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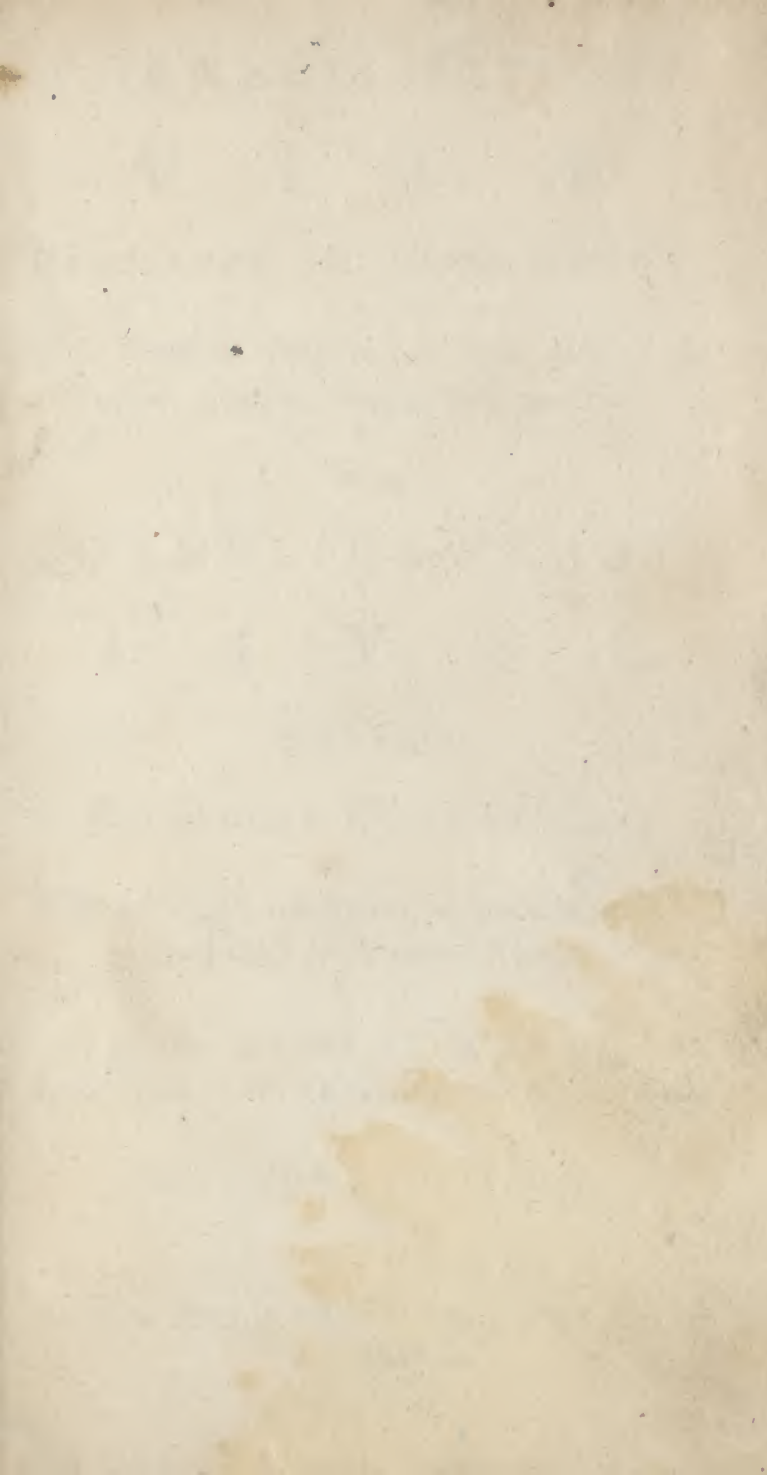
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*W. J. P.*









CORNELII NEPOTIS

V I T Æ

EXCELLENTIUM IMPERATORUM:

Cum Versione Anglica, in qua verbum de  
verbo, quantum fieri potuit, redditur.

O R,

CORNELIUS NEPOS's

L I V E S

O F T H E

EXCELLENT COMMANDERS:

With an English translation, as literal as possible;  
and large explanatory Notes.

By Mr ROBERT ARROL,  
Late Master of the Grammar-school of GREENOCK.

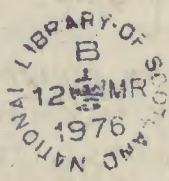
The THIRD EDITION.

EDINBURGH:

Printed for BELL & BRADFUTE, J. DICKSON, and  
W. CREECH.

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M.DCC.XCIV.



