno, a general of the Carthaginians, at the city of Agrigentum, together with the town itself, and sent him with other noble prisoners to Rome. Forty cities he obliged to surrender; twenty-six he carried by storm. Thus all Sicily being recovered, and Macedonia humbled, he returned with great glory to Rome. In Italy, Hannibal, attacking Cnæus Fulvius, one of the consuls, by surprise, cut him off, together with eight thousand of his men.

XV. In the meantime, Publius Cornelius Scipio, a man almost the very first of all the Romans, both in his own and succeeding ages, son of that Publius Scipio who had carried on the war there before, was despatched, at the age of twenty-four, into Spain, where, after the death of the two Scipios, no

Roman general was now left. He took Carthage, in Spain, in which the Africans kept all their gold, and silver, and warlike stores; he took also a number of hostages, whom the Carthaginians had received from the Spaniards, as well as Mago, the brother of Hannibal, whom he sent with others to Rome. The rejoicing at Rome on this intelligence was very great. Scipio restored the Spanish hostages to their parents; and in consequence almost all the Spaniards unanimously joined him. Soon after, he put to flight Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, and took a great quantity of spoil.

XVI. In Italy, meanwhile, Quintus Fabius Maximus, one of the consuls, recovered Tarentum, where a great body of Hannibal's troops were quartered, and cut off there also Carthalo, one of Hannibal's generals; twenty-five thousand of the prisoners he sold for slaves; the spoil he divided among the soldiers; and the money arising from the sale of the prisoners, he paid into the public treasury. At this time, several of the Roman cities, which had gone over to Hannibal, submitted themselves again to Fabius Maximus.

In the following year Scipio performed extraordinary exploits in Spain, and, by his own exertions and those of his brother, Lucius Scipio, recovered seventy cities. In Italy, however, the war went on unsuccessfully, for Claudius Marcellus the consul was cut off by Hannibal.

XVII. In the third year after Scipio's departure for Spain, he again greatly distinguished himself. A king of Spain, whom he had conquered in a great battle, he received into alliance; and was the first that refrained from demanding hostages of a vanquished enemy.

XVIII. Hannibal, having no hope that Spain could be held longer against Scipio, summoned from it Hasdrubal his brother, with all his troops, to join him in Italy. Hasdrubal, pursuing the same route by which Hannibal had gone, fell into an ambush laid for him by the consuls Appius Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius Salinator, near Sena, a city of Picenum, but fell fighting valiantly; his numerous forces were either taken or put to the sword; and a great quantity of gold and silver carried off to Rome. Hannibal now began to despair of the issue of the war, and an accession of courage was felt by the Romans. They, therefore, also recalled Publius Cornelius Scipio out of Spain; who arrived at Rome with great glory.

XIX. In the consulate of Quintus Cæcilius and Lucius Valerius, all the cities in the territory of the Bruttii, which were in the possession of Hannibal, surrendered to the Romans.

XX. In the fourteenth year after Hannibal's invasion of Italy, Scipio, who had achieved such successes in Spain, was created consul, and sent into Africa; a man in whom there was thought to be something divine, so that he was even imagined to hold converse with the gods. He encountered Hanno, the general of the Carthaginians in Africa, and destroyed his army. In a second battle he took his camp, with four thousand five hundred of his soldiers, eleven thousand being killed. Syphax, king of Numidia, who had joined the Africans, he took prisoner, and became master of his camp. Syphax himself, with the noblest of the Numidians, and a vast quantity of spoil, was sent by Scipio to Rome; on the news of which event, almost all Italy forsook Hannibal, who was desired by the Carthaginians to return to Africa, which Scipio was now laying waste.

XXI. Thus, in the seventeenth year after his arrival, Italy was delivered from Hannibal, and he is said to have quitted it with tears. Ambassadors from the Carthaginians applied to Scipio for peace, by whom they were sent to the senate, a truce of forty-five days being allowed for their journey to and from Rome; thirty thousand pounds of silver were accepted from them. The senate directed that a peace should be concluded with the Carthaginians at the discretion of Scipio. Scipio granted it on these conditions: "that they should retain no more than thirty ships, that they should pay to the Romans five hundred thousand pounds of silver, and restore all the prisoners and deserters."

XXII. Hannibal in the meantime landing in Africa, the treaty was interrupted. Many hostilities were committed by the Carthaginians; yet when their ambassadors, as they were returning from Rome, were made prisoners by some Roman troops, they were by Scipio's orders set at liberty. Hannibal too, being defeated by Scipio in several battles,* expressed also himself a desire for peace. A conference being held, peace

* *Frequentibus prœliis.*] Livy does not seem to think that any battle took place before the conference; he, however, mentions that Valerius Antias speaks of *one* having occurred before it, b. xxx. 29.

was offered on the same terms as before, only a hundred thousand pounds of silver were added to the former five hundred thousand, on account of their late perfidy.* The terms were unsatisfactory to the Carthaginians, and they ordered Hannibal to continue the war.

The war was carried by Scipio, and Masinissa, another king of the Numidians, who had made an alliance with Scipio, to the very walls of Carthage. Hannibal sent three spies into Scipio's camp, who were captured, and Scipio ordered them to be led round the camp, the whole army to be shown them, and themselves to be entertained and dismissed, that they might report to Hannibal all that they had seen among the Romans.

XXIII. In the meantime preparations were made by both generals for a battle, such as scarce ever occurred in any age, since they were the ablest commanders that ever led forces into the field. Scipio came off victorious, having almost captured Hannibal himself, who escaped at first with several horse, then with twenty, and at last with only four. There were found in Hannibal's camp twenty thousand pounds of silver, and eight hundred of gold, with plenty of stores. After this battle, peace was concluded with the Carthaginians. Scipio returned to Rome, and triumphed with the greatest glory, receiving from that period the appellation of Africanus. Thus the second Punic war was brought to an end in the nineteenth year after it began.

* *Propter novam perfidiam.*] Eutropius, at the beginning of the chapter, speaks of "many hostilities" having been committed by the Carthaginians. "Before the arrival of Hannibal, and while their ambassadors were on their way from Rome, the Carthaginians had plundered a convoy of Scipio's driven into their harbour by stress of weather, and had ill-treated some deputies whom Scipio had sent to Carthage to complain of their conduct. See Polyb. xv. 1.; Liv xxx. 24.; Appian. de Reb. Pun. c. 34."—*Tzschucke.*

BOOK IV.

War with Philip, king of Macedonia, I. II.—War with Antiochus, king of Syria, III. IV.—Triumph of Fulvius over the Ætolians; death of Hannibal, V.—War with Perseus, king of Macedonia, and with Gentius, king of Illyria, VI.—VIII.—Successes of Mummius in Spain, IX.—Third Punic war, and destruction of Carthage, X. —XII.—War in Macedonia with Pseudo Philip, XIII.—The Achæan war, and destruction of Corinth, XIV.—War in Macedonia with Pseudo Perseus, XV.—War in Spain with Viriatus, XVI.—Numantine war ended by Scipio, XVII.—Attalus bequeaths his kingdom to the Roman people, XVIII.—Triumphs of Junius Brutus and Scipio, XIX.—War in Asia with Aristonicus, XX.—Carthage becomes a Roman colony, XXI.—War with the Transalpine Gauls, and Bituitus, king of the Arverni, XXII.—A colony settled at Narbonne; a triumph over Dalmatia, XXIII.—Unsuccessful war with the Scordisci, XXIV.—Triumphs over Sardinia and Thrace, XXV.—War with Jugurtha, XXVI. XXVII.

I. After the Punic was terminated, the Macedonian war, against King Philip, succeeded.

II. In the five hundred and fifty-first year from the building of the city, Titus Quintius Flamininus was sent against King Philip. He was successful in his undertaking; and peace was granted to Philip on these conditions, that "he should not make war on those states of Greece which the Romans had defended against him; that he should restore the prisoners and deserters; that he should retain only fifty vessels, and deliver up the rest to the Romans; that he should pay, for ten years, a tribute of four thousand pounds weight of silver; and give his own son Demetrius as a hostage." Titus Quintius made war also on the Lacedæmonians; defeated their general Nabis, and admitted them into alliance on such terms as he thought proper. He led with great pride before his chariot hostages of most noble rank, Demetrius the son of Philip, and Armenes the son of Nabis.

III. The Macedonian war being thus terminated, the Syrian war, against King Antiochus, succeeded, in the consulship of Publius Cornelius Scipio and Manius Acilius Glabrio. To this Antiochus Hannibal had joined himself, abandoning his native country, Carthage, to escape being delivered up to the Romans. Manius Acilius Glabrio fought successfully in Achaia. The camp of King Antiochus was taken by an attack in the night, and he himself obliged to flee. To Philip his

son Demetrius was restored, for having assisted the Romans in their contest with Antiochus.

IV. In the consulate of Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Caius Lælius, Scipio Africanus went out as lieutenant to his brother Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the consul, against Antiochus. Hannibal, who was with Antiochus, was defeated in a battle by sea. Antiochus himself was afterwards routed by Cornelius Scipio, the consul, in a great battle at Magnesia, a city of Asia, near mount Sipylus. Eumenes, who founded the city of Eumenia in Phrygia, the brother of king Attalus, assisted the Romans in that engagement. Fifty thousand foot, and three thousand horse were killed in that battle on the side of the king. In consequence, King Antiochus sued for peace, which was granted to him, though vanquished, by the senate, on the same conditions as it had been offered before: "that he should withdraw from Europe and Asia, and confine himself within mount Taurus; that he should pay ten thousand talents, and give twenty hostages, and surrender Hannibal, the author of the war." All the cities of Asia, which Antiochus had lost in this war, were given to Eumenes; many cities also were granted to the Rhodians, who had assisted the Romans against Antiochus. Scipio returned to Rome, and celebrated his triumph with great pomp; and he also, after the example of his brother, received the name of Asiaticus, from his conquest of Asia; as his brother, from the subjugation of Africa, had been surnamed Africanus.

V. Under the consuls Spurius Posthumius Albinus and Quintus Marcius Philippus, Marcus Fulvius triumphed for conquering the Ætolians. Hannibal, who, on the defeat of Antiochus, had fled to Prusias, king of Bithynia, that he might not be surrendered to the Romans, was demanded also at his hands by Titus Quintius Flamininus; and, as he seemed likely to be surrendered, he drank poison, and was buried at Libyssa, in the territory of the Nicomedians.

VI. On the death of Philip, king of Macedonia, who had both waged war with the Romans, and afterwards given aid to the Romans against Antiochus, his son Perseus took up arms again in Macedonia, having levied great forces for the war, and having as allies Cotys, king of Thrace, and the king of Illyricum, whose name was Gentius. On the side of the Romans were Eumenes, king of Asia, Ariarathes of Cappa-

docia, Antiochus of Syria, Ptolemy of Egypt, Masinissa of Numidia. Prusias, the king of Bithynia, although he had married the sister of Perseus, remained neutral. The general of the Romans, the consul Publius Licinius, was defeated by Perseus in a severe engagement; yet the Romans, although vanquished, refused peace to the king when he solicited it, except on condition that he should surrender himself and his people to the senate and the people of Rome. The consul Lucius Æmilius Paulus was afterwards sent against him, and the prætor Caius Anicius into Illyricum against Gentius: but Gentius, being defeated with ease in a single battle, soon surrendered; and his mother, his wife, his two sons, and his brother, fell at the same time into the power of the Romans. Thus the war was terminated within thirty days, and the news of Gentius's defeat arrived before it was announced that the war had been begun.

VII. The consul Æmilius Paulus came to a battle with Perseus on the 3rd of September, and defeated him, killing twenty thousand of his infantry; the cavalry which remained with the king was unbroken; on the side of the Romans only a hundred men were missing. All the cities of Macedonia, that Perseus had under his sway, submitted to the Romans. The king himself, deserted by his friends, fell into the hands of Paulus; but Paulus treated him with respect, and not as a vanquished enemy, for, when he desired to prostrate himself at his feet, he would not permit him, but placed him in a seat by his side. The terms granted to the Macedonians and Illyrians were these, "that they might remain free, on paying half the tribute which they had been accustomed to pay to their kings;" that it might be seen that the Roman people contended with a view to equity and not to covetousness: and these terms Paulus proclaimed in an assembly of a vast concourse of people, entertaining the ambassadors of several states, who had come to pay their respects to him, with a most sumptuous feast; saying that "it ought to be possible for the same individual to be victorious in war and elegant in his entertainments."

VIII. Shortly after he took seventy cities of Epirus, which had resumed hostilities; the booty he distributed among his soldiers. He then returned to Rome with great display, in a vessel belonging to Perseus, which is recorded to have been of

such extraordinary magnitude, that it contained sixteen banks of oars. He celebrated his triumph most magnificently in a golden car, with his two sons standing on each side of him; the two sons of Perseus, and Perseus himself, then forty-five years of age, were led in procession before the car. After Æmilius, Caius Anicius also celebrated a triumph on account of the Illyrians; in which Gentius, with his brother and sons, were led before his car. To witness this spectacle the kings of several nations came to Rome; among others, even Attalus and Eumenes, kings of Asia, and Prusias, king of Bithynia; who were entertained with great consideration, and, by permission of the senate, deposited the presents which they had brought in the Capitol. Prusias also entrusted his son Nicomedes to the senate.

IX. In the year following Lucius Memmius was successful in the war in Spain. Marcellus the consul afterwards met with success in the same country.

X. A third war was then undertaken against Carthage, in the six hundred and second* year from the building of the city, in the consulship of Lucius Manlius Censorinus and Marcus Manilius, and in the fifty-first year after the termination of the second Punic war. The consuls in consequence proceeded to attack Carthage. Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian general, engaged them; Phamea, another general, had the command of the Carthaginian cavalry. At that time, Scipio, the grandson of Scipio Africanus, served in the army in the capacity of tribune, for whom great fear and respect was felt by all; for he was regarded as eminently brave and skilful in the field. Many enterprises were accordingly conducted with success by his agency; nor did Hasdrubal or Phamea shrink from anything more than engaging with that part of the army in which Scipio commanded.

XI. About the same time, Masinissa, king of Numidia, who had been an ally of the Roman people for nearly sixty years, died in the ninety-seventh year of his age, leaving behind him

* *Altero.*] The Greek translator gives *ἐνὶ*, in which signification he seems to have taken *altero*; as also in i. 18. On this point the learned are constantly disputing, and especially on the 49th epitome of Livy, where Duker does not decide whether *alter* signifies first or second.—*Tzschucke.* I consider that *alter*, used as in this passage, and as in i. 18, always signifies *second*. In such phrases as *alter ab undecimo*, Virg Ecl. viii. 39, it of course has a different signification.

forty-four sons. He appointed Scipio to divide his kingdom amongst his sons

XII. As the name of Scipio had already become famous, he was created consul, although but a young man, and sent against Carthage. He took it and demolished it: the spoils found there, which had been amassed by Carthage from the ruins of various cities, and the ornaments of towns, he restored to such cities of Sicily, Italy, and Africa, as recognized their own. Thus Carthage, in the seven hundredth year after its foundation, was destroyed. Scipio earned the same title which his grandfather had gained, being, on account of his valour, called Africanus Junior.

XIII. In the meantime a certain Pseudo-Philip took up arms in Macedonia, and defeated Publius Juvencius, a Roman prætor, who had been sent out against him, with a terrible slaughter. After him Quintus Cæcilius Metellus was sent by the Romans as general against this pretended Philip, and, having slain twenty-five thousand of his soldiers, recovered Macedonia, and took the impostor himself prisoner.