# P R E F A C E.

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THE reasons for attempting this edition of *Cornelius Nepos* with a literal translation, after the worthy Mr *John Clarke*, are such as follow. As several gentlemen of polite education have been complaining much of Mr *Clarke's Latin* text; so, when compared with *Augustinus Van Staveren's* edition of the author, justly reckoned the best extant, it would appear, that Mr *Clarke* has copied too close after *Dionysius Lambinus*, who stands much condemned in *Staveren's* notes. A few instances of many will tend to make this clear. In the life of *Timotheus*, near the beginning of chap. 2. Mr *Clarke* has *Acharnanas* instead of *Athamanas*; upon which we have the following remark in *Staveren's* notes, p. 320. *Longolius, ejusque sublector Lambinus Acharnanas contra MSS. Gebhard, &c.* In *Chabrias*, chap. 2. Mr *Clarke* reads, *multa in Ægypto sua sponte gessit.* In *Staveren's* notes, p. 308. *Ediderat Longolius sua sp.*  
A 2 quædam.

quædam geſſ. inde conſeſtim Lambinus, homo ad mutandum ἐπιφορώτατος, (maximè pro-  
nus), multa intruſit. Neutrum verò, neque  
multa, neque quædam agnoſcunt libri ca-  
lamo picti: illud multa ex præcedenti intel-  
ligitur, Gebh. At the end of the 2d chap.  
of *Pelopidas*, on theſe words, à quo et tem-  
pus et dies erat datus, Mr Clarke obſerves  
thus, "The text ſeems to be faulty here;  
"there can, I think, be no occaſion for  
"tempus and dies both." This he ſeems  
to have taken from Lambin; as would ap-  
pear from *Staveren's* notes, p. 410. Quid  
ſibi vult et tempus et dies? nonne idem  
ſunt tempus et dies? utrum tempus diei  
ſignificat, an anni? Ita Lambinus: planè  
ridiculè; tempus enim diei intelligi, poterat  
ex antecedd. diſcere: cum tempore ipſo,  
quo ſtuderant, perveniſſent. Senſus igitur  
eſt, et diem, et tempus diei Chæronem ſi-  
gnificàſſe, Boſius. In *Hamilcar's* life, to-  
wards the end of the firſt chap. Mr Clarke  
reads *tenuerant*; upon which we have this  
remark in *Staveren's* notes, p. 550. Pro  
tenuerunt, Lambinus et alii tenuerant:  
non ita congruè: nam adhuc tenebant, cum  
iſta agerentur, Boſius. In *Epaminondas*,  
at the end of the 3d chap. Mr Clarke has  
ſciret quibus et quantum cuique deberet; in  
*Staveren's* notes, p. 376. Scribendum vet.  
libb.



*libb. auctoritate, sciret quantum cuique deberet. Lectio vulgata est tradux Lambiniana, Gebh. In Datames, about the middle of the 9th chap. Mr Clarke reads, atque eo loci ire; Staveren, eo loco, which is thus explained in his notes, p. 357. Eâ parte agminis, quâ ipse ut dux solebat conspici: ut patet ex eo quod mox sequitur, decepti ordine. Quare male Lambinus eo loci legit, atque exponit in eum locum, Bosius. Moreover, the word plebiscitum occurs in four places of the text used by Mr Clarke, viz. Life iii. chap. i. vii. 5. xv. 7. xix. 2. in all which it is altered here to populi-scitum, and that for the following reasons in Staveren's notes, p. 114. Vulgati omnes, plebiscito; sed neutiquam spernendum judico et populi scito, quod et heic in MSS. Dan. ac Leidensi: et in iisdem aut aliis codd. infra legitur. Id, sive quod abbreviatè scriptum esset ppliscito vel pliscito, seu quod ignotum illis esset, imperiti librarii in notius mutârunt. Dicebatur autem apud Romanos populi scitum lex sive jussum à populo factum.*

More of this kind might have been added from the same *Staveren*; but one would readily think, that the above instances, which are fairly quoted, do sufficiently shew, that Mr *Clarke* has kept but too

close to *Lambin's*, or some other faulty edition of our author.

In this edition the publisher endeavours to copy after the laborious, learned *Staveren*, except in a few things; amongst which he presumes to differ from that gentleman in spelling some words, and chooses rather to follow *Ainsworth's* dictionary in that point. He likewise humbly takes the chronological account of the battle of *Leuctra*, as laid down in the notes, *p.* 415. to be a considerable mistake. The words are, *In Leuctr. pugna] quæ commissa est anno ante Christum natum MCXXC.* that is, 1180, Now, if this be admitted, it makes the battle of *Leuctra* to have been fought, and *Epaminondas* to have lived, about 300 years before the institution of the Olympiads; whereas it cannot be well refused, that *Epaminondas* flourished about the 102d Olympiad, &c. However, we can scarce well take this to be an error of the judgment, but should rather impute it to the press, hurry, oversight, or some such thing.

The *Ordo*, or putting the author's words in the grammatical order, was prepared for the press; but some gentlemen of superior skill dissuaded the publisher from printing.



printing it, alleging it was altogether needless, since the translation was put on the same page with the *Latin*.

As for the translation, in regard it is well known that Mr *John Clarke* was a gentleman very sufficient for translating either in a literal or free way, (but if he had published less, perhaps his works would have been better done), and because his translation of *Nepos* is reckoned one of his best pieces, it is therefore mostly retained in this edition, but altered in many places, especially where the two texts differ. His notes are likewise retained, yet helped and enlarged in several places; and the additional notes made by the publisher are distinguished from Mr *Clarke's* by a crotchet before or after them.

After all, the publisher is very sensible of his own small abilities for this work, and to how many worthy gentlemen he has been obliged in carrying it on; as also, that many of his brethren were by far more sufficient for the undertaking: but if it shall be found in some shape better than it was formerly, he hopes the competent, candid judge will pardon his escapes and defects, and accept of his honest designs and desires to serve the public.



GER. JOANNES VOSSIUS,

GERARD VOSSIUS'S LIFE

D E

O F

CORNELIO NEPOTE.

CORNELIUS NEPOS.

**C**ornelius Nepos et ante Cæsaris dictaturam, et co-dictatore, et postea vixit. Hieronymus in Chronico Eusebiano refert illum ad annum Augusti quartum. Nec cuiquam repugnem, colligenti inde, tum demum divulgare ea cœpisse opera, quibus maxime inclaruit. Padi erat accola, teste Plinio, lib. iii. cap. xviii. unde Catullo epigrammate primo, Italus; Ausonio autem, epist. xxiv. Gallus vocatur; nempe quia Italia Transpadana diceretur Gallia Togata. De urbe patria quicquam se habere comfert, negat Elias Venetus, in Auson. Idyll. vii. At Veronensem fuisse, in Leandri Alberti Italia lego: uti et in Cosmographia optimi atque amicissimi quondam viri, Pauli Merula. Imo, ex Veronesium historicorum syllabo (quem de-fissimus amplissimusque Alexander Beccelus, Veronensis urbis Cancellarius, fecit, ac illustrissimus Comes, Ferdinandus Nogarola, vir ut

**C**ornelius Nepos lived before and under the dictatorship of Cæsar, and after it too. Jerom in Eusebius's Chronicle places him under the fourth year of Augustus's reign. Nor shall I much dispute with any one, that may from thence pretend to infer, that he begun at that time to publish the works he was afterwards so very famous for. He lived nigh the Po, as appears from Pliny, book iii. c. 18. For which reason he is called by Catullus, in his first epigram, an Italian; and by Ausonius, in his 24th epistle, a Gaul, because that part of Italy beyond the Po was called Gallia Togata. Elias Venetus, upon the 7th Idyllium of Ausonius, tells us, he was never able to make any discovery as to the place of his nativity. But I find in Leander Albertus's account of Italy, that he was a native of Verona, as likewise in the cosmography of that very worthy gentleman, and formerly my very good friend, Paul Merula. Nay, further I perceive, from a collection of the historians of Verona, (which that very learned and honourable person Alexander Beccelus, Chancellor of Verona, genre,

genere, ita, *literarum studio nobilissimus, cum v. el. Laurentio Pignotio, atque is mecum, communicavit*), intelligo, natum fuisse Nepotem in Hostilia; qui Veronensium vicus est, Tacito, Plinio, Cassiodoro, et Antonino in Itinerario memoratus, hodieque ecclesiasticæ Veronensium jurisdictioni subditus. Historicus hic Ciceronis amicus familiaris à Gellio vocatur, lib. xv. cap. xxviii. Chronica scripsisse, testis est idem Gellius, lib. xxvi. cap. xxi. In his pro triplici tempore, ἀρχαῖον, μεσσηνικόν, καὶ ἱστορικόν, (de quibus ex Varrone, et aliis, libro de arte historica diximus), tres videtur scripsisse libros; ac singulis unius temporis narrationem esse complexus. Sanè tres libros fecisse Nepotem, quibus omne ævum comprehenderit, liquidò testatur Catullus initio Hendecasyllaborum. Nec historicum tempus ab eo solum esse tractatum, indicio est illud Ausonii: Apologos Titiani, et Nepotis Chronica, quasi alios apologos (nam et ipsa instar fabularum sunt) ad nobilitatem tuam misi. Item ex eo, quod Tertullianus in Apologetico adversus gentes (ubi eum inter antiquitatum commentatores disertim reposuit) dicit, hanc aliud Sæternum,