XIV. War was also declared against Corinth, the noblest city of Greece, on account of an affront offered to a Roman embassy. That city Mummius the consul took and demolished. Three most remarkable triumphs therefore were celebrated at Rome at the same time, that of Scipio for Africa, before whose chariot Hasdrubal was led; that of Metellus for Macedonia, before whose chariot walked Andriscus, also called Pseudo-Philip; and that of Mummius for Corinth, before whom brazen statues, pictures, and other ornaments of that celebrated city, were carried.

XV. In Macedonia, meanwhile, a Pseudo-Perseus, who called himself the son of Perseus, collecting the slaves, took up arms, and, when he was at the head of a force of seventeen thousand fighting men, was defeated by Tremellius the quæstor. [At this time a hermaphrodite was discovered at Rome, and drowned in the sea by order of the soothsayers.]*

XVI. About the same time Metellus had singular success

* The sentence in brackets is not found in all manuscripts; nor is it acknowledged by the Greek translator. Verheyk, Cellarius, and Tzschucke omit it. "Some say that this hermaphrodite was born in the following year, and that a great pestilence ensued."—*Madame Dacier.* See Livy, xxvii. 11, 37; xxxi. 12.

against the Spaniards in Celtiberia. Quintus Pompeius succeeded him. Not long after Quintus Cæpio was also sent to the same war, which a leader named Viriathus was still keeping up against the Romans in Lusitania; through fear of whom Viriathus was killed by his own men, after he had kept Spain in a state of excitement against the Romans for fourteen years. He was at first a shepherd, then captain of a band of robbers, and at last he stirred up so many powerful nations to war, that he was considered as the protector of Spain against the Romans. When his assassins asked a reward of the consul Cæpio, they received for answer, that "it was never pleasing to the Romans, that a general should be killed by his own soldiers."

XVII. The consul Quintus Pompeius being afterwards defeated by the Numantines, the most powerful nation of Spain, made an ignominious peace with them. After him, the consul Caius Hostilius Mancinus again concluded a dishonourable peace with the Numantines, which the people and senate ordered to be annulled, and Mancinus himself to be given up to the enemy, that they might avenge themselves for the dissolution of the treaty on him with whom they had made it.* After such signal disgrace, therefore, with which the Roman armies had been twice defeated by the Numantines, Publius Scipio Africanus was made consul a second time, and sent to Numantia. He reformed, in the first place, the dissolute and idle soldiery, rather by inuring them to labour than by punishment, and without any great severity. He then took several cities of Spain, some by force, and allowing others to surrender. At last he reduced Numantia itself by famine, after it had been long besieged, and razed it to the ground, and received the rest of the province into alliance.

XVIII. About this time Attalus, king of Asia, the brother of Eumenes, died, and left the Roman people his heir. Thus Asia was added to the Roman empire by will.

XIX. Shortly after, also, Decimus Junius Brutus triumphed with great glory over the Gallæcians and Lusitanians; and Publius Scipio Africanus had a second triumph over the Numantines. in the fourteenth year after his first triumph for his exploits in Africa.

XX. A war in the meantime was kindled in Asia by Aris-

* See Florus, ii. 18; Vell. Pat. ii. 1, 90, Bohn's Cl. Library.

tonicus, the son of Eumenes by a concubine: this Eumenes was the brother of Attalus. Against him was sent out Publius Licinius Crassus, who had ample assistance from several kings, for not only Nicomedes, the king of Bithynia, supported the Romans, but also Mithridates king of Pontus, with whom they had afterwards a very great war, as well as Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, and Pylæmenes of Paphlagonia. Crassus notwithstanding was defeated, and killed in battle; his head was carried to Aristonicus, and his body buried at Smyrna. Soon after Perperna, the Roman consul, who was appointed successor to Crassus, hearing of the event of the war, hastened to Asia; and defeating Aristonicus in battle, near the city Stratonice to which he had fled, reduced him by famine to surrender. Aristonicus, by command of the senate, was strangled in prison at Rome; for a triumph could not be celebrated on his account, because Perperna had died at Pergamus on his return.

XXI. In the consulate of Lucius Cæcilius Metellus and Titus Quintius Flamininus, Carthage in Africa, which still exists, was rebuilt by order of the senate, two and twenty years after it had been destroyed by Scipio. A colony of Roman citizens was sent out thither.

XXII. In the six hundred and twenty-seventh year from the founding of the city, Caius Cassius Longinus and Sextus Domitius Calvinus, the consuls, made war upon the Trans alpine Gauls, and the city of the Arverni, at that time very distinguished, and their king, Bituitus; and slew a vast number of men near the river Rhone. A great booty, consisting of the golden collars of the Gauls, was brought to Rome. Bituitus surrendered himself to Domitius, and was conveyed by him to Rome; and both consuls triumphed with great glory.

XXIII. In the consulship of Marcus Porcius Cato and Quintus Marcius Rex, in the six hundred and thirty-third year from the building of the city, a colony was led out to Narbonne in Gaul. Afterwards a triumph was obtained over Dalmatia by the consuls Lucius Metellus and Quintus Mucius Scævola.

XXIV. In the six hundred and thirty-fifth year from the building of the city, the consul Caius Cato made war upon the Scordisci, and fought with them to his dishonour.

XXV. When Caius Cæcilius Metellus and Cnæus Carbo

were consuls, the Metelli, two brothers, had triumphs on the same day, one for Sardinia, the other for Thrace; and news was brought to Rome, that the Cimbri had crossed from Gaul into Italy.

XXVI. In the consulship of Publius Scipio Nasica and Lucius Calpurnius Bestia, war was made upon Jugurtha, king of Numidia, because he had murdered Adherbal and Hiempsal, the sons of Micipsa, his cousins, princes, and allies of the Roman people. The consul Calpurnius Bestia being sent against him, was corrupted by the king's money, and concluded a most ignominious treaty of peace with him, which was afterwards repudiated by the senate. Spurius Albinus Postumius proceeded against him in the following year: he also, through the agency of his brother, fought against the Numidians to his disgrace.

XXVII. In the third place, the consul Quintus Cæcilius Metellus being sent out against him, brought back the army, which he reformed with great severity and judgment, without exercising cruelty on any one, to the ancient Roman discipline. He defeated Jugurtha in various battles, killed or captured his elephants, and obliged many of his towns to surrender; and, when on the point of putting an end to the war, was succeeded by Caius Marius. Marius overthrew both Jugurtha and Bocchus, the king of Mauritania, who had undertaken to afford assistance to Jugurtha; he also took several towns in Numidia, and put an end to the war, having, through the instrumentality of his quæstor Cornelius Sylla, a distinguished man, taken Jugurtha prisoner, whom Bocchus, who had before fought for him, betrayed.

In Gaul, the Cimbri were defeated by Marcus Junius Silanus, the colleague of Quintus Metellus, the Scordisci and Triballi in Macedonia by Minutius Rufus, and the Lusitani in Spain by Servilius Cæpio; and two triumphs were celebrated on account of Jugurtha, the first by Metellus, the second by Marius. It was before the chariot of Marius, however, that Jugurtha, with his two sons, was led in chains; and he was soon after, by order of the consul, strangled in prison.

BOOK V.

The war with the Cimbri, Teutones, and their allies, I. II.—The Social war, III.—The Civil war between Marius and Sylla, IV.—The Mithridatic war; the Thracian; continuation and conclusion of the Civil war, V.—IX.

I. While the war was going on in Numidia against Jugurtha, the Roman consuls, Marcus Manlius and Quintus Cæpio, were defeated by the Cimbri, Teutones, Tigurini, and Ambrones, nations of Germany and Gaul, near the river Rhone; and, being reduced by a terrible slaughter, lost their very camp, as well as the greater part of their army. Great was the consternation at Rome, such as was scarcely experienced during the Punic wars in the time of Hannibal, from dread that the Gauls might again march to the city. Marius, in consequence, after his victory over Jugurtha, was created consul the second time, and the war against the Cimbri and Teutones was committed to his management. The consulship was also conferred on him a third and fourth time, in consequence of the war with the Cimori being protracted; but in his fourth consulship he had for his colleague Quintus Lutatius Catulus. He came to battle, accordingly,* with the Cimbri, and in two engagements killed two hundred thousand of the enemy, and took eighty thousand prisoners, with their general Teutobodus; for which service he was elected consul a fifth time during his absence.

II. In the meantime the Cimbri and Teutones, whose force was still innumerable, passed over into Italy. Another battle was fought with them, by Caius Marius and Quintus Catulus, though with greater success on the part of Catulus, for in that battle, in which they both commanded, a hundred and forty thousand were either slain in the field or in the pursuit, and sixty thousand taken prisoners. Of the Roman soldiers in the two armies three hundred fell. Thirty-three standards were taken from the Cimbri; of which the army of Marius captured two, that of Catulus thirty-one. This was the end of the war: a triumph was decreed to both the consuls.

III. In the consulship of Sextus Julius Cæsar and Lucius

* *Itaque.*] Eutropius seems to intimate that it was because Marius had Catulus for his colleague that he proceeded to engage the Cimbri.

Marcius Philippus, in the six hundred and fifty-ninth year from the building of the city, when almost all other wars were at an end, the Piceni, Marsi, and Peligni, excited a most dangerous war in Italy; for after they had lived for many years in subjection to the Roman people, they now began to assert their claim to equal privileges. This was a very destructive war. Publius Rutilius, one of the consuls, Cæpio, a nobleman in the flower of his age, and Porcius Cato, another consul, were killed in it. The generals against the Romans on the part of the Piceni and Marsi were Titus Vettius, Hierius Asinius, Titus Herennius, and Aulus Cluentius. The Romans fought against them successfully under the conduct of Caius Marius, who had now been made consul for the sixth time, also under Cnæus Pompey, but particularly under Lucius Cornelius Sylla, who, among other signal exploits, so completely routed Cluentius, one of the enemy's generals, with his numerous forces, that he lost only one man of his own army. The war, however, was protracted for four years, with great havoc; at length, in the fifth, it was terminated by Lucius Cornelius Sylla when consul, who had greatly distinguished himself on many occasions when prætor in the same war.

IV. In the six hundred and sixty-second year from the foundation of the city, the first civil war began at Rome; and in the same year also the Mithridatic war. Marius, when in his sixth consulship, gave rise to the Civil war; for when Sylla, the consul, was sent to conduct the war against Mithridates, who had possessed himself of Asia and Achaia, and delayed his army for a short time in Campania, in order that the remains of the Social war, of which we have just spoken, and which had been carried on within the limits of Italy, might be extinguished, Marius showed himself ambitious to be appointed to the Mithridatic war. Sylla, being incensed at this conduct, marched to Rome with his army. There he fought with Marius and Sulpicius; he was the first to enter the city in arms; Sulpicius he killed; Marius he put to flight; and then, having appointed Cnæus Octavius and Lucius Cornelius Cinna the consuls for the year ensuing, set out for Asia.

V. For Mithridates, who was king of Pontus, and possessed Armenia Minor and the entire circuit of the Pontic sea with

the Bosphorus, first attempted to expel Nicomedes, an ally of the Romans, from Bithynia; sending word to the senate, that he was going to make war upon him on account of the injuries which he had received. Answer was returned by the senate to Mithridates, that if he did so he himself should feel the weight of a war from the Romans. Incensed at this reply, he immediately invaded Cappadocia, and expelled from thence Ariobarzanes the king, an ally of the Roman people. He next marched into Bithynia and Paphlagonia, driving out the kings, Pylæmenes and Nicomedes, who were also in alliance with the Romans. He then hastened to Ephesus, and sent letters into all parts of Asia, with directions that wherever any Roman citizens should be found, they should all be put to death the same day.

VI. In the meantime Athens also, a city of Achaia, was delivered up to Mithridates by Aristion an Athenian. For Mithridates had previously sent Archelaus, his general, into Achaia, with a hundred and twenty thousand horse and foot, by whom the rest of Greece was also occupied. Sylla besieged Archelaus at the Piræeus near Athens, and took the city itself. Engaging afterwards in battle with Archelaus, he gave him such a defeat, that out of a hundred and twenty thousand of the army of Archelaus scarce ten remained; while of that of Sylla only fourteen were killed. Mithridates, on receiving intelligence of this battle, sent seventy thousand chosen troops out of Asia to Archelaus, with whom Sylla came again to an engagement. In the first battle twenty thousand of the enemy were slain, and Diogenes, the son of Archelaus; in the second the entire forces of Mithridates were cut off. Archelaus himself lay hid for three days, stript of his armour, in the marshes. On the news of this state of things, Mithridates sent orders to treat with Sylla concerning peace.

VII. In the meantime Sylla also reduced part of the Dardanians, Scordisci, Dalmatians, and Mœdians, and granted terms of alliance to the rest. But when ambassadors arrived from King Mithridates to treat about peace, Sylla replied that he would grant it on no other condition than that he should quit the countries on which he had seized, and withdraw into his own dominions. Afterwards, however, the two came to a conference, and peace was settled between them, in order that Sylla, who was in haste to proceed to the Civil war.

might leave no danger in his rear; for while Sylla was victorious over Mithridates in Achaia and Asia, Marius, who had been driven from the city, and Cornelius Cinna, one of the consuls, had recommenced hostilities in Italy, and entering Rome, put to death the noblest of the senators and others of consular rank, proscribed many, and pulling down the house of Sylla himself, forced his sons and wife to seek safety by flight; while all the rest of the senate, hastily quitting the city, fled to Sylla in Greece, entreating him to come to the support of his country. He accordingly crossed over into Italy, to conduct the Civil war against the consuls Norbanus and Scipio. In the first battle he engaged with Norbanus not far from Capua, when he killed seven thousand of his men, and took six thousand prisoners, losing only a hundred and twenty-four of his own army. From thence he directed his efforts against Scipio, and before a battle was fought, or any blood shed, he received the surrender of his whole army.

VIII. But on a change of consuls at Rome, and the election of Marius, the son of Marius, and Papirius Carbo to the consulate, Sylla again came to battle with Marius the younger, and killed fifteen thousand men, with the loss of only four hundred. Immediately afterwards also he entered the city. He then pursued Marius, the younger, to Præneste, besieged him there, and drove him even to self-destruction. He afterwards fought a terrible battle with Lamponius and Carinas, the leaders of the Marian faction, near the Colline gate. The number of the enemy in that battle against Sylla is said to have been seventy thousand; twelve thousand surrendered themselves to Sylla: the rest were cut off in the field, in the camp, or in the pursuit, by the insatiable resentment of the conqueror. Cnæus Carbo also, the other consul, fled from Ariminum into Sicily, and was there slain by Cnæus Pompey; to whom, although but a young man, being only one-and-twenty years of age, Sylla, perceiving his activity, had committed the management of his troops, so that he was accounted second only to Sylla himself.

IX. Carbo, then, being killed, Pompey recovered Sicily. Crossing next over into Africa, he put to death Domitius, a leader on the side of Marius, and Hiarbas the king of Mauritania, who had given assistance to Domitius. After these events, Sylla celebrated a triumph with great pomp for his

success against Mithridates. Cnæus Pompey also, while only in his twenty-fourth year, was allowed a triumph for his victories in Africa, a privilege which had been granted to no Roman before him. Such was the termination of two most lamentable wars, the Italian, also called the Social, and the Civil, which lasted for ten years, and occasioned the destruction of more than a hundred and fifty thousand men; twenty-four of consular rank, seven of prætorian, sixty of that of ædile, and nearly three hundred senators.

BOOK VI.

War with Sertorius in Spain; wars in Macedonia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and Dalmatia, I.—IV.—Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, makes the Romans his heirs; continuation of the war with Mithridates; wars with the slaves, pirates, and Macedonians, V.—XII.—Acts of Pompey against Tigranes, and in other parts of Asia, XIII. XIV.—Conspiracy of Catiline, XV.—Triumphs of Pompey and Metellus, XVI.—Wars of Cæsar in Gaul, XVII.—Proceedings of Crassus in Parthia, XVIII.—Civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, XIX.—XXV.