made, and the most illustrious Count Fernand Nogarola, a gentleman as considerable for his learning as quality, communicated to the famous Laurentius Pignotius, from whom I had the favour of a sight of it; I perceive, I say), that Nepos was born in Hostilia, which is a village in the territory of Verona, mentioned by Tacitus, Pliny, Cassiodorus, and Antoninus in his Itinerary, and is at this day subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Verona. Our historian is called by Gellius, book 15. ch. 28. an intimate friend of Cicero; and that he writ a chronicle, we have the testimony of the same Gellius, book 26. ch. 21. And agreeably to that triple division of time into uncertain, fabulous, and historical, (of which I have given an account out of Varro and others, in my treatise of the art of writing history), he seems to have divided it into three books, and in each of these to have comprised a narrative of each respective time. For that Nepos writ three books, in which he comprehended the whole series of time, Catullus, in the beginning of his Hendecasyllaba, declares in express terms; and that the historical time was not the sole subject of his chronicle, appears pretty plain from this passage in Ausonius: *I have sent to your Highness the apologues of Titian, and Nepos's chronicle, as containing another set of apologues (for they are indeed no better than fables); as*  
quàm



quàm hominem, promulgasse. Quod etiam Lactantius tradit, lib. i. cap. xiii. Reliquit præterea libros illustrium virorum, quorum Gellius meminit, lib. xi. cap. viii. et Servius in I. Æn. Eorum librum i. xv. et xvi. citat Charisius. Ex his habemus viginti duos exterarum gentium imperatores. Ceteris libris egisse de Romanis hæc ejus verba ostendunt in extrema Hannibalis vita: Sed nos tempus est hujus libri facere finem, et Romanorum explicare imperatores; quo facilius, collatis utrorumque factis, qui viri præferendi sint, possit judicari. Operis ejus genuina inscriptio patet ex ultimis hisce præfationis verbis: Quare ad propositum veniamus, et in hoc exponeamus libro vitas excellentium imperatorum. Præter imperatores seorsim exarasse librum de regibus, argumento hæc erunt, quæ Timoleontis vitæ subdit: Hi ferè fuere Græciæ gentis duces, qui memoriâ digni videantur, præter reges; namque eos attingere nolimus, quod omnium res gestæ separatim sunt relatæ: neque tamen hi admodum sunt multi. Exterui imperatores, quos habemus, Æmilii esse Probi, à multis creduntur. Qui error inde provenit, quod

likewise from what Tertullian in his apology against the Gentiles (when he expressly reckons him amongst the writers of antiquities) says, that he made Saturn to be no more than a man. Which account Lactantius likewise gives of him, book i. ch. 13. He left besides the lives of several illustrious men, which Gellius makes mention of, book xi. ch. 8. and Servius on the first Æneid. Charisius quotes the 1st, 15th, and 16th book; of these we have 22 commanders of foreign nations. And that in his other books he treated of the Romans, these words of his in the latter end of Hannibal's life sufficiently show: *But it is now time for us to put an end to this book, and give you the lives of the Roman commanders, that, by comparing the actions of both, the readers may judge which ought to have the preference.* The proper title of this work appears plainly from these concluding words of his preface: *Wherefore we shall now proceed to the execution of our design, and in this book give an account of the lives of the excellent commanders.* That he writ the lives of several kings, besides these commanders, is plain from the words following the life of Timoleon: *These were in a manner all the Greek commanders worth our notice, besides kings; for we had no design of meddling with them, having already writ their lives by themselves: and they are not indeed many in number.* The foreign  
 librario

*librario id fuerit nomen, qui vitas eas partim suâ, partim patris et matris manu scriptas, Theodosio obtulit. Hoc ita esse, ostendunt versiculi, qui vitis istis præmitti in MSS. solent. Ac nec Æmilium, nec Theodosiani avi quenquam, eorum esse librorum auctorem, abunde arguit pura et Romana dictio. Opinetur aliquis, ut Trogus ab Justino, ita ab Æmilio, qui sub Theodosio vixit, in compendium esse redactum Nepotem: sed aliud suadet operis concinnitas, et illa præfandi ratio, quæ est in Epaminondæ vita, ac in Pelopida imprimis, ubi brevitatem justam pollicetur. Attamen sententia hæc, licet erronea, minus periculi habeat, dummodo extrâ controversiam maneat Æmilium omnia de purissimis Nepotis fontibus hausisse. Sanè Tulliani esse avi scriptorem, neque alium quàm Nepotem; tum veterum aliquot librorum indicio cognoscitur; tum etiam, quòd ad Pomponium Atticum (cujus idem rogatu de vita Catonis librum fecit) vitæ istæ scribantur: utcumque id in quarto miscellaneorum suorum neget Hieronymus Magius; qui ipsâ Nepotis præfatione satis refellitur. Accedit et altera ratio. Nam his in libris ea legere est, quæ opus hoc scri-*