I. In the consulate of Marcus Æmilius Lepidus and Quintus Catulus, after Sylla had composed the troubles of the state, new wars broke out; one in Spain, another in Pamphylia and Cilicia, a third in Macedonia, a fourth in Dalmatia. Sertorius, who had taken the side of Marius, dreading the fate of others who had been cut off, excited the Spaniards to a war. The generals sent against him were Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, the son of that Metellus who had subdued Jugurtha, and the prætor Lucius Domitius. Domitius was killed by Hirtuleius, Sertorius's general. Metellus contended against Sertorius with various success. At length, as Metellus was thought singly unequal to the war, Cnæus Pompey was sent into Spain. Thus, two generals being opposed to him, Sertorius often fought with very uncertain fortune. At last, in the eighth year of the war, he was put to death by his own soldiers, and an end made of the war by Cnæus Pompey, at that time but a young man, and Quintus Metellus Pius; and nearly the whole of Spain was brought under the dominion of the Roman people.

II. Appius Claudius, on the expiration of his consulate, was sent into Macedonia. He had some skirmishes with different tribes that inhabited the province of Rhodopa,* and there fell ill and died. Cnæus Scribonius Curio, on the termination of his consulship, was sent to succeed him. He conquered the Dardanians, penetrated as far as the Danube, and obtained the honour of a triumph, putting an end to the war within three years.

III. Publius Servilius, an energetic man, was sent, after his consulate, into Cilicia and Pamphylia. He reduced Cilicia, besieged and took the most eminent cities of Lycia, amongst them Phaselis, Olympus, and Corycus. The Isauri he also attacked, and compelled to surrender, and, within three years, put an end to the war. He was the first of the Romans that marched over Mount Taurus. On his return, he was granted a triumph, and acquired the surname of Isauricus.

IV. Cnæus Cosconius was sent into Illyricum as proconsul. He reduced a great part of Dalmatia, took Salonæ, and, having made an end of the war, returned to Rome after an absence of two years.

V. About the same time, the consul Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, the colleague of Catulus, attempted to kindle a civil war; but in one summer that commotion was suppressed. Thus there were several triumphs at the same time, that of Metellus for Spain, a second for Spain obtained by Pompey, one of Curio for Macedonia, and one of Servilius for Isauria.

VI. In the six hundred and seventy-sixth year from the building of the city, in the consulate of Lucius Licinius Lucullus and Marcus Aurelius Cotta, Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, died, appointing by his will the Roman people his heir.

Mithridates, breaking the peace, again proceeded to invade Bithynia and Asia. Both the consuls being sent out against him, met with various success. Cotta, being defeated by him in a battle near Chalcedon, was even forced into the town, and besieged there. But Mithridates, having marched from thence to Cyzicus, that, after capturing that city, he might overrun all Asia, Lucullus, the other consul, met him; and, whilst Mithridates was detained at the siege of Cyzicus, besieged him in

* Lying on the river Melas, above the Hellespont, near the Propontis.—*Madame Dacier.*

the rear, exhausted him with famine, defeated him in several battles, and at last pursued him to Byzantium, now called Constantinople. Lucullus also vanquished his commanders in a sea-fight. Thus, in a single winter and summer, almost a hundred thousand men on the king's side were cut off by Lucullus.

VII. In the six hundred and seventy-eighth year of Rome, Marcus Licinius Lucullus, the cousin of that Lucullus who had carried on the war against Mithridates, obtained the province of Macedonia. A new war, too, suddenly sprung up in Italy; for eighty-four gladiators, led by Spartacus, Crixus, and Œnomaus, having broken out of a school at Capua, made their escape; and, wandering over Italy, kindled a war in it, not much less serious than that which Hannibal had raised; for, after defeating several generals and two consuls of the Romans, they collected an army of nearly sixty thousand men. They were, however, defeated in Apulia by the proconsul Marcus Licinius Crassus; and, after much calamity to Italy, the war was terminated in its third year.

VIII. In the six hundred and eighty-first year from the founding of the city, in the consulate of Publius Cornelius Lentulus and Cnæus Aufidius Orestes, there were but two wars of any importance throughout the Roman empire, the Mithridatic and the Macedonian. Of these the two Luculli, Lucius and Marcus, had the direction. Lucius Lucullus, after the battle at Cyzicus, in which he had conquered Mithridates, and the sea-fight, in which he had overcome his generals, pursued him; and, recovering Paphlagonia and Bithynia, invaded his very kingdom. He took Sinope and Amisus, two most eminent cities of Pontus. In a second battle, near the city Cabira, where Mithridates had assembled a vast army from all parts of his kingdom, thirty thousand of the king's chosen troops were cut in pieces by five thousand of the Romans, and Mithridates was put to flight and his camp plundered. Armenia Minor, also, of which he had taken possession, was wrested from him. Mithridates was, however, received after his flight by Tigranes, the king of Armenia, who at that time reigned in great glory; for he had frequently defeated the Persians, and had made himself master of Mesopotamia, Syria, and part of Phœnicia.

IX. Lucullus, therefore, still pursuing his routed enemy,

entered even the kingdom of Tigranes, who ruled over both the Armenias. Tigranocerta, the most noble city of Armenia, he succeeded in taking; the king himself, who advanced against him with six hundred thousand cuirassiers, and a hundred thousand archers and other troops, he so completely defeated with a force of only eighteen thousand, that he annihilated a great part of the Armenians. Marching from thence to Nisibis, he took that city also, and made the king's brother prisoner. But as those whom Lucullus had left in Pontus with part of the army in order to defend the conquered countries belonging to the Romans, grew negligent and avaricious in their conduct, they gave Mithridates an opportunity of again making an irruption into Pontus, and thus the war was renewed. While Lucullus, after the reduction of Nisibis, was preparing for an expedition against the Persians, a successor was sent out to take his place.

X. The other Lucullus, who had the management of affairs in Macedonia, was the first of the Romans that made war upon the Bessi, defeating them in a great battle on Mount Hæmus; he reduced the town of Uscudama, which the Bessi inhabited, on the same day in which he attacked it; he also took Cabyle, and penetrated as far as the river Danube. He then besieged several cities lying above Pontus, where he destroyed Apollonia, Calatis, Parthenopolis, Tomi, Histros, and Burziaone,* and, putting an end to the war, returned to Rome. Both the Luculli however triumphed, but the Lucullus, who had fought against Mithridates, with the greater glory, because he had returned victorious over such powerful nations.

XI. After the Macedonian war was ended, but while that with Mithridates still continued (which, on the departure of Lucullus, that king had renewed, collecting all his forces for the purpose), the Cretan war arose, and Cæcilius Metellus being sent to conduct it, secured the whole province, by a succession of great battles, within three years, and received the appellation of Creticus, and a triumph on account of the island. About this time Libya also, by the will of Apion, the

* *Burziaonem.*] Thus stands the word in the editions of Havercamp, Verheyk, and Tzschucke; but none of them think it right. Cellarius conjectured Bizonen, Βιζώνη being mentioned by Strabo, lib. vii. as a city between Apollonia and Calatis; and no other critic has found anything better to offer.

king of the country, was added to the Roman empire; in it were the celebrated cities, Berenice, Ptolemais, and Cyreno.

XII. During these transactions, pirates infested all the seas, so that navigation, and that alone, was unsafe to the Romans, who were now victorious throughout the world. The war against these pirates, therefore, was committed to Cnæus Pompey, who, with surprising success and celerity, finished it in the course of a few months. Soon after, the war against Mithridates and Tigranes was entrusted to him; in the conduct of which, he overcame Mithridates in Armenia Minor in a battle by night, and plundered his camp, killing at the same time forty thousand of his troops, while he lost only twenty of his own men, and two centurions. Mithridates fled with his wife and two attendants; and not long after, in consequence of his cruelty to his own family, he was reduced, through a sedition excited among his soldiers by his son Pharnaces, to the necessity of putting an end to his existence, and swallowed poison. Such was the end of Mithridates, a man of singular energy and ability; his death happened near the Bosporus. He reigned sixty years, lived seventy-two, and maintained a war against the Romans for forty.

XIII. Pompey next made war upon Tigranes, who surrendered himself, coming to Pompey's camp at sixteen miles distance from Artaxata; and, throwing himself at his feet, placed in his hands his diadem, which Pompey returned to him, and treated him with great respect, but obliged him to give up part of his dominions and to pay a large sum of money: Syria, Phœnicia, and Sophene, were taken from him, and six thousand talents of silver, which he had to pay to the Roman people because he had raised a war against them without cause.

XIV. Pompey soon after made war also upon the Albani;* and defeated their king Orodes three times; at length, being prevailed upon by letters and presents, he granted him pardon and peace. He also defeated Artoces, king of Iberia,† in battle, and reduced him to surrender. Armenia Minor he conferred upon Deiotarus, the king of Galatia, because he had acted as his ally in the Mithridatic war. To Attalus and

* See Justin, xlii. 3.

† The Iberians are mentioned as a people bordering on the Albani by Plutarch, Lucull. c. 26, and by Florus, iii. 5.

Pylæmenes he restored Paphlagonia; and appointed Aristarchus king of the Colchians. Shortly after he subdued the Itureans and Arabians; and, on entering Syria, rewarded Seleucia, a city near Antioch, with independence, because it had not admitted King Tigranes. To the inhabitants of Antioch he restored their hostages. On those of Daphne, being charmed with the beauty of the spot and the abundance of water, he bestowed a portion of land, in order that their grove might be enlarged. Marching from thence to Judea, he took Jerusalem, the capital, in the third month; twelve thousand of the Jews being slain, and the rest allowed to surrender on terms. After these achievements, he returned into Asia, and put an end to this most tedious war.

XV. In the consulate of Marcus Tullius Cicero, the orator, and Caius Antonius, in the six hundred and eighty-ninth year from the foundation of the city, Lucius Sergius Catiline, a man of very noble family, but of a most corrupt disposition, conspired to destroy his country, in conjunction with some other eminent but desperate characters. He was expelled from the city by Cicero; his accomplices were apprehended and strangled in prison; and he himself was defeated and killed in battle by Antonius, the other consul.

XVI. In the six hundred and ninetieth year from the building of the city, in the consulate of Decimus Junius Silanus and Lucius Muræna, Metellus triumphed on account of Crete, Pompey for the Piratic and Mithridatic wars. No triumphal procession was ever equal to this; the sons of Mithridates, the son of Tigranes, and Aristobulus, king of the Jews, were led before his car; a vast sum of money, an immense mass of gold and silver, was carried in front. At this time there was no war of any importance throughout the world.

XVII. In the six hundred and ninety-third year from the founding of the city, Caius Julius Cæsar, who was afterwards emperor, was made consul with Lucius Bibulus; and Gaul and Illyricum, with ten legions, were decreed to him. He first subdued the Helvetii, who are now called Sequani;* and

* *Qui nunc Sequani appellantur.*] Between the Sequani and Helvetii was the lofty mount Jura, according to the description given of their position by Cæsar, B. G. i. 2. If what Eutropius says is true, the change of name must have arisen from the intercourse of the two people. See Cellarius Geog. Ant. ii. 3, 50.—*Tzschuckc.*

afterwards, by conquering in most formidable wars, proceeded as far as the British ocean. In about nine years he subdued all that part of Gaul which lies between the Alps, the river Rhone, the Rhine, and the Ocean, and extends in circumference nearly three thousand two hundred miles. He next made war upon the Britons, to whom not even the name of the Romans was known before his time; and having subdued them, and received hostages, sentenced them to pay a tribute. On Gaul, under the name of tribute, he imposed the yearly sum of forty thousand sestertia;* and invading the Germans on the other side of the Rhine, defeated them in several most sanguinary engagements. Among so many successes, he met with three defeats, once in person among the Arverni, and twice in Germany during his absence; for two of his lieutenant-generals, Titurius and Aurunculeius, were cut off by ambuscades.

XVIII. About the same time, in the six hundred and ninety-seventh year from the foundation of the city, Marcus Licinius Crassus, the colleague of Cnæus Pompey the Great in his second consulship, was sent against the Parthians; and having engaged the enemy near Carræ, contrary to the omens and auspices, was defeated by Surena, the general of king Orodes, and at last killed, together with his son, a most noble and excellent young man. The remains of the army were saved by Caius Cassius the quæstor, who, with singular courage, so ably retrieved the ruined fortune of the Romans, that, in his retreat over the Euphrates, he defeated the Persians in several battles.

XIX. Soon after followed the Civil war, a war truly execrable and deplorable, in which, besides the havoc that occurred in the several battles, the fortune of the Roman people was changed.† For Cæsar, on returning victorious from Gaul, proceeded to demand another consulship, and in such a manner, that it was granted him without hesitation; yet opposition was made to it by Marcellus the consul, Bibulus, Pompey, and Cato, and he was in consequence ordered to disband his army

* Something more than £320,000.

† *Romani populi fortuna mutata est*] The fortune of the Roman people is their condition and state. The phrase *fortuna mutari*, or *immutari*, is used chiefly when the state of things is changed for the worse. See Call. Cat. c. 2; Jug. c. 17; Vell. Pat. ii. 57, 118.—*Grunerus.*

and return to Rome; in revenge for which insult, he marched with his army from Ariminum, where he kept his forces assembled, against his country. The consuls, together with Pompey, the whole senate, and all the nobility, fled from the city, and crossed over into Greece; and in Epirus, Macedonia, and Achaia, the senate, under Pompey as their general, prepared war against Cæsar.

XX. Cæsar, having marched into the deserted city, made himself dictator. Soon after he set out for Spain, where he defeated the armies of Pompey, which were very powerful and brave, with their three generals, Lucius Afranius, Marcus Petreius, and Marcus Varro. Returning from thence, he went over into Greece. He took the field against Pompey, but in the first battle was defeated and put to flight; he escaped, however, because Pompey declined to pursue him, as the night was coming on; when Cæsar remarked, that Pompey knew not how to conquer, and that that was the only day on which he himself might have been vanquished. They next fought at Palæopharsalus,* in Thessaly, leading great forces into the field on both sides. The army of Pompey consisted of forty thousand foot, six hundred horse on the left wing, and five hundred on the right, besides auxiliary troops from the whole east, and all the nobility, senators without number, men of prætorian and consular rank, and some who had already been conquerors of powerful nations. Cæsar had not quite thirty thousand infantry in his army, and but one thousand horse.

XXI. Never before had a greater number of Roman forces assembled in one place, or under better generals, forces which would easily have subdued the whole world, had they been led against barbarians. They fought with great eagerness, but Pompey was at last overcome, and his camp plundered. Pompey himself, when put to flight, sought refuge at Alexandria, with the hope of receiving aid from the king of Egypt, to whom, on account of his youth, he had been appointed guardian by the senate; he, however, regarding fortune rather than friendship, caused Pompey to be killed, and sent his head and ring to Cæsar; at sight of which even Cæsar is said to

* Generally called Pharsalus; but the name Palæopharsalus, that is, Old Pharsalus, is used by Orosius, vi. 15, by Strabo, lib. xvii., and by the Greek translator of Eutropius.

have shed tears, as he viewed the head of so great a man, once his own son-in law.

XXII. Cæsar soon after went to Alexandria. Ptolemy attempted to form a plot against his life also; for which reason war was made upon him, and, being defeated, he perished in the Nile, and his body was found covered with a golden coat of mail. Cæsar, having made himself master of Alexandria, conferred the kingdom on Cleopatra, the sister of Ptolemy, with whom he himself had an illicit connexion. On his return from thence, Cæsar defeated in battle Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates the Great, who had assisted Pompey in Thessaly, taken up arms in Pontus, and seized upon several provinces of the Roman people; and at last drove him to self-destruction.

XXIII. Returning from thence to Rome, he created himself a third time consul with Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who had been his master of the horse when dictator the year before. Next he went into Africa, where a great number of the nobility, in conjunction with Juba, king of Mauritania, had resumed hostilities. The Roman leaders were Publius Cornelius Scipio, of the most ancient family of Scipio Africanus (who had also been the father-in-law of the great Pompey) Marcus Petreius, Quintus Varus, Marcus Porcius Cato, and Lucius Cornelius Faustus, the son of Sylla the dictator. In a pitched battle fought against them, Cæsar, after many struggles, was victorious. Cato, Scipio, Petreius, Juba, killed themselves; Faustus, Pompey's son-in-law, was slain by Cæsar.

XXIV. On his return to Rome the year after, Cæsar made himself a fourth time consul, and immediately proceeded to Spain, where the sons of Pompey, Cnæus, and Sextus, had again raised a formidable war. Many engagements took place, the last near the city of Munda, in which Cæsar was so nearly defeated, that, upon his forces giving way, he felt inclined to kill himself, lest, after such great glory in war, he should fall, at the age of fifty-six, into the hands of young men. At length, having rallied his troops, he gained the victory; the elder son of Pompey was slain, the younger fled

XXV. The civil wars throughout the world being now terminated, Cæsar returned to Rome, and began to conduct himself with too great arrogance, contrary to the usages of Roman liberty. As he disposed, therefore, at his own pleasure,

of those honours, which were before conferred by the people and did not even rise up when the senate approached him, and exercised regal, or almost tyrannical power, in other respects, a conspiracy was formed against him by sixty or more Roman senators and knights. The chief among the conspirators were the two Bruti, (of the family of that Brutus who had been made first consul of Rome, and who had expelled the kings) Caius Cassius, and Servilius Casca. Cæsar, in consequence, having entered the senate house with the rest, on a certain day appointed for a meeting of the senate, was stabbed with three and twenty wounds

BOOK VII.

Wars that followed on the death of Julius Cæsar, I.—Antony flees to Lepidus, and is reconciled to Octavianus; their triumvirate, II.—Proceedings and deaths of Brutus and Cassius; division of the empire between Antony and Octavianus, III.—War with Sextus Pompey, IV.—Successes of Agrippa in Aquitania; Ventidius Bassus conquers the Parthians, V.—Death of Sextus Pompey; marriage of Antony and Cleopatra; unsuccessful expedition of Antony into Parthia, VI.—War between Octavianus and Antony; deaths of Antony and Cleopatra; Egypt added to the Roman empire, VII.—Octavianus becomes sole ruler under the name of Augustus, VIII.—His wars and victories, IX. X.—Character and acts of Tiberius, XI.—Of Caligula, XII.—Of Claudius, who subjugates Britain, XIII.—Of Nero, under whom two new provinces are made, Pontus Polemoniacus and Alpes Cottiæ, XIV. XV.—Of Galba, XVI.—Of Otho, XVII.—Of Vitellius, XVIII.—Of Vespasian, under whom Judæa was added to the Roman dominions, with the provinces Achaia, Lycia, Rhodes, Samos, Thracia, Cilicia, Comagena, XIX. XX.—Of Titus, XXI. XXII.—Of Domitian, XXIII.

I. After the assassination of Cæsar, in about the seven hundred and ninth year of the city, the civil wars were renewed; for the senate favoured the assassins of Cæsar; and Antony, the consul, being of Cæsar's party, endeavoured to crush them in a civil war. The state therefore being thrown into confusion, Antony, perpetrating many acts of violence, was declared an enemy by the senate. The two consuls, Pansa and Hirtius, were sent in pursuit of him, together with Octavianus, a youth of eighteen years of age, the nephew of

Cæsar,* whom by his will he had appointed his heir, directing him to bear his name; this is the same who was afterwards called Augustus, and obtained the imperial dignity. These three generals therefore marching against Antony, defeated him. It happened, however, that the two victorious consuls lost their lives; and the three armies in consequence became subject to Cæsar only.

II. Antony, being routed, and having lost his army, fled to Lepidus, who had been master of the horse to Cæsar, and was at that time in possession of a strong body of forces, by whom he was well received. By the mediation of Lepidus, Cæsar shortly after made peace with Antony, and, as if with intent to avenge the death of his father, by whom he had been adopted in his will, marched to Rome at the head of an army, and forcibly procured his appointment to the consulship in his twentieth year. In conjunction with Antony and Lepidus he proscribed the senate, and proceeded to make himself master of the state by arms. By their acts, Cicero the orator, and many others of the nobility, were put to death.

III. In the meantime Brutus and Cassius, the assassins of Cæsar, raised a great war; for there were several armies in Macedonia and the East, of which they took the command. Cæsar Octavianus Augustus, therefore, and Mark Antony, proceeding against them (for Lepidus remained for the defence of Italy), came to an engagement at Philippi, a city of Macedonia. In the first battle Antony and Cæsar were defeated, but Cassius, the leader of the nobility, fell; in the second they defeated and killed Brutus, and very many of the nobility who had joined them in the war; and the republic was divided among the conquerors, so that Augustus had Spain, the Gauls, and Italy; Antony, Asia, Pontus, and the East. But the consul Lucius Antonius, the brother of him who had fought with Cæsar against Brutus and Cassius, kindled a civil war in Italy; and being defeated near Perusia, a city of Tuscany, was taken prisoner, but not put to death.

IV. In the meantime a war of a serious nature was excited in Sicily by Sextus Pompey, the son of Cnæus Pompey the Great, those that survived of the party of Brutus and Cassius flocking

* *Cæsaris nepos.*] Grand nephew. Attia, the mother of Octavianus, was the daughter of Julia, Julius Cæsar's sister. Thus Julius Cæsar was great uncle to Octavianus.—*Glareanus.*

to join him from all parts. The war against Sextus Pompey was carried on by Cæsar Augustus Octavianus and Mark Antony. A peace was at length concluded.

V. About that time Marcus Agrippa met with great success in Aquitania; also Lucius Ventidius Bassus defeated the Persians, who were making incursions into Syria, in three engagements. He killed Pacorus, the son of king Orodes, on that very day on which Orodes, the king of the Persians, had before put Crassus to death by the hands of his general Surena. He was the first who celebrated a most legitimate triumph at Rome over the Parthians.

VI. In the meantime Sextus Pompey violated the peace, and, being defeated in a sea-fight, fled to Asia, and was there put to death.

Antony, who was master of Asia and the East, having divorced the sister of Cæsar Augustus Octavianus, married Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. He also fought in person against the Persians, and defeated them in the first encounters; but on his return suffered greatly from famine and pestilence; and as the Parthians pressed on him in his retreat, he retired from before them just as if he had been defeated.

VII. He also excited a great civil war, at the instigation of his wife Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, who aspired with a womanish ambition to reign at Rome. He was defeated by Augustus in the remarkable and celebrated sea-fight at Actium, a place in Epirus; whence he fled into Egypt, and there, as his circumstances grew desperate, since all went over to Augustus, committed suicide. Cleopatra applied to herself an asp, and perished by its venom. Egypt was added to the Roman empire by Octavianus Augustus, and Cnæus Cornelius Gallus appointed governor of it; he was the first Roman judge that Egypt had.

VIII. Having thus brought wars to an end throughout the world, Octavianus Augustus returned to Rome in the twelfth year after he had been elected consul. From that period he held the government as sole ruler for forty-four years, for during the twelve previous years he had held it in conjunction with Antony and Lepidus. Thus from the beginning of his reign to the end were fifty-six years. He died a natural death in his eighty-sixth year, at the town of Atella in Campania, and his remains are interred at Rome in the Campus Martius;

He was a man who was considered in most respects, and not without reason, to resemble a divinity, for scarcely ever was there any one more successful than he in war, or more prudent in peace. During the forty-four years that he held the government alone, he conducted himself with the greatest courtesy, being most liberal to all, and most faithful to his friends, whom he raised to such honours, that he placed them almost on a level with his own dignity.

IX. At no period was the Roman state more flourishing; for, to say nothing of the civil wars, in which he was unconquered, he added to the Roman empire Egypt, Cantabria, Dalmatia, often before conquered but only then entirely subdued, Pannonia, Aquitania, Illyricum, Rhætia, the Vindelici and Salassi on the Alps, and all the maritime cities of Pontus, among which the two most noble were Bosporus and Panticapæon. He also conquered the Dacians in battle; put to the sword numerous forces of the Germans; and drove them beyond the river Elbe, which is in the country of the barbarians far beyond the Rhine. This war however he carried on by the agency of his step-son Drusus, as he had conducted the Pannonian war by that of his other step-son Tiberius, in which he transplanted forty thousand prisoners from Germany, and settled them in Gaul on the bank of the Rhine. He recovered Armenia from the Parthians; the Persians gave him hostages, which they had given to no one before; and also restored the Roman standards, which they had taken from Crassus when he was defeated.

X. The Scythians and Indians, to whom the Roman name was before unknown, sent him presents and ambassadors. Galatia also was made a province under his reign, having before been an independent kingdom, and Marcus Lollius was the first that governed it, in quality of prætor. So much was he beloved even by the barbarians, that kings, allies of the Roman people, founded cities in his honour, to which they gave the name of Cæsarea, as one in Mauritania, built by King Juba, and another in Palestine, which is now a very celebrated city. Many kings, moreover, left their own dominions, and, assuming the Roman dress, that is, the toga, ran by the side of his carriage or his horse. At his death he was styled a divinity. He left the state in a most prosperous condition to his successor Tiberius, who had been his step-son, afterwards his son in-law, and lastly his son by adoption.

XI. TIBERIUS distinguished his reign by great indolence, excessive cruelty, unprincipled avarice, and abandoned licentiousness. He fought on no occasion in person; the wars were carried on by his generals. Some kings, whom he induced to visit him by seducing allurements, he never sent back; among them was Archelaus of Cappadocia, whose kingdom also he reduced to the form of a province, and directed that its principal city should be called after his own name; and, having been before called Mazaca, it is now termed Cæsarea. He died in Campania, in the three and twentieth year of his reign, and the eighty-third of his age, to the great joy of all men.

XII. To him succeeded CAIUS CÆSAR, surnamed CALIGULA, the grandson of Drusus, the step-son of Augustus, and grand-nephew * of Tiberius himself, a most wicked and cruel prince, who effaced even the memory of Tiberius's enormities. He undertook a war against the Germans; but, after entering Suevia, made no effort to do anything. He committed incest with his sisters, and acknowledged a daughter that he had by one of them. While tyrannizing over all with the utmost avarice, licentiousness, and cruelty, he was assassinated in the palace, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, in the third year, tenth month, and eighth day of his reign.

XIII. After him reigned CLAUDIUS, the uncle of Caligula, and son of that Drusus who has a monument at Moguntiacum, whose grandson Caligula also was. His reign was of no striking character; he acted, in many respects, with gentleness and moderation, in some with cruelty and folly. He made war upon Britain, which no Roman since Julius Cæsar had visited; and, having reduced it through the agency of Cnæus Sentius and Aulus Plautius, illustrious and noble men, he celebrated a magnificent triumph. Certain islands also, called the Orcades, situated in the ocean, beyond Britain, he added to the Roman empire, and gave his son the name of Britannicus. So condescending, too, was he towards some of his friends, that he even attended Plautius, a man of noble birth, who had obtained many signal successes in the expedition to Britain, in his triumph, and walked at his left hand when

* *Drusi privigni Augusti, et ipsius Tiberii nepos.*] Either something is wanting in the text, as Madame Dacier observes, or *nepos* is used in a double sense, for a grandson and grand-nephew; for Drusus, the grandfather of Caligula, was the brother of Tiberius. I have translated *nepos* in this double sense.

he went up to the Capitol. He lived to the age of sixty-four, and reigned fourteen years; and after his death was consecrated* and deified.

To him succeeded NERO, who greatly resembled his uncle Caligula, and both disgraced and weakened the Roman empire; he indulged in such extraordinary luxury and extravagance, that, after the example of Caius Caligula, he even bathed in hot and cold perfumes, and fished with golden nets, which he drew up with cords of purple silk. He put to death a very great number of the senate. To all good men he was an enemy. At last he exposed himself in so disgraceful a manner, that he danced and sung upon the stage in the dress of a harp-player and tragedian. He was guilty of many murders, his brother, wife, and mother, being put to death by him. He set on fire the city of Rome, that he might enjoy the sight of a spectacle such as Troy formerly presented when taken and burned.

In military affairs he attempted nothing. Britain he almost lost; for two of its most noble towns† were taken and levelled to the ground under his reign. The Parthians took from him Armenia, and compelled the Roman legions to pass under the yoke. Two provinces however were formed under him; Pontus Polemoniacus, by the concession of King Polemon; and the Cottian Alps, on the death of King Cottius.

XV. When, having become detestable by such conduct to the city of Rome, and being deserted at the same time by every one, and declared an enemy by the senate, he was sought for to be led to punishment (the punishment being, that he should be dragged naked through the streets, with a fork placed under his head,‡ be beaten to death with rods, and

* *Consecratus est*] This word seems properly to signify "was made an object of worship."

† *Duo nobilissima oppida.*] Three are named, as Grunerus observes, by Tacitus, Annal. XIV. *Camelodunum*, c. 31, and *Londinium* and *Verulamium*, c. 33. Suetonius, however, Nero, c. 39, and Orosius, vii. 7, say two. Camelodunum is said by Camden to be Malden in Essex; Verulamium was near St. Alban's.

‡ *Furcâ capiti ejus inserta.*] Thus these words are uniformly written in all the manuscripts and editions that I have seen. But what *furcam capiti inserere* means, I confess that I do not understand, unless that it be possible to explain it by *hypallage*. Barthius ad Briton. (Philipp. 6, 572) p. 4?8, judiciously proposes to read *furcæ capite inserto*, a correction also made by Oudendorpius in the margin of his copy. Suetonius, Nero, c. 49, has *cervicem inseri furcæ.*—*Verheyk.* Tzschucke

then hurled from the Tarpeian rock), he fled from the palace, and killed himself in a suburban villa of one of his freed-men, between the Salarian and Nomentane roads, at the fourth milestone from the city. He built those hot baths at Rome, which were formerly called the Neronian, but now the Alexandrian. He died in the thirty-second year of his age, and the fourteenth year of his reign; and in him all the family of Augustus became extinct.

XVI. To Nero succeeded SERVIUS GALBA, a senator of a very ancient and noble family, elected emperor when in his seventy-third year by the Spaniards and Gauls, and soon after readily acknowledged by the whole army; for his life, though but that of a private person,* had been distinguished by many military and civil exploits, having been often consul, often proconsul, and frequently general in most important wars. His reign was short, but had a promising commencement, except that he seemed to incline too much to severity. He was killed however by the treachery of Otho, in the seventh month of his reign, in the forum at Rome, and buried in his gardens, which are situated in the Aurelian way, not far from the city.

XVII. OTHO, after Galba was killed, took possession of the government, a man of a nobler descent on the mother's than the father's side, but obscure on neither. In private life he was effeminate, and an intimate of Nero; in his government he could give no evidence of his disposition; for Vitellius, about the same time that Otho had slain Galba, having been also chosen emperor by the German armies, Otho, having commenced a war against him, and having sustained a defeat in a slight skirmish near Bebriacum in Italy, voluntarily, though he had still powerful forces remaining, put an end to his life, in spite of the entreaties of his soldiers that he would not so soon despair of the issue of the war; saying, "that he was not of sufficient importance that a civil war should be raised on

fancies that it may be explained by hypallage, for *capite furcæ inserto*, and therefore makes no alteration. I have given what is evidently the sense.