*commanders we have, are thought by many to be the work of Æmilius Probus. The occasion of which mistake was, that the librarian was so called, who presented the Emperor Theodosius with these lives, writ in part by himself, and part by his father and mother: that this is so, is evident from the verses, which in the manuscript copies are usually prefixed before these lives. But the purity of the diction, which is truly Roman, sufficiently proves that neither Æmilius nor any one else, in the days of Theodosius, was the author of these books. Some perhaps may think, that as Trogus was abridged by Justin, so was Nepos too by this Æmilius, who lived in the times of Theodosius: but the neatness of the work, and what he says in entering upon the life of Epaminondas, and that of Pelopidas especially, where he promises to be concise, will not allow us to think so. But however, this opinion, though erroneous, is of no dangerous consequence, so long as it is beyond all dispute, that Æmilius took every thing from Nepos. And indeed, that the writer was contemporary with Tully, and no other than Nepos, appears sufficiently, as well from the testimony of some old authors, as the dedication of the work to Pomponius Atticus (at whose request the same person too writ the life of Cato), notwithstanding Hieronymus Magius denies it in the 4th book of his miscell-*  
*ptum*

plum esse clamant, quo tempore Pompeius, et Cæsar, plus poterant, quàm libera in rep. expediret. Eà Lambinus loca congeffit, ut nihil attineat illa hîc repone-  
 nere. Nec libris istis de viris illustribus solum persecutus est excellentes imperatores: sed etiam commentationibus claros, quod argumentum signat B. Hieronymus, præfatione de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis, ubi Nepotem inter eos refert, quorum exemplo ætulus sit de iis, qui scribendo claruerunt. Egit autem Nepos, tum de Græcis auctoribus, tum de Latinis. De Græcis, colligo inde, quòd in Dionis vita dicat, librum se fecisse de illustribus historicis: in quo inter alia tractavit de Philisto historico. De Latinis, argumenta sunt plurima. Nam de Terentio egisse, ex Suetonio scimus in Terentii vita, Donato perperam tributa. Adhæc primum de vita Ciceronis librum Gellius citat, lib. xv. cap. xxviii. Eoque ex opere fragmentum Hieronymus adfert epist. ad Pammachium. Imò verisimile est, inde esse, tum vitam T. Pomponii Attici, quæ extat, tum vitam Catonij, quam istis claudit verbis: Hujus de vita, et moribus, plura in eo libro persecuti sumus, quem separatim de eo fe-

nies, who is sufficiently confuted by the very preface of Nepos. We have likewise another proof of it: for several passages in the book most plainly evince, that it was writ at the time when the power of Pompey and Cæsar was grown to a height dangerous to the public liberty. Lambinus has collected the passages to that purpose, and therefore I need not produce them here. Nor in his lives of illustrious men did he confine himself to such alone as excelled in the military way, but likewise took in those that had rendered themselves famous by their writings, as appears from Jerom's preface to his account of the ecclesiastical writers, where he reckons Nepos among the precedents he should follow in his account of such as had been famous for writing. Nepos treated as well of the Greek as the Latin authors. As to the Greek, I go upon what he says in the life of Dion, where he tells us, he had writ a book of the most considerable historians, in which, amongst others, he had given an account of Philistus the historian. As to the Latin authors, it is many ways evident: for we learn from Suetonius's life of Terence, falsely ascribed to Donatus, that he had given an account of that author. Gellius too quotes the first book of the life of Cicero, in the 28th ch. of his 15th book. And Jerom, in his epistle to Pammachius, produces a quotation from that work. Nay it is likely that the



cimus, rogatu Titi Pomponii Attici. Quare studioſos Catonis ad illud volumen relegamus. *Apertè indicat, eò nunc de Catone brevius ſe agere, quia ſeparatim de eodem ſcripſerit. Ergo vita illa Catonis, quam paucis perſcriptam habemus, majoris pars eſt voluminis, in quo Romanorum complurium vitæ continerentur. Et ſanè in antiquiſſimo codice Oberti Giſſanii ante vitam Attici legebantur hæc verba: Ex libro Cornelii Nepotis de Latinis hiftoricis. Reliquit etiam exemplorum libros, quos citant Gellius, lib. vii. cap. xviii. et Charifius, lib. i. Alia quoque ejusdem laudant veteres, ſed non item quæ ad hiftoriam pertinent. Nam ex epiftola ejus ad Ciceronem quedam Laſtantius adfert, lib. iii. inſtit. divin. cap. xv. Quemadmodum et Ciceronis ad Nepotem epiftolæ meruimut Tranquillus in Julio, cap. lv. Ammianus Marcellinus initio libri xxv. ac Prifcianus lib. viii. Imò et ſecundum Ciceronis epiftolarum librum ad Nepotem Macrobius citat, lib. ii. Saturn. cap. i. Quòd ſi quis fragmenta omnia Nepotis deſideret, longè iis colligendis priorum vicit induſtriam Andreas Schottus. Hermolaus Barbarus, caſtigatibus in Plinii lib. xv.*