* *Privata ejus vita.*] *Privata vita* is opposed to *imperium*, as in c. 19; for under the emperors, even from the time of Augustus, it had become customary to call all *privati* except the emperor himself, even such as held the highest offices of state. See Jani ad Hor. Od. iii. 8, 26. So *ἰδιώτης* is opposed to *βασιλεὺς* in Zosimus, ii. 7.—*Tzschucke.*

his account." He perished thus voluntarily in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and on the ninety-fifth day of his reign.

XVIII. VITELLIUS next obtained the imperial dignity, of a family rather honourable than noble, for his father was not of very high birth, though he had filled three regular consulships. He reigned most disgracefully, being distinguished by the greatest cruelty, but especially by gluttony and voraciousness, since he is reported to have often feasted four or five times a day. A most remarkable supper at least has been recorded, which his brother Vitellius set before him, and in which, besides other expensive dainties, two thousand fishes and seven thousand birds are said to have been placed on the table.

Being anxious to resemble Nero, and aiming so openly at this that he even paid respect to his remains, which had been meanly buried, he was slain by the generals of the emperor Vespasian, Vitellius having previously put to death Sabinus, Vespasian's brother, and burned his corpse at the same time with the Capitol. When killed, he was dragged naked, with great ignominy, through the public streets of the city, with his hair erect, and his head raised by means of a sword placed under his chin, and pelted with dung on the face and breast by all that came in the way; at last his throat was cut, and he was thrown into the Tiber, and had not even the common rites of burial. He perished in the fifty-seventh year of his age, in the eighth month and first day of his reign.

XIX. To him succeeded VESPASIAN, who had been chosen emperor in Palestine, a prince indeed of obscure birth, but worthy to be compared with the best emperors, and in private life* greatly distinguished, as he had been sent by Claudius into Germany, and afterwards into Britain, and had contended two and thirty times with the enemy; he had also added to the Roman empire two very powerful nations,† twenty towns, and the Isle of Wight on the coast of Britain. At Rome he acted with the greatest forbearance during his government; though he was rather too eager after money; not however that he deprived any one of it unjustly, and even when he had

* *Privata vita.*] See note on c. 16.

† *Duas validissimas gentes.*] The Greek translator thinks that the Britains and Germans are meant. Vespasian is said to have recovered Britain, by Tacitus, Agric. c. 17. What other nation is intended is not clear.

collected it with the greatest diligence and anxiety, he was in the habit of distributing it most readily, especially to the indigent; nor was the liberality of any prince before him greater or more judicious: he was also of a most mild and amiable disposition, insomuch that he never willingly inflicted a severer penalty than banishment, even on persons convicted of treason against himself.

Under this prince Judæa was added to the Roman empire, and Jerusalem, the most celebrated city of Palestine. He also reduced to the form of provinces Achaia, Lycia, Rhodes, Byzantium, Samos, which had been free till this period; together with Thrace, Cilicia, and Comagena, which had been governed by their respective kings in alliance with the Romans.

XX. Offences and animosities he never bore in mind; reproaches uttered against himself by lawyers and philosophers he bore with indulgence, but was a strenuous enforcer of military discipline. He triumphed, together with his son Titus, on account of the taking of Jerusalem.

After having thus become an object of love and favour with the senate and the people, and indeed with all men, he died of a diarrhœa, in his own villa in the Sabine country, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, the ninth year and seventh day of his reign; and was enrolled among the gods.

To him succeeded his son TITUS, who was also called Vespasian, a man remarkable for every species of virtue, so that he was styled the favourite and delight of mankind. He was extremely eloquent, warlike, and temperate; he pleaded causes in Latin, and composed poems and tragedies in Greek. At the siege of Jerusalem, while serving under his father, he killed twelve of the besieged with wounds from as many arrows. During his government at Rome, such was his lenity towards the citizens, that he did not punish a single person; and even some that were convicted of a conspiracy against himself he released, and treated them on the same terms of intimacy as before. Such was his good-nature and generosity, that he never refused any thing to any one, and being blamed by his friends on this account, replied, that no one ought to leave an emperor in discontent. Hence, having recollected once at supper, that he had conferred no obligation on any one that day, he exclaimed: "O, my friends! I have lost this day!"

He built an amphitheatre at Rome, and slaughtered five thousand wild beasts at the dedication of it.

XXII. While beloved for such conduct, with extraordinary affection, he fell ill and died in the same villa as his father, two years, eight months, and twenty days after he became emperor, and in the forty-second year of his age. So great was the public lamentation on his death, that all mourned as for a loss in their own families. The senate, having received intelligence of his death about the evening, hurried into the senate-house in the night, and heaped upon him after his death even more expressions of good will and commendation, than they had uttered when he was alive and present among them. He was enrolled among the gods.

XXIII. DOMITIAN next received the imperial dignity, the younger brother of Titus, but more like Nero, or Caligula, or Tiberius, than his father or brother. In the commencement however of his reign he used his power with moderation; but, soon proceeding to the greatest excesses of licentiousness, rage, cruelty, and avarice, he provoked such universal detestation that he effaced the remembrance of his father's and his brother's merits. He put to death the most distinguished of the senate. He was the first that required to be addressed as Lord and God; and he suffered no statue to be erected to him in the Capitol except of gold or silver. He put his own cousins to death. His pride also was execrable.

He made four expeditions, one against the Sarmatians, another against the Catti, and two against the Dacians. On account of the Dacians and the Catti he celebrated a double triumph; for the Sarmatians, he assumed only the laurel. He suffered many disasters however in these wars, for in Sarmatia one of his legions was cut off together with its captain, and by the Dacians Oppius Sabinus, a person of consular dignity, and Cornelius Fuscus, the prefect of the prætorian cohort, were slain, with numerous armies. At Rome he also erected several public buildings, among which were the Capitol, the Forum Transitorium, the Odeum, the Porticus Divorum, the temples of Isis and Serapis, and the Stadium.

But, becoming universally odious on account of his crimes, he was put to death by a conspiracy of his own servants within the palace, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. His corpse was carried out with extreme insult by common bearers, and buried ignominiously.

BOOK VIII.

Justice and mildness of Nerva, I.—Merits of Trajan; he extends the limits of the Roman empire, II.-V.—Adrian, envying the glory of Trajan, contracts the bounds of the empire, and promotes the arts and occupations of peace, VI. VII.—Virtues of Antoninus Pius, VIII.—After his reign the commonwealth had two emperors with equal power, Marcus and Lucius Antoninus Verus; the studies and character of Marcus; his wars in Parthia, Germany, and with the Marcomanni, which he conducted alone or in conjunction with Lucius, IX. XIV.—Antoninus Commodus, who resembles his father only in fighting successfully against the Germans, XV.—Helvius Pertinax, XVI.—Salvius Julianus, XVII.—Septimius Severus, an African, overthrows his rivals for the throne, and conquers the Parthians, Arabians, and Adiabeni, XVIII.—His learning; his war and death in Britain, XIX.—Antoninus Caracalla, XX.—Opilius Macrinus and Diadumenus, XXI.—Heliogabalus, XXII.—Alexander Severus; his victory over the Persians; his enforcement of military discipline; in his reign lived Ulpian, XXIII.

I. In the eight hundred and fiftieth year from the foundation of the city, in the consulship of Vetus and Valens, the empire was restored to a most prosperous condition, being committed, with great good fortune, to the rule of meritorious princes. To Domitian, a most murderous tyrant, succeeded Nerva, a man of moderation and activity in private life, and of noble descent, though not of the very highest rank. He was made emperor at an advanced age, Petronius Secundus, the præfect of the prætorian guards, and Parthenius, one of the assassins of Domitian, giving him their support, and conducted himself with great justice and public spirit.* He provided for the good of the state by a divine foresight, in his adoption of Trajan. He died at Rome, after a reign of one year, four months, and eight days, in the seventy-second year of his age, and was enrolled among the gods.

II. To him succeeded Ulpius Crinitus Trajanus, born at

* *Se civilissimum præbuit.*] *Civilis*, applied to a person, properly signifies that he "behaves as a citizen ought to behave towards his fellow citizens," and may often be rendered "polite, affable, courteous." *Civilitas* has two senses; one derived from this sense of *civilis*, and the other "the art of governing, or directing affairs in a *civitas*, or free state." Both these words occur frequently in Eutropius; I have endeavoured always to give them that sense which the passages where they are found seemed to require.

Italica * in Spain, of a family rather ancient than eminent; for his father was the first consul in it. He was chosen emperor at Agrippina, a city of Gaul. He exercised the government in such a manner, that he is deservedly preferred to all the other emperors. He was a man of extraordinary skill in managing affairs of state, and of remarkable courage. The limits of the Roman empire, which, since the reign of Augustus, had been rather defended than honourably enlarged, he extended far and wide. He rebuilt some cities in Germany; he subdued Dacia by the overthrow of Decebalus, and formed a province beyond the Danube, in that territory which the Thaiphali, Victoali, and Theruingi now occupy This province was a thousand miles in circumference.

III. He recovered Armenia, which the Parthians had seized, putting to death Parthamasires who held the government of it. He gave a king to the Albani. He received into alliance the king of the Iberians, Sarmatians, Bosporani, Arabians, Osdroeni, and Colchians. He obtained the mastery over the Cordueni and Marcomedi, as well as over Anthemusia, an extensive region of Persia. He conquered and kept possession of Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Babylon, and the country of the Messenii. He advanced as far as the boundaries of India, and the Red Sea, where he formed three provinces, Armenia, Assyria, and Mesopotamia, including the tribes which border on Madena.† He afterwards, too, reduced Arabia into the form of a province. He also fitted out a fleet for the Red Sea, that he might use it to lay waste the coasts of India.

IV. Yet he went beyond his glory in war, in ability and judgment as a ruler, conducting himself as an equal towards all, going often to his friends as a visitor,‡ either when they were ill, or when they were celebrating feast days, and entertaining them in his turn at banquets where there was no distinction of rank, and sitting frequently with them in their chariots; doing nothing unjust towards any of the senators, nor being guilty of

* A town on the Bætis or Guadalquivir, not far from Seville. It was also the birth-place of Hadrian.

† So Tzschucke writes the word. As it was a later name of Media, it should rather, it would appear, be written *Medena*, as Cellarius gives it in his edition of Sextus Rufus, c. 16.

‡ *Gratia salutandi.*] "For the sake of saluting or paying his respects to them."

any dishonesty to fill his treasury; exercising liberality to all, enriching with offices of trust, publicly and privately, every body whom he had known even with the least familiarity; building towns throughout the world, granting many immunities to states, and doing every thing with gentleness and kindness; so that during his whole reign, there was but one senator condemned, and he was sentenced by the senate without Trajan's knowledge. Hence, being regarded throughout the world as next to a god, he deservedly obtained the highest veneration both living and dead.

V. Among other sayings of his, the following remarkable one is mentioned. When his friends found fault with him, for being too courteous to every body, he replied, that "he was such an emperor to his subjects, as he had wished, when a subject, that emperors should be to him."

After having gained the greatest glory both in the field and at home, he was cut off, as he was returning from Persia, by a diarrhœa, at Seleucia in Isauria. He died in the sixty-third year, ninth month, and fourth day of his age, and in the nineteenth year, sixth month, and fifteenth day of his reign. He was enrolled among the gods, and was the only one of all the emperors that was buried within the city. His bones, contained in a golden urn, lie in the forum which he himself built, under a pillar whose height is a hundred and forty-four feet. So much respect has been paid to his memory, that, even to our own times, they shout in acclamations to the emperors, "More fortunate than Augustus, better than Trajan!" So much has the fame of his goodness prevailed, that it affords ground for most noble illustration in the hands either of such as flatter, or of such as praise with sincerity.

VI. After the death of Trajan, ÆLIUS HADRIAN was made emperor, not from any wish to that effect having been expressed by Trajan himself, but through the influence of Plotina, Trajan's wife; for Trajan in his life-time had refused to adopt him, though he was the son of his cousin.* He also was born at Italica in Spain. Envying Trajan's glory, he immediately gave up three of the provinces which Trajan had added to the empire, withdrawing the armies from Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, and deciding that the Euphrates should be the boundary of the empire. When he was pro-

* Domitia Paullina.—*Glarcanus.*

ceeding to act similarly with regard to Dacia, his friends dissuaded him, lest many Roman citizens should be left in the hands of the barbarians, because Trajan, after he had subdued Dacia, had transplanted thither an infinite number of men from the whole Roman world, to people the country and the cities; as the land had been exhausted of inhabitants in the long war maintained by Decebalus.

VII. He enjoyed peace, however, through the whole course of his reign; the only war that he had, he committed to the conduct of a governor of a province. He went about through the Roman empire, and founded many edifices. He spoke with great eloquence in the Latin language, and was very learned in the Greek. He had no great reputation for clemency, but was very attentive to the state of the treasury and the discipline of the soldiers. He died in Compania, more than sixty years old, in the twenty-first year, tenth month, and twenty-ninth day of his reign. The senate was unwilling to allow him divine honours; but his successor Titus Aurelius Fulvius Antonius, earnestly insisting on it, carried his point, though all the senators were openly opposed to him.

VIII. To Hadrian, then, succeeded TITUS ANTONINUS FULVIUS BOIONIUS,* who was also named PIUS, sprung from an eminent, though not very ancient, family; a man of high character, who may justly be compared to Numa Pompilius, as Trajan may be paralleled with Romulus. He lived, before he came to the throne, in great honour, but in greater still during his reign. He was cruel to none, but indulgent to all. His reputation in military affairs was but moderate; he studied rather to defend the provinces than to enlarge them. He sought out the most just men to fill political offices. He paid respect to the good; for the bad he showed dislike, without treating them with harshness. By kings in alliance with Rome he was not less venerated than feared, so that many nations among the barbarians, laying aside their arms, referred their controversies and disputes to him, and submitted to his decision He was very rich before he began to reign, but diminished his wealth by pay to the soldiers and

* *Boionius.*] This name is supposed by Casaubon ad Capitolin. Vit. T. Anton. c. 1, and by Mad. Dacier ad Aurel. Vict. de Cæs. c. 16, to be derived from Boionia Pro illa, Titus Antoninus's grandmother, who had made him her heir.

bounties to his friends; he left the treasury, however, well stored. It was for his clemency that he was surnamed Pius. He died at his country seat called Lorium, twelve miles from the city, in the seventy-third year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. He was enrolled among the gods, and was deservedly an object of veneration.*

IX. After him reigned MARCUS ANTONINUS VERUS, a man indisputably of noble birth; for his descent, on the father's side, was from Numa Pompilius, and on the mother's from a king of the Sallentines,† and jointly with him reigned LUCIUS ANTONINUS VERUS. Then it was that the commonwealth of Rome was first subject to two sovereigns, ruling with equal power, when, till their days, it had always had but one emperor at a time.

X. These two were connected both by relationship‡ and affinity; for Verus Antoninus had married the daughter of Marcus Antoninus; and Marcus Antoninus was the son-in-law of Antoninus Pius, having married Galeria Faustina the younger, his own cousin. They carried on a war against the Parthians, who then rebelled for the first time since their subjugation by Trajan. Verus Antoninus went out to conduct that war, and, remaining at Antioch and about Armenia, effected many important achievements by the agency of his generals: he took Seleucia, the most eminent city of Assyria, with forty thousand prisoners; he brought off materials for a triumph over the Parthians, and celebrated it in conjunction with his brother, who was also his father-in-law. He died in Venetia,§ as he was going from the city of Concordia to Altinum. While he was sitting in his chariot with his brother, he was suddenly struck with a rush of blood, a disease‖ which

* *Consecratus*] See note on vii. 13.