life we have of T. Pomponius Atticus was taken from thence, as well as that of Cato, which he cloſes with theſe words: *We have given a larger account of his life and behaviour in that book we publiſhed of him alone; which thoſe that are deſirous to be more fully acquainted with Cato, may conſult if they pleaſe.* He plainly declares the reaſon why the account he there gives of Cato is ſo brief, to be his having publiſhed his life by itſelf before. *Wherefore the ſhort life of Cato we have, is the part of a bigger volume, wherein were contained the lives of ſeveral other Romans.* And indeed the following words were read in a moſt ancient book of Obertus Giſſanius, before the life of Atticus: *From Cornelius Nepos's book of the Latin hiftorians.* He left behind him likewise books of examples, which Gellius quotes, book 7. ch. 18. and Charifius, book 1. The ancients commend other works of his too, that were not hiftorical. For Laſtantius produces ſomething out of an epiftle of his to Cicero, in the 15th chap. of the 3d book of his divine inſtitutions, as Tranquillus, in the 55th chapter of Julius Cæſar's life, makes mention of an epiftle of Cicero's to Nepos; as do likewise Ammianus Marcellinus, in the beginning of the 25th book, and Prifcian, book 8. Macrobius too, book 2. ch. 1. of his Saturnalia, quotes the 2d book of Cicero's epiftles to Nepos. But if any has a fancy to ſee all the fragments of Ne-

cap.



cap. xxix. censet libellum de viris illustribus, qui Plinio tribui solet, Cornelii Nepotis esse, hanc Plinii, atque id veteribus codd. adstrui posse, asseverat. Etiam Jam hac Parrhasii sententia fuit. Utrius sit, dubitari ait Venetus, nec ea de re statuere quicquam ausus est. Inò aliqui, aut Suctonium, aut Tacitum, esse auctorem putarunt: ut indicat Gyraldus, dialogismo xxvi. Sed omnino sunt Sexti Aurelii Victoris; ut satis nunc constat ex editione Andreae Schotti. Non dubito interim, quin pleraque ex Nepote Victor desumerit. Nam quòd Ludovicus Vives, lib. v. De tradendis disciplinis, Nepotem ait de Græcis solum ducibus scripsisse: id satis refellitur verbis Nepotis antea adductis. Vir doctissimus, Jo. Maria Catanaeus, commentario in Plinii librum iv. epist. xxviii. quæ ad Severum scripta est, etiam Daretem Phrygium à Nepote translatum arbitratur. Nampe decepit eum vulgaris ἐκγραφή. Altamen et hic aqua hæret Veneto, notis in Auson. Idyll. vii. Negat esse, qui certi aliquid de translatione hac, ausit affirmare. Atqui omnes, quibus ullum in hisce literis iudicium est, satis vident, nec Daretem illum esse genuinum: nec didis-

pos, Andreas Schottus has in his collection of them far exceeded the industry of all that went before him. Hermolaus Barbarus, in his emendations upon Pliny, book 15. cli. 29. thinks that the book of illustrious men, which is usually ascribed to Pliny, is Cornelius Nepos's, and not Pliny's, and pretends to say, that the thing may be proved from old manuscripts; which likewise was the opinion of Janus Parrhasius. Venetus says, it is doubted which of them was the author, and durst not take upon him to determine the point. Nay some have been of opinion, that Suctonius or Tacitus was the author, as Gyraldus informs us in his 26th dialogue: but it is certainly Sextus Aurelius Victor's, as is now sufficiently manifest from the edition of Andreas Schottus. I doubt not however, but he borrowed most of what he has from Nepos. For what Ludovicus Vives says in his 5th book, *De tradendis disciplinis*, that Nepos writ only of the Grecian generals, is sufficiently confuted by the words of Nepos quoted above. A very learned gentleman, John Maria of Catana, in his commentary upon the 28th of the 4th book of Pliny's epistles, which was writ to Severus, says, that Dares Phrygius was translated by Nepos. The vulgar title it seems deceived him. Yet here again Venetus is at a loss, and pretends to say, that whether that translation was Nepos's or no, cannot with any thing of certainty be deter-

*nem ejus Augustæam sapere atatem; sed recentiorem multò. Nepotem autem Cæs. Augusti obisse ævo, Plinius testatur, lib. ix. cap. xxxix. Atque hoc fortasse impulit Genebrardum, ut putaret, eum nato jam Christo superssitem fuisse: qui et Jacobum Gualterium, cum primum tabulas ederet Chronographicas, in eam sententiam pertraxit. Sed Nepotem eò usque atatem prorogasse, nemo temere discrit, qui tanti cum in literis nominis jam Tullii, Attici, Catulli temporibus, fuisse cogitavit.*

mined. But all that have any thing of taste in this kind of literature, see plainly, that Dares is a spurious piece, and that the style is nothing like that of the age of Augustus; but is much later. But Pliny informs us, book 9. ch. 39. that Nepos died in Augustus's reign. And it was this perhaps made Genebrard think that Nepos was living at the birth of Christ, who likewise drew over James Gualterius, when he first published his Chronological Tables, to his opinion. But scarce any one sure will pretend to say, that Nepos lived till that time, who considers, that he was a person who made a considerable figure for learning in the days of Tully, Atticus, and Catullus.