† The Sallentines were a people of Calabria in Italy; the name of this king was Malennius, according to Capitolinus, Vit. M. Anton. c. 1.

‡ *Genere.*] Both having been adopted by Antoninus Pius; see Capitolinus, Vit. Ant. P. c. 4. Hence Verus is called the brother of Marcus by Aurelius Victor de Cæs. c. 16; by Jamblichus ap. Photium, p. 242; by Capitolinus Vit. Veri, c. 4 and 11; and by Orosius, vii. 15. —*Tzschucke.*

§ The territory inhabited by the Veneti, in which both Concordia and Altinum were situate, distant from each other about thirty-one miles.

Casu morbi.] Glareanus interprets *casu* by *eventu*. *Casus morbi*

the Greeks call *apoplexis*. He was a man who had little control over his passions, but who never ventured to do anything outrageous, from respect for his brother. After his death, which took place in the eleventh year of his reign, he was enrolled among the gods.

XI. After him MARCUS ANTONINUS held the government alone, a man whom any one may more easily admire than sufficiently commend. He was, from his earliest years, of a most tranquil disposition; so that even in his infancy he changed countenance neither for joy nor for sorrow. He was devoted to the Stoic philosophy, and was himself a philosopher, not only in his way of life, but in learning. He was the object of so much admiration, while yet a youth, that Hadrian intended to make him his successor; but having adopted Titus Antoninus Pius, he wished Marcus to become Titus's son-in-law, that he might by that means come to the throne.

XII. He was trained in philosophy by Apollonius of Chalcedon; in the study of the Greek language by Sextus of Chæronea, the grandson of Plutarch; while the eminent orator Fronto instructed him in Latin literature. He conducted himself towards all men at Rome as if he had been their equal, being moved to no arrogance by his elevation to empire. He exercised the most prompt liberality, and managed the provinces with the utmost kindness and indulgence. Under his rule affairs were successfully conducted against the Germans. He himself carried on one war with the Marcomanni, but this was greater than any in the memory of man,* so that it is compared to the Punic wars; for it became so much the more formidable, as whole armies had been lost; since, under the emperor, after the victory over the Parthians,† there occurred so destructive a pestilence, that at Rome, and throughout Italy and the provinces, the greater part of the inhabitants, and almost all the troops, sunk under the disease.

XIII. Having persevered, therefore, with the greatest

seems to be much the same as the simple *morbus*, or *morbus subitus*. In c. 12 occurs *casus pestilentiæ*.

* *Quantum nullâ memoriâ fuit.*] The same words are used by Capitolinus, c. 17. The meaning seems to be, that there had been no war *with the Germans* equally formidable.

† See c. 10.

labour and patience, for three whole years at Carnuntum,* he brought the Marcomannic war to an end; a war which the Quadi, Vandals, Sarmatians, Suevi, and all the barbarians in that quarter, had joined with the Marcomanni in raising; he killed several thousand men, and, having delivered the Pannonians from slavery, triumphed a second time at Rome with his son Commodus Antoninus, whom he had previously made Cæsar.† As he had no money to give his soldiers, in consequence of the treasury having been exhausted for the support of the war, and as he was unwilling to lay any tax on the provinces or the senate, he sold off all his imperial furniture and decorations, by an auction held in the forum of the emperor Trajan, consisting of vessels of gold, cups of crystal and *murrha*,‡ silk garments belonging to his wife and himself, embroidered with gold, and numbers of jewelled ornaments. This sale was continued through two successive months, and a great quantity of money was raised from it. After his victory, however, he gave back the money to such of the purchasers as were willing to restore what they had bought, but was by no means troublesome to any one who preferred to keep their purchases.

XIV. He allowed the more eminent men to give entertainments with the same magnificence, and the same number of attendants, as himself. In the display of games after his victory, he was so munificent, that he is said to have exhibited a hundred lions at once. Having, then, rendered the state happy, both by his excellent management and gentleness of disposition, he died in the eighteenth year of his reign and the sixty-first of his life, and was enrolled among the gods, all unanimously voting that such honour should be paid him.

XV. His successor, LUCIUS ANTONINUS COMMODUS, had no resemblance to his father, except that he fought successfully against the Germans. He endeavoured to alter the name of

* A town in Upper Pannonia, on the Danube, where Haimburg or Petronel now stands. See Mannert, T. iii. p. 740; also Cluverius and Cellarius.

† The title of Cæsar was now given to the person next in dignity to the emperor, and who was intended to succeed him.

‡ *Murrhina.*] What substance *murrha* was is unknown. It has been thought to be porcelain, but is now generally supposed to have been some kind of stone.

the month of September* to his own, so that it should be called Commodus. But he was corrupted with luxury and licentiousness. He often fought, with gladiator's arms, in the fencing school, and afterwards with men of that class in the amphitheatre. He died so sudden a death, that he was thought to have been strangled or despatched by poison, after he had reigned twelve years and eight months after his father, and in the midst of such execration from all men, that even after his death he was styled "the enemy of the human race."

XVI. To him succeeded PERTINAX, at a very advanced age, having reached his seventieth year; he was appointed to be emperor by a decree of the senate, when he was holding the office of præfect of the city. He was killed in a mutiny of the prætorian soldiers, by the villany of Julianus, on the eightieth day of his reign.

XVII. After his death SALVIUS JULIANUS seized the government, a man of noble birth, and eminently skilled in the law; he was the grandson of that Salvius Julianus who composed the *perpetual edict*† in the reign of the emperor Adrian. He was defeated by Severus at the Milvian bridge, and killed in the palace. He lived only eight months after he began to reign.

XVIII. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS then assumed the government of the Roman empire; a native of Africa, born in the province of Tripolis, and town of Leptis. He was the only African, in all the time before or after him, that became emperor. He was first præfect of the treasury, afterwards military tribune, and then rose, through several offices and posts of honour, to the government of the whole state. He had an inclination to be called Pertinax, in honour of that Pertinax who had been killed by Julian. He was very parsimonious, and naturally cruel. He conducted many wars, and with success. He killed Pescennius Niger, who had raised a rebellion in Egypt and Syria, at Cyzicus. He overcame the Parthians, the interior Arabians, and the Adiabeni. The Arabians he so

* He wished, as Tzschucke observes, to have the month of August called Commodus, and that of September, Herculius. See Lamprid. Vit. Comm. c. 11.

† The prætors had been accustomed to publish each his own edict, as to the method in which he intended to administer justice for his year. The edicts were of course often very different; but by this *perpetual edict* a uniform course of proceedin was laid down. See note on C. Nep. Life of Cato, c. 2.

effectually reduced, that he made them a province; hence he was called Parthicus, Arabicus, and Adiabenicus. He rebuilt many edifices throughout the whole Roman world. In his reign, too, Clodius Albinus, who had been an accomplice of Julianus in killing Pertinax, set himself up for Cæsar in Gaul, and was overthrown and killed at Lyons.

XIX. Severus, in addition to his glory in war, was also distinguished in the pursuits of peace, being not only accomplished in literature, but having acquired a complete knowledge of philosophy. The last war that he had was in Britain; and that he might preserve, with all possible security, the provinces which he had acquired, he built a rampart of thirty-two miles long from one sea to the other. He died at an advanced age at York, in the eighteenth year and fourth month of his reign, and was honoured with the title of god. He left his two sons, Bassianus and Geta, to be his successors, but desired that the name of Antoninus should be given by the senate to Bassianus only, who, accordingly, was named Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus, and was his father's successor. As for Geta, he was declared a public enemy, and soon after put to death.

XX. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus, then, who was also called Caracalla, was a man very much of his father's disposition, but somewhat more rough and vindictive. He erected a bath of excellent construction at Rome, which is called the bath of Antoninus,* but did nothing else worthy of record. He wanted ability to control his passions; for he married his own step-mother Julia. He died in Osdroene,† near Edessa, while he was planning an expedition against the Parthians, in the sixth year and second month of his reign, having scarcely passed the forty-second year of his age. He was buried with a public funeral.

XXI. Opilius Macrinus, who was captain of the prætorian guards, and his son Diadumenus, were then made emperors, but did nothing memorable, in consequence of the shortness of their reign; for it lasted but a year and two months. They were both killed together in a mutiny of the soldiers.

* *Opus lavacri, quæ Antoninianæ appellantur.*] The change of gender and number, as Tzschucke observes, makes the reader suspect that something must be wrong. Cellarius supplies *thermæ*.

† More frequently written Osrhoene.

XXII. After these, MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS was made emperor, who was thought to be the son of Antoninus Caracalla. He was however priest of the temple of Heliogabalus.* Having come to Rome with high expectations on the part of the army and the senate, he polluted himself with every kind of impurity. He led a life of the utmost shamelessness and obscenity, and was killed at the end of two years and eight months in a tumult of the soldiers. His mother Soëmia, a native of Syria, perished with him.

XXIII. To him succeeded AURELIUS ALEXANDER, a very young man, who was named Cæsar by the army, and Augustus by the senate. Having undertaken a war with the Persians, he defeated their king Xerxes with great glory. He enforced military discipline with much severity, and disbanded whole legions that raised a disturbance. He had for his adviser, or secretary of state, Ulpian, the compiler of the law. He was also in great favour at Rome. He lost his life in Gaul, in a tumult of the soldiery, in the thirteenth year and eighth day of his reign. He testified great affection for his mother Mammæa.

* A Syrophœnician deity at Emesa; hence he himself was called Heliogabalus. He was made emperor through the artifices of his grandmother, Julia Mœsa, who pretended that he was the son of Caracalla

BOOK IX.

Maximin successful in his wars in Germany, I.—Three emperors at once, Pupienus, Balbinus, and Gordian; Gordian becomes sole emperor, and goes to war with Persia, II.—The two Philips, father and son; the thousandth year of Rome, III.—Decius suppresses an insurrection in Gaul, IV.—Gallus Hostilianus and his son Volusianus, V.—Short reign of Æmilianus, VI.—Disadvantageous reign of Valerian and Gallienus; several aspirants assume the purple, VII.–X.—Claudius defeats the Goths; his honours, XI.—Quintillus, XII.—Aurelian defeats the Goths, Tetricus, Zenobia; suppresses a rebellion at Rome; his character, XIII.–XV.—Tacitus, Florianus, XVI.—Probus; his acts in Gaul and Pannonia, XVIII.—Carus; his successes in Persia; death of him and Numerianus, XVIII. XIX.—Diocletian made emperor; overthrows Carinus; suppresses an insurrection in Gaul, XX.—Makes Herculius emperor, and Constantius and Maximian Cæsars; proceedings in Britain, Egypt, Africa, and among the Alemanni, XXI.–XXIII.—Varied fortune of Maximian in Persia; subjugation of the Carpi, Bastarnæ, and Sarmatians, XXIV. XXV.—Character of Diocletian and Maximian; their abdication of the imperial power, XXVI.–XXVIII.

I. After him Maximin came to the throne, the first emperor that was elected from the army by the will of the soldiers, no approbation of the senate being given, and he himself not being a senator. After conducting a successful war against the Germans, and being on that account saluted *Imperator** by his troops, he was slain by Pupienus at Aquileia,† together with his son who was then but a boy, his soldiers forsaking him. He had reigned, with his son, three years and a few days.

II. There were then three emperors at the same time, Pupienus, Balbinus, and Gordian, the two former of very obscure origin, the last of noble birth; for the elder Gordian, his father, had been chosen prince by the consent of the soldiery in the reign of Maximin, when he held the proconsulship of Africa. When Balbinus and Pupienus came to Rome, they were killed in the palace; and the empire was given to Gordian alone.

After Gordian, when quite a boy, had married Tranquillina at Rome, he opened the temple of Janus, and, setting out for the

* In the old sense of the word, as Tzschucke thinks, on account of his victory. He had been made emperor before, as appears from Herodian, vii. 2.

† A city of Gallia Transpadana, at the top of the Adriatic.

east, made war upon the Parthians, who were then proceeding to make an irruption. This war he soon conducted with success, and made havoc of the Persians in great battles. As he was returning, he was killed, not far from the Roman boundaries, by the treachery of Philip who reigned after him. The Roman soldiers raised a monument for him, twenty miles from Circessus, which is now a fortress of the Romans, overlooking the Euphrates. His relics they brought to Rome, and gave him the title of god.

III. When Gordian was killed, the two PHILIPS, father and son, seized on the government, and, having brought off the army safe, set out from Syria for Italy. In their reign the thousandth year of the city of Rome was celebrated with games and spectacles of vast magnificence. Soon after, both of them were put to death by the soldiery; the elder Philip at Verona, the younger at Rome. They reigned but five years. They were however ranked among the gods.

IV. After these, DECIUS, a native of Lower Pannonia, born at Budalia, assumed the government. He suppressed a civil war which had been raised in Gaul. He created his son Cæsar. He built a bath at Rome. When he and his son had reigned two years, they were both killed in the country of the Barbarians, and enrolled among the gods.

V. Immediately after, GALLUS, HOSTILIANUS, and VOLUSIANUS the son of Gallus, were created emperors. In their reign Æmilianus attempted an insurrection in Mœsia; and both* of them, setting out to stop his progress, were slain at Interamna, when they had not quite completed a reign of two years. They did nothing of any account. Their reign was remarkable only for a pestilence, and for other diseases and afflictions.

VI. ÆMILIANUS was little distinguished by birth, and less distinguished by his reign, in the third month of which he was cut off.†

VII. LICINIUS VALERIAN, who was then employed in Rhætia and Noricum, was next made general by the army, and soon after emperor. GALLIENUS also received the title of Cæsar from the senate at Rome. The reign of these princes was in-

* *Ambo.*] Both Gallus and Volusianus.—*Tzschucke.*

† *Extinctus est.*] He was killed by the soldiery, according to Zosimus, l. 29, and Zonaras, xii. 22.

jurious, and almost fatal, to the Roman name, either through their ill-fortune or want of energy. The Germans advanced as far as Ravenna. Valerian, while he was occupied in a war in Mesopotamia, was overthrown by Sapor king of Persia, and being soon after made prisoner, grew old in ignominious slavery among the Parthians.

VIII. Gallienus, who was made emperor when quite a young man, exercised his power at first happily, afterwards fairly, and at last mischievously. In his youth he performed many gallant acts in Gaul and Illyricum, killing Ingenuus, who had assumed the purple, at Mursa,* and Regalianus. He was then for a long time quiet and gentle; afterwards, abandoning himself to all manner of licentiousness, he relaxed the reins of government with disgraceful inactivity and carelessness. The Alemanni, having laid waste Gaul, penetrated into Italy. Dacia, which had been added to the empire beyond the Danube, was lost. Greece, Macedonia, Pontus, Asia, were devastated by the Goths. Pannonia was depopulated by the Sarmatians and Quadi. The Germans made their way as far as Spain, and took the noble city of Tarraco. The Parthians, after taking possession of Mesopotamia, began to bring Syria under their power.

IX. When affairs were in this desperate condition, and the Roman empire almost ruined, POSTUMUS, a man of very obscure birth, assumed the purple in Gaul, and held the government with such ability for ten years, that he recruited the provinces, which had been almost ruined, by his great energy and judgment; but he was killed in a mutiny of the army, because he would not deliver up Moguntiacum, which had rebelled against him, to be plundered by the soldiers, at the time when Lucius Ælianus was endeavouring to effect a change of government.

After him Marius, a contemptible mechanic,† assumed the purple, and was killed two days after. Victorinus then took on himself the government of Gaul; a man of great energy; but, as he was abandoned to excessive licentiousness, and corrupted other men's wives, he was assassinated at Agrip-

* A town of Lower Pannonia, on the river Drave. Cellar. Geog. Ant. ii. 8, 27.

† *Vilissimus opifex.*] Victor de Cæs. 33, 9, calls him *ferri opifex*, a worker in iron.

pina,* in the second year of his reign, one of his secretaries having contrived a plot against him.

X. To him succeeded Tetricus, a senator, who, when he was governing Aquitania with the title of præfect, was chosen emperor in his absence, and assumed the purple at Bourdeaux. He had to endure many insurrections among the soldiery. But while these transactions were passing in Gaul, the Persians, in the east, were overthrown by Odenathus, who, having defended Syria and recovered Mesopotamia, penetrated into the country as far as Ctesiphon.

XI. Thus, while Gallienus abandoned the government, the Roman empire was saved in the west by Posthumus, and in the east by Odenathus. Meanwhile Gallienus was killed at Milan, together with his brother, in the ninth year of his reign, and CLAUDIUS succeeded him, being chosen by the soldiers, and declared emperor by the senate. Claudius defeated the Goths, who were laying waste Illyricum and Macedonia, in a great battle. He was a frugal and modest man, strictly observant of justice, and well qualified for governing the empire. He was however carried off by disease within two years after he began to reign, and had the title of a god. The senate honoured him with extraordinary distinctions, insomuch that a golden shield was hung up to him in the senate house, and a golden statue erected to him in the Capitol.

XII. After him QUINTILLUS, the brother of Claudius, was elected emperor by agreement among the soldiers, a man of singular moderation and aptitude for governing, comparable, or perhaps superior, to his brother. He received the title of emperor with the consent of the senate, and was killed on the seventeenth day of his reign.

XIII. After his death AURELIAN succeeded to the throne. He was born in Dacia Ripensis, and was a man of ability in war, but of an ungovernable temper, and too much inclined to cruelty. He defeated the Goths with great vigour, and extended the Roman empire, by various successes in the field, to its former limits. He overthrew Tetricus at Catalauni†

* A town of the Ubii, so called because Agrippina was born there. It is now *Cologne*.

† In Gallia Belgica, Amm. Marcell. xv. 11, now, as Tzschucke thinks, *Chalons sur Marne*.

in Gaul, Tetricus himself, indeed, betraying his own army, whose constant mutinies he was unable to bear; and he had even by secret letters entreated Aurelian to march towards him, using, among other solicitations, the verse of Virgil:—

Eripe me his, invicte, malis.
Unconquer'd hero, free me from these ills.

He also took prisoner Zenobia, who, having killed her husband Odenathus, was mistress of the east, in a battle of no great importance near Antioch, and, entering Rome, celebrated a magnificent triumph, as recoverer of the east and the west, Tetricus* and Zenobia going before his chariot. This Tetricus was afterwards governor of Lucania, and lived long after he was divested of the purple. Zenobia left descendants, who still live at Rome.

XIV. In his reign, the people of the mint raised a rebellion in the city, after having adulterated the money, and put to death Felicissimus the commissioner of the treasury. Aurelian suppressed them with the utmost severity; several noblemen he condemned to death. He was indeed cruel and sanguinary, and rather an emperor necessary for the times in some respects than an amiable one in any. He was always severe, and put to death even the son of his own sister. He was however a reformer, in a great degree, of military discipline and dissoluteness of manners.

XV. He surrounded the city of Rome with stronger walls. He built a temple to the Sun, in which he put a vast quantity of gold and precious stones. The province of Dacia, which Trajan had formed beyond the Danube, he gave up, despairing, after all Illyricum and Mœsia had been depopulated, of being able to retain it. The Roman citizens, removed from the town and lands of Dacia, he settled in the interior of Mœsia, calling that Dacia which now divides the two Mœsiæ, and which is on the right hand of the Danube as it runs to the sea, whereas Dacia was previously on the left. He was killed through the treachery of one of his own slaves, who carried to certain military men, the friends of Aurelian, their own names entered upon a list, having counterfeited the hand of Aurelian, and making it appear that he intended to put them to death. That he might be prevented from doing so, he was assassinated

* See c. 10.

by them in the middle of the road, the old paved way, which is between Constantinople and Heraclea. The place is called Cænophrurium. But his death was not unavenged.* He also gained the honour of being enrolled among the gods. He reigned five years and six months.

XVI. After him TACITUS succeeded to the throne; a man of excellent morals, and well qualified to govern the empire. He was unable, however, to show the world anything remarkable, being cut off by death in the sixth month of his reign. FLORIANUS, who succeeded Tacitus, was on the throne only two months and twenty days, and did nothing worthy of mention.

XVII. PROBUS then succeeded to the government, a man rendered illustrious by the distinction which he obtained in war. He recovered Gaul, which had been seized by the Barbarians, by remarkable successes in the field. He also suppressed, in several battles, some persons that attempted to seize the throne, as Saturninus in the east, and Proculus and Bonosus at Agrippina. He allowed the Gauls and Cannonians to have vineyards. By obliging his soldiers to work, too, he planted vineyards on Mount Alma in Sirmium, and on Mount Aureus in Upper Mœsia, and left them to the people of the provinces to cultivate. After he had gone through a great number of wars, and had at last obtained peace, he observed, that "in a short time soldiers would not be wanted." He was a man of spirit, activity, and justice, equalling Aurelian in military glory, and surpassing him in affability of manners. He was killed, however, at Sirmium, in an iron turret, during an insurrection of the soldiery. He reigned six years and four months.

XVIII. After the death of Probus, CARUS was created emperor, a native of Narbo in Gaul, who immediately made his sons, Carinus and Numerianus, Cæsars, and reigned, in conjunction with them, two years. News being brought, while he was engaged in a war with the Sarmatians, of an insurrection among the Persians, he set out for the east, and achieved some noble exploits against that people; he routed them in the field, and took Seleucia and Ctesiphon, their noblest cities, but, while he was encamped on the Tigris, he was killed by lightning. His son NUMERIANUS, too, whom he had taken

* Tacitus made it his care to put the assassins to death. Vopisc. Vit. Tacit. c. 13; Aurel. Vict. Epit. c. 36.

with him to Persia, a young man of very great ability, while, from being affected with a disease in his eyes, he was carried in a litter, was cut off by a plot of which Aper, his father-in-law, was the promoter; and his death, though attempted craftily to be concealed until Aper could seize the throne, was made known by the odour of his dead body; for the soldiers, who attended him, being struck by the smell, and opening the curtains of his litter, discovered his death some days after it had taken place.

XIX. In the meantime CARINUS, whom Carus, when he set out to the war with Parthia, had left, with the authority of Cæsar, to command in Illyricum, Gaul, and Italy, disgraced himself by all manner of crimes; he put to death many innocent persons on false accusations, formed illicit connexions with the wives of noblemen, and wrought the ruin of several of his school-fellows, who happened to have offended him at school by some slight provocation. Incurring the hatred of all men by such proceedings, he not long after met with deserved punishment.

The victorious army, on returning from Persia, as they had lost their emperor Carus by lightning, and the Cæsar Numerianus by a plot, conferred the imperial dignity on DIOCLETIAN, a native of Dalmatia, of such extremely obscure birth, that he is said by most writers to have been the son of a clerk, but by some to have been a freedman of a senator named Anulinus.

XX, Diocletian, in the first assembly of the army that was held, took an oath that Numerian was not killed by any treachery on his part; and while Aper, who had laid the plot for Numerian's life, was standing by, he was killed, in the sight of the army, with a sword by the hand of Diocletian. He soon after overthrew Carinus, who was living under the utmost hatred and detestation, in a great battle at Margum,* Carinus being betrayed by his own troops, for though he had a greater number of men than the enemy, he was altogether abandoned by them between Viminacium and mount Aureus. He thus became master of the Roman empire; and when the peasants in Gaul made an insurrection, giving their faction the name of Bagaudæ,† and having for leaders Amandus and Ælianus,

* A town in Upper Mœsia, between the Danube and the Margus or Morava.

† A name of uncertain signification, but supposed, says Tzschucke, to mean rebels or robbers.

he despatched Maximian Herculius, with the authority of Cæsar, to suppress them. Maximian, in a few battles of little importance, subdued the rustic multitude, and restored peace to Gaul.

XXI. During this period, Carausius, who, though of very mean birth, had gained extraordinary reputation by a course of active service in war, having received a commission in his post at Bononia, to clear the sea, which the Franks and Saxons infested, along the coast of Belgica and Armorica, and having captured numbers of the barbarians on several occasions, but having never given back the entire booty to the people of the province or sent it to the emperors, and there being a suspicion, in consequence, that the barbarians were intentionally allowed by him to congregate there, that he might seize them and their booty as they passed, and by that means enrich himself, assumed, on being sentenced by Maximian to be put to death, the imperial purple, and took on him the government of Britain.

XXII. While disorder thus prevailed throughout the world, while Carausius was taking arms in Britain and Achilleus in Egypt, while the Quinquegentiani * were harassing Africa, and Narseus † was making war upon the east, Diocletian promoted MAXIMIAN HERCULIUS from the dignity of Cæsar to that of emperor, and created Constantius and Maximian Galerius Cæsars, of whom Constantius is said to have been the grand-nephew of Claudius ‡ by a daughter, and Maximian Galerius to have been born in Dacia not far from Sardica. § That he might also unite them by affinity, Constantius married Theodora the step-daughter of Herculius, by whom he had afterwards six children, brothers to Constantine; while Galerius married Valeria, the daughter of Diocletian; both being obliged to divorce the wives that they had before. With Carausius, however, as hostilities were found vain against a man eminently skilled in war, a peace was at last arranged.

* Cellarius thinks that they may be the same as the Pentapolitani, that is, the Cyrenæans, Cyrenaica comprising five cities, Berenice, Arsinoe, Ptolemais, Apollonia, and Cyrene.

† King of Persia; more frequently written Narses.

‡ The emperor mentioned in c. 11. Constantius was the grandson of Crispus, Claudius's brother.

§ The metropolis of Dacia Mediterranea; thought to be the same as the present *Sofia* in Bulgaria.

At the end of seven years, Allectus, one of his supporters, put him to death, and held Britain himself for three years subsequently, but was cut off by the efforts of Asclepiodotus, præfect of the prætorian guard.

XXIII. At the same period a battle was fought by Constantius Cæsar in Gaul, at Lingonæ,* where he experienced both good and bad fortune in one day; for though he was driven into the city by a sudden onset of the barbarians, with such haste and precipitation that after the gates were shut he was drawn up the wall by ropes, yet, when his army came up, after the lapse of scarcely six hours, he cut to pieces about sixty thousand of the Alemanni. Maximian the emperor, too, brought the war to an end in Africa, by subduing the Quinquegentiani, and compelling them to make peace. Diocletian, meanwhile, besieging Achilleus in Alexandria, obliged him to surrender about eight months after, and put him to death. He used his victory, indeed, cruelly, and distressed all Egypt with severe proscriptions and massacres. Yet at the same time he made many judicious arrangements and regulations, which continue to our own days.

XXIV. Galerius Maximian, in acting against Narseus, fought, on the first occasion, a battle far from successful, meeting him between Callinicus and Carræ, and engaging in the combat rather with rashness than want of courage; for he contended with a small army against a very numerous enemy. Being in consequence defeated, and going to join Diocletian, he was received by him, when he met him on the road, with such extreme haughtiness, that he is said to have run by his chariot for several miles in his scarlet robes.

XXV. But having soon after collected forces in Illyricum and Mœsia, he fought a second time with Narseus (the grandfather of Hormisdas and Sapor), in Greater Armenia, with extraordinary success, and with no less caution and spirit, for he undertook, with one or two of the cavalry, the office of a *speculator*.† After putting Narseus to flight, he captured his

* *Apud Lingonas.*] Lingonæ, or Lingones, the chief town of the Lingones in Gaul, previously called Andomatunum; now *Langres*.

† The *speculatores*, under the emperors, were a body of troops attached to the prætorian cohorts, or perhaps forming part of them, and having the care of the emperor's person. *Ipsum Othonem comitalantur speculatorum lecta corpora, cum cæteris prætoriis cohortibus.* Tac. Hist. ii 11.

wives, sisters, and children, with a vast number of the Persian nobility besides, and a great quantity of treasure; the king himself he forced to take refuge in the remotest deserts in his dominions. Returning therefore in triumph to Diocletian, who was then encamped with some troops in Mesopotamia, he was welcomed by him with great honour. Subsequently, they conducted several wars both in conjunction and separately, subduing the Carpi and Bastarnæ, and defeating the Sarmatians, from which nations he settled a great number of captives in the Roman territories.

XXVI. Diocletian was of a crafty disposition, with much sagacity, and keen penetration. He was willing to gratify his own disposition to cruelty in such a way as to throw the odium upon others; he was however a very active and able prince. He was the first that introduced into the Roman empire a ceremony suited rather to royal usages than to Roman liberty, giving orders that he should be adored,* whereas all emperors before him were only saluted. He put ornaments of precious stones on his dress and shoes, when the imperial distinction had previously been only in the purple robe, the rest of the habit being the same as that of other men.

XXVII. But Herculius was undisguisedly cruel, and of a violent temper, and showed his severity of disposition in the sternness of his looks. Gratifying his own inclination, he joined with Diocletian in even the most cruel of his proceedings. But when Diocletian, as age bore heavily upon him, felt himself unable to sustain the government of the empire, he suggested to Herculius that they should both retire into private life, and commit the duty of upholding the state to more vigorous and youthful hands. With this suggestion his colleague reluctantly complied. Both of them, in the same day, exchanged the robe of empire for an ordinary dress, Diocletian at Nicomedia, Herculius at Milan, soon after a magnificent triumph which they celebrated at Rome over several nations, with a noble succession of pictures,† and in

* *Adorari.*] See C. Nep life of Conon, c. 3.

† *Pompâ ferculorum illustri.*] *Fercula* are representations of cities, rivers, and other objects in the conquered countries, carried in procession at a triumph, in imitation of Romulus, who carried the spoils of a slain enemy *suspensa ferculo*, Liv. i. 10.—*Tzschucke. Ferculum* was a kind of frame in which anything might be carried or suspended.

which the wives, sisters, and children of Narseus were led before their chariots. The one then retired to Salonæ, and the other into Lucania.

XXVIII. Diocletian lived to an old age in a private station, at a villa which is not far from Salonæ, in honourable retirement, exercising extraordinary philosophy, inasmuch as he alone of all men, since the foundation of the Roman empire, voluntarily returned from so high a dignity to the condition of private life, and to an equality with the other citizens. That happened to him, therefore, which had happened to no one since men were created, that, though he died in a private condition, he was enrolled among the gods.

BOOK X.

Division of the empire between Constantius and Galerius, Maximin and Severus being Cæsars, I.—Constantine made emperor in Britain, and Maxentius, son of Maximian, at Rome; Maximian attempts to regain the throne; failure of Severus against Maxentius, II.—Subsequent efforts of Maximian; his death and character, III.—Four emperors at once, Constantine, Maxentius, Licinius, and Maximin; Maxentius overthrown by Constantine; death of Maximin, IV.—Licinius defeated by Constantine, who becomes sole emperor, and makes three Cæsars, V. VI.—Character and death of Constantine, VII. VIII.—He is succeeded by three sons and a nephew, Constantine, Constantius, Constans, and Dalmatius; Constantius survives them all, and becomes sole emperor, suppressing Veteranio and Nepotian, IX.-XI.—Overthrow and death of Magnentius; Gallus made Cæsar, XII.—Deaths of Gallus and Sylvanus, XIII.—Julian sent to Gaul by Constantius with the authority of Cæsar; his successes, XIV.—Julian made emperor; death and character of Constantius, XV.—Julian's expedition to the east; his death and character, XVI.—Jovian made emperor in the east; his ill-fortune; he cedes a portion of the Roman territory to Sapor; his death, and the supposed causes of it, XVII. XVIII.