CORNELII NEPOTIS  
EXCELLENTIUM IMPERATORUM

VITÆ,

AD

T. POMPONIUM ATTICUM.

OR,

CORNELIUS NEPOS'S

LIVES

OF THE

EXCELLENT COMMANDERS,

T.O

T. POMPONIUS ATTICUS.

*Auctoris Prefatio.*

*The Author's Preface.*

**N**ON dubito fore plerosque, Attice, qui hoc genus scripturæ, leve, et non satis dignum summorum virorum personis judicent; cum relatum legent, quis musicam docuerit Epaminondam; aut in ejus virtutibus commemorari, saltasse eum commodè, scienterque tibiis cantasse. Sed hi erunt ferè, qui expertes literarum Græcarum, nihil rectum, nisi quod ipsorum moribus conveniat, putabunt. Hi, si didicerint, non<sup>a</sup> eadem omnibus esse ho-

**I** Doubt not there will be a great many, Atticus, who will judge this way of writing trifling, and not sufficiently adapted to the characters of these great persons, when they find it related, who taught Epaminondas music; or reckoned among his fine qualities, that he danced handsomely, and played well upon the flute. But these will be generally such, as being unacquainted with the Greek Language, will think nothing right, but what is agreeable to their own fashions. If these people understood once, that the same things are not honourable and

<sup>a</sup> [The substantive noun *negotia* (affairs or things) may be supplied to these and some other adjectives, such as *multa*, *pleraque*, &c. frequently occurring through the book.]

nesta atque turpia, sed omnia majorum institutis judicari; non admirabuntur, nos, in Graiorum virtutibus exponendis, mores eorum secutos. Neque enim Cimoni fuit turpe, Atheniensem summo viro, sororem germanam habere in matrimonio; quippe cum cives ejus eodem uterentur instituto: at id quidem nostris moribus nefas habetur. Laudi in Græcia ducitur adolescentulis, quam plurimos habere amatores. Nulla Lacedæmoni tam est nobilis vidua, quæ non ad scenam eat mercede conducta. Magnis in laudibus totâ ferè fuit Græciâ, victorem Olympiæ citari; in scenam verò prodire, et populo esse spectaculo, nemini in eisdem gentibus

*scandalous with all people; but that all things are judged of by the usages of our forefathers; they will not wonder that we, in relating the noble qualifications of the Greeks, have followed their fashions. For it was not scandalous in Cimon, a very great man amongst the Athenians, to, have his <sup>b</sup> sister of the same father in marriage, because his countrymen use the same custom: but that indeed is accounted unlawful according to our usage. It is reckoned a mighty commendation in <sup>c</sup> Greece for young men to have a great many lovers. There is no widow so noble at Lacedæmon <sup>d</sup>, that will not go upon the stage, if hired with a valuable consideration. It was reckoned amongst the greatest glories almost through all Greece, to be proclaimed conqueror at Olympia <sup>e</sup>; but to ap-  
fuit*

<sup>b</sup> That is, by the same father, but not the same mother, as appears from our author himself in the life of Cimon, which see in chap. i.

<sup>c</sup> [Greece was a large country of Europe, and famous of old for arms and arts, but now groaning under Turkish slavery: it is the south part of European Turkey, and called by the Turks *Rumelia*.]

<sup>d</sup> [Lacedæmon, some time called *Sparta*, and now *Misthra*, is the metropolis of Peloponnesus or the Morea, and stands about 120 miles from Athens or Setines; it is now much decayed.]

<sup>e</sup> Olympia (formerly Pifa, and now Langanito) is a town of the country Elis, in the west parts of Peloponnesus, famous for the games celebrated there every four years, by a great concourse of people from all the parts of Greece and other places; [and the persons victorious therein were called *Olympionaces*, and crowned with a garland of olive-branches, and, upon their return into their own country, were received with the greatest honours; for they were attended home in coaches, and the wall of the city broke down, and they drove in through the breach. Besides this, they had extravagant presents made them; and those who had gained three crowns at these games,



fuit turpitudini: quæ omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia, atque ab honestate remota, ponuntur. Contra ea, pleraque nostris moribus sunt decorata, quæ apud illos turpia putantur. Quem enim Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium? aut cujus materfamilias non primum locum tenet ædium, atque in celebritate versatur? Quod multo fit aliter in Græcia: nam neque in convivium adhibetur, nisi propinquorum; neque sedet, nisi in interiore parte ædium, quæ γυναικωνίτις (*gynaiconitis*) appellatur; quod nemo accedit, nisi propinquâ cognitione conjunctus. Sed plura persequi tum magnitudo voluminis prohibet, tum festinatio, ut ea explicem, quæ exorsus sum. Quare ad propositum veniemus, et in hoc exponemus libro

*pear upon the stage, and to be a spectacle to the people, was a scandal to no body in the same nations. All which things are reckoned with us partly infamous, partly mean, and far from being honourable. On the other hand, a great many things in our customs are decent, which are thought scandalous amongst them. For which of the Romans is ashamed to bring his wife to a feast? or what mistress of a family has not the first room in the house, and converses with company? Which is quite otherwise in Greece: for she is neither admitted into a feast, unless of relations; nor sits, but in the inner part of the house, which is called the womens apartment, whither no body comes, unless allied to her by near relation. But both the size of the intended volume, and also the haste I am in to relate those things which I have undertaken, permit me not to say more to this point. Wherefore we shall*

games, were excused from paying any kind of taxes, or serving any troublesome office, &c. These games were instituted (according to several good authors) by Hercules in honour of Jupiter about 284 years before the birth of Christ, and afterwards revived by Iphitus about 776 before Christ. They consisted of five exercises, viz. leaping, running, quoiting, darting, and wrestling, lasted five days, and were celebrated about the time of the summer solstice every fourth year; whence the space of four years was after this institution called by the Greeks an *Olympiad*, which was the common method of computing time among them. But, according to Mr Potter, in his antiquities of Greece, this solemnity was held every fifth year, yet not after the term of five years was quite past, but every fiftieth month, which is the second month, after the completion of four years.]

¶ *vitas excellentium imperatorum.*

come to our purpose, and relate in this book the lives of the excellent commanders.

¶ [In the Latin text some copies have here *de vita*. If this be really better than *vitas*, it is thought they should have *vitam* in Epaminondas's life, chap. iv. toward the end: however, several editors of good note prefer *vitas* in both places.]

## I.

MILTIADES, Cimonis filius, Atheniensis.

## CAP. I.

**M**iltiades Cimonis filius, Atheniensis, cum et antiquitate generis, et gloriâ majorum, et suâ modestiâ, unus omnium maximè floreret; eâque esset ætate, ut non jam solum de eo benè sperare, sed etiam confidere cives possent sui, talem futurum, qualem cognitum judicarent: accidit, ut Athenienses Chersonesum colonos vellent mittere. Cujus generis cum magnus numerus esset, et multi ejus demigrationis peterent societatem: ex his delecti Delphos<sup>b</sup> deliberatum mis-

## I.

MILTIADES, the son of Cimon, the Athenian.

## CHAP. I.

**W**hen Miltiades, the son of Cimon the Athenian, made of all others the greatest figure, both for the antiquity of his family, and the glory of his ancestors, and his own modesty; and was of that age, that his countrymen might now not only hope well of him, but even assure themselves that he would be such an one as they judged him, upon trial; it happened, that the Athenians had a mind to send a colony to the Chersonese<sup>a</sup>. Of which kind of people, as there was a great number, and many desired a share in this expedition; some chosen from amongst them, were sent to Delphi

<sup>a</sup> Chersonese is a word originally Greek, signifying the same with *peninsula* in Latin; that is, a place almost surrounded with water. The Chersonese here meant was a part of Thrace, lying along the Hellespont.

<sup>b</sup> The word *deliberatum* being taken here in an uncommon sense, those that follow, viz. *qui consulerent Apollinem*, seem to have been put in the margin by some body to explain the meaning of *deliberatum*.

fi sunt, (qui consulerent <sup>c</sup> Apollinem), quo potissimum duce uterentur. Nam tum Thracæ eas regiones tenebant, cum quibus armis erat dimicandum. His consulentibus nominatim Pythia præcepit, ut Miltiadem sibi imperatorem sumerent: id si fecissent, incepta prospera futura. Hoc oraculi responso, Miltiades, cum delecta manu, classe Chersonesum profectus, quum accessisset Lemnum, et incolas ejus insulæ sub potestatem redigere vellet Atheniensem, idque ut Lemnii suâ sponte facerent, postulâset; illi irri-

phi to consult the oracle, what leader they should above others make use of. For the <sup>c</sup> Thracians at that time had possession of those parts, with whom they were to fight for it with arms. The Pythiess <sup>e</sup> did expressly order those that consulted her, to take Miltiades to them as their commander: if they did that, their undertakings would be successful. Upon this answer of the oracle, Miltiades, with a choice body of men, going for the Chersonese with a fleet, after he was come up to Lemnus <sup>g</sup>, and was desirous to reduce the inhabitants of that island under the power of the Athenians, and had demanded

um, and thence, through the heedlessness of some copier of books, to have crept into the text; for, without this supposition, it will be hard, I doubt, to excuse our author from being guilty of an insipid tautology.

<sup>c</sup> [Apollo, the son of Jupiter and Latona, born in the island Delos at the same birth with Diana, was