I. THESE emperors, then, having retired from the government of the state, CONSTANTIUS and GALERIUS were made emperors; and the Roman world was divided between them in such a manner, that Constantius had Gaul, Italy, and Africa; Galerius Illyricum, Asia, and the East; two Cæsars being joined with them. Constantius, however, content with the dignity of emperor, declined the care of governing Africa.

He was an excellent man, of extreme benevolence, who studied to increase the resources of the provinces and of private persons, cared but little for the improvement of the public treasury, and used to say that "it was better for the national wealth to be in the hands of individuals than to be laid up in one place of confinement." So moderate was the furniture of his house, too, that if, on holidays, he had to entertain a greater number of friends than ordinary, his dining-rooms were set out with the plate of private persons, borrowed from their several houses. By the Gauls* he was not only beloved but venerated, especially because, under his government, they had escaped the suspicious prudence of Diocletian, and the sanguinary rashness of Maximian. He died in Britain, at York, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and was enrolled among the gods.

II. Galerius, a man of excellent moral character, and skilful in military affairs, finding that Italy, by Constantius's permission, was put under his government, created two Cæsars, MAXIMIN, whom he appointed over the east, and SEVERUS, to whom he committed Italy. He himself resided in Illyricum. But after the death of Constantius, CONSTANTINE, his son by a wife of obscure birth, was made emperor in Britain, and succeeded his father as a most desirable ruler. In the meantime the prætorian guards at Rome, having risen in insurrection, declared MAXENTIUS, the son of Maximian Herculius, who lived in the *Villa Publica*† not far from the city, emperor. At the news of this proceeding, Maximian, filled with hopes of regaining the imperial dignity, which he had not willingly resigned, hurried to Rome from Lucania, (which, on retiring into private life, he had chosen for his place of residence, spending his old age in a most delightful country), and stimulated Diocletian by letters to resume the authority that he had laid down, letters which Diocletian utterly disregarded. Severus Cæsar, being despatched to Rome by Galerius to suppress the rising of the guards and Maxentius, arrived there with his army, but, as he was laying siege to the city, was deserted through the treachery of his soldiers.

* He had reserved Gaul for his own peculiar province.—*Tzschucke.*

† A building in the Campus Martius, intended chiefly as a lodging-house or hotel for ambassadors from foreign nations.

III. The power of Maxentius was thus increased, and his government established. Severus, taking to flight, was killed at Ravenna. Maximian Herculius, attempting afterwards, in an assembly of the army, to divest his son Maxentius of his power, met with nothing but mutiny and reproaches from the soldiery. He then set out for Gaul, on a planned stratagem, as if he had been driven away by his son, that he might join his son-in-law Constantine,* designing, however, if he could find an opportunity, to cut off Constantine, who was ruling in Gaul with great approbation both of the soldiers and the people of the province, having overthrown the Franks and Alemanni with great slaughter, and captured their kings, whom, on exhibiting a magnificent show of games, he exposed to wild beasts. But the plot being made known by Maximian's daughter Fausta, who communicated the design to her husband, Maximian was cut off at Marseilles, whence he was preparing to sail to join his son, and died a well-deserved death; for he was a man inclined to every kind of cruelty and severity, faithless, perverse, and utterly void of consideration for others.

IV. At this time LICINIUS, a native of Dacia, was made emperor by Galerius, to whom he was known by old companionship, and recommended by his vigorous efforts and services in the war which he had conducted against Narseus. The death of Galerius followed immediately afterwards. The empire was then held by the four new emperors, Constantine and Maxentius, sons of emperors, Licinius and Maximian, sons of undistinguished men. Constantine, however, in the fifth year of his reign, commenced a civil war with Maxentius, routed his forces in several battles, and at last overthrew Maxentius himself (when he was spreading death among the nobility by every possible kind of cruelty,†) at the Milvian bridge, and made himself master of Italy. Not long after, too, Maximin, after commencing hostilities against Licinius in the east, anticipated the destruction that was falling upon him by an accidental death at Tarsus.

V. CONSTANTINE, being a man of great energy, bent upon effecting whatever he had settled in his mind, and aspiring to

* Who was married to Maximian's daughter Fausta.

† *Adversus nobiles omnibus exitiis sævientem.*] "Raging against the nobles with every kind of destruction."

the sovereignty of the whole world, proceeded to make war on Licinius, although he had formed a connexion with him by marriage,* for his sister Constantia was married to Licinius. And first of all he overthrew him, by a sudden attack, at Cibalæ in Pannonia, where he was making vast preparations for war; and after becoming master of Dardania, Mæsia, and Macedonia, took possession also of several other provinces.

VI. There were then various contests between them, and peace made and broken. At last Licinius, defeated in a battle at Nicomedia by sea and land, surrendered himself, and, in violation of an oath taken by Constantine, was put to death, after being divested of the purple, at Thessalonica.

At this time the Roman empire fell under the sway of one emperor and three Cæsars, a state of things which had never existed before; the sons of Constantine ruling over Gaul, the east, and Italy. But the pride of prosperity caused Constantine greatly to depart from his former agreeable mildness of temper. Falling first upon his own relatives, he put to death his son, an excellent man; his sister's son, a youth of amiable disposition; soon afterwards his wife, and subsequently many of his friends.

VII. He was a man, who, in the beginning of his reign, might have been compared to the best princes; in the latter part of it, only to those of a middling character. Innumerable good qualities of mind and body were apparent in him; he was exceedingly ambitious of military glory, and had great success in his wars; a success, however, not more than proportioned to his exertions. After he had terminated the Civil war, he also overthrew the Goths on various occasions, granting them at last peace, and leaving on the minds of the barbarians a strong remembrance of his kindness. He was attached to the arts of peace and to liberal studies, and was ambitious of honourable popularity, which he, indeed, sought by every kind of liberality and obligingness. Though he was slow, from suspicion, to serve some of his friends,† yet he was exceedingly

* *Necessitudo illi et affinitas cum eo esset.*] He had a *necessitudo* or relationship with him, which relationship was an *affinitas*, or alliance by marriage. *Affinitas* is added, as Tzschucke observes, to explain *necessitudo*, which, consequently, might very well be omitted.

† *In nonnullus amicos dubius.*] I have translated this phrase in conformity with the explanation of the old interpreter in Io. Antiochenus, cited by Tzschucke: *πρός τινας τῶν γνωρίμων ὑπούλως τε καὶ οὐκ ὑγίως ἔσχε.*

generous towards others, neglecting no opportunity to add to their riches and honours.

VIII. He enacted many laws, some good and equitable, but most of them superfluous, and some severe. He was the first that endeavoured to raise the city named after him* to such a height as to make it a rival to Rome. As he was preparing for war against the Parthians, who were then disturbing Mesopotamia, he died in the *Villa Publica*,† at Nicomedia, in the thirty-first year of his reign, and the sixty-sixth of his age. His death was foretold by a star with a tail, which shone for a long time, of extraordinary size, and which the Greeks call a κομήτης. He was deservedly enrolled among the gods.

IX. He left for his successors three sons and one nephew, the son of his brother. But DALMATIUS CÆSAR, a man of happy genius, and not unlike his brother, was soon after cut off by a mutiny among the soldiers, Constantius, his cousin, sanctioning the act, rather than commanding it. The officers of Constans also put to death CONSTANTINE, when he was making war upon his brother, and had rashly commenced an engagement at Aquileia. Thus the government was left in the hands of two emperors. The rule of CONSTANS was for some time energetic and just, but afterwards, falling into ill-health, and being swayed by ill-designing friends, he indulged in great vices; and, becoming intolerable to the people of the provinces, and unpopular with the soldiery, was killed by a party headed by Magnentius. He died not far from the borders of Spain, in a fortress named Helena, in the seventeenth year of his reign, and the thirtieth of his age; yet not till he had performed many gallant actions in the field, and had made himself feared by the army through the whole course of his life, though without exercising any extraordinary severity.

X. The fortune of CONSTANTIUS was different; for he suffered many grievous calamities at the hands of the Persians, his towns being often taken, his walled cities besieged, and his troops cut off. Nor had he a single successful engagement with Sapor, except that, at Singara, when victory might certainly have been his, he lost it, through the irrepressible eagerness of his men, who, contrary to the practice of war,

* Constantinople.

† A building similar to the one at Rome mentioned in c. 2.

mutinously and foolishly called for battle when the day was declining. After the death of Constans, when MAGNENTIUS held the government of Italy, Africa, and Gaul, Illyricum also felt some new commotions, VETRANIO being elected to the throne by a combination of the soldiery, whom they made emperor when he was very old and universally popular from the length and success of his service in the field; an upright man, of morality severe as that of the ancients, and of an agreeable unassumingness of manner, but so ignorant of all polite learning, that he did not even acquire the first rudiments of literature until he was old and had become emperor.

XI. But the imperial authority was snatched from Vetranio by Constantius, who stirred up a civil war to avenge his brother's death; Vetranio being compelled, with the consent of the soldiers, and, by a new and extraordinary proceeding, to divest himself of the purple. There was at the same time an insurrection at Rome, Nepotianus, a son of Constantine's sister, endeavouring to secure the throne with the aid of a body of gladiators; but he met with an end such as his savage attempts merited, for he was cut off on the twenty-eighth day of his usurpation by the officers of Magnentius, and paid the penalty of his rashness. His head was carried through the city on a lance; and dreadful proscriptions and massacres of the nobility ensued.

XII. Not long afterwards Magnentius was overthrown in a battle at Mursa,* and nearly taken prisoner. Vast forces of the Roman empire were cut off in that struggle, sufficient for any foreign wars, and for procuring many triumphs, and a lasting peace. Soon after, GALLUS, his uncle's son, was appointed by Constantius, as Cæsar, over the east; and Magnentius, being defeated in several battles, put an end to his life at Lyons, in the third year and seventh month of his reign, as did also his brother at Sens,† whom he had sent as Cæsar to defend Gaul.

XIII. About this time the Cæsar Gallus, after committing many tyrannical acts, was put to death by Constantius. Gallus was a man naturally cruel, and too much inclined to tyranny, if he could but have reigned in his own right.

* See ix. 8

† *Senonis.*] The ablative case of *Senoni, orum,* previously called Agendicum, now *Sens.*

Silvanus also, who attempted an insurrection in Gaul, was cut off before the end of thirty days; and Constantius then remained sole ruler and emperor over the Roman dominions.

XIV. He then sent into Gaul, with the authority of Cæsar, his cousin Julian, the brother of Gallus, giving him his sister in marriage, at a time when the barbarians had stormed many towns and were besieging others, when there was every where direful devastation, and when the Roman empire was tottering in evident distress. But by Julian, with but a moderate force, vast numbers of the Alemanni were cut off at Strasburg, a city of Gaul; their distinguished king was taken prisoner, and Gaul recovered. Many other honourable achievements, too, were afterwards performed by Julian against the barbarians, the Germans being driven beyond the Rhine, and the Roman empire extended to its former limits.

XV. Not long after, when the German armies were withdrawing from the defence of Gaul, JULIAN was made emperor by the unanimous consent of the army, and, after the lapse of a year, went to take the government of Illyricum, while Constantius was engaged in the war with Parthia. Constantius, hearing what had occurred, and returning to the civil strife, died on his march between Cilicia and Cappadocia, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, and the forty-fifth of his age, and was deservedly enrolled among the gods. He was a man of a remarkably tranquil disposition, good-natured, trusting too much to his friends and courtiers, and at last too much in the power of his wives. He conducted himself with great moderation in the commencement of his reign; he enriched his friends, and suffered none, whose active services he had experienced, to go unrewarded. He was however somewhat inclined to severity, whenever any suspicion of an attempt on the government was excited in him; otherwise he was gentle. His fortune is more to be praised in civil than in foreign wars.

XVI. Julian then became sole emperor, and made war, with a vast force, upon the Parthians; in which expedition I was also present. Several towns and fortresses of the Persians he induced to surrender, or took them by storm; and, having laid waste Assyria, fixed his camp for some time at Ctesiphon. As he was returning victorious, and mingling rashly in the thick of a battle, he was killed by the hand of an enemy, on

the 26th of June, in the seventh year of his reign, and the thirty-second of his age, and was enrolled among the gods. He was a remarkable man, and one that would have governed the empire with honour, if he had but been permitted by the fates. He was eminently accomplished in liberal branches of knowledge, but better read in the literature of the Greeks, so much so indeed that his Latin was by no means comparable to his Greek learning. He was possessed of great and ready eloquence, and of a most tenacious memory. In some respects he was more like a philosopher than a prince. Towards his friends he was liberal, yet less discriminating as to the objects of his generosity than became so great an emperor; for there were some of them that cast a stain on his glory. To the people of the provinces he was most just, and remitted the taxes on them as far as was possible. He was indulgent towards all men; he felt no great anxiety about the public treasury; but of glory he was a great lover, and manifested even an intemperate desire for the attainment of it. He was a persecutor of the Christian religion, yet so that he abstained from shedding blood. He was not unlike Marcus Antoninus, whom he even studied to rival.

XVII. After him JOVIAN, who attended him in the expedition as one of his body-guard, was chosen by the suffrages of the soldiers to fill the throne; a man better known to the army by the fame of his father than by his own. As affairs were now in confusion, and the army distressed for want of provisions, Jovian, after being defeated in one or two battles by the Persians, made peace with Sapor, a peace which was necessary indeed, but ignominious, for he was obliged to contract his boundaries, a portion of the Roman dominions being ceded to the enemy; a disgrace which had never occurred, before his time, since the Roman empire had been founded, during a space of one thousand one hundred and eighteen years. And though our legions were made to pass under the yoke, both at Caudium by Pontus Telesinus,* at Numantia in Spain, and in Numidia, yet no part of the Roman territory was given up on any of those occasions. Such terms would not have been altogether reprehensible, if he had been

* This Pontius is not generally called Telesinus; the other Pontius, who was distinguished as leader of the Samnites in the Social war, had that name. See Florus, iii. 18.

resolved, when it should be in his power, to throw off the obligation of the treaty, as was done by the Romans in all the wars that I have mentioned; for war was immediately after made upon the Samnites, Numantines, and Numidians, and the peace was never ratified. But being in dread, as long as he remained in the east, of a rival for the imperial dignity, he thought too little of his glory. After marching from thence, accordingly, and directing his course towards Illyricum, he died suddenly on the borders of Galatia. He was a man, in other parts of his conduct, deficient neither in energy nor understanding,

XVIII. Many think that he was carried off by a violent fit of indigestion, for he had indulged in delicacies at supper; others suppose that he died of the odour of his chamber, which, from a recent plastering of lime, was dangerous to such as slept in it; others imagine that he fell a victim to the overpowering effects of charcoal, which he had ordered to be burnt in great abundance on account of the extreme cold. He died in the seventh month of his reign, on the 18th of April, in the thirty-third year of his age,* and, by the kindness of the emperors that succeeded him, was enrolled among the gods; for he was inclined to equity, and liberal by nature.

Such was the state of the Roman empire in the consulship of the Emperor Jovian and Varronianus, in the year one thousand one hundred and nineteen from the foundation of the city. But as we have now come to illustrious and venerable princes, we shall here fix a limit to the present part of our work; for the things that remain must be told in a more elevated style; and we do not, for the present, so much omit them, as reserve them for higher efforts in writing.

* The words *ut qui plurimum minimumque tradunt*, which occur here, are not translated. See note on i. 1.

INDEX

TO

JUSTIN, CORNELIUS NEPOS, AND EUTROPIUS.

Where no letter is prefixed to the number of the book, the reference is to Justin; where the letter E is prefixed, to Eutropius. The other references are to Cornelius Nepos, K. denoting the treatise "Of Kings."

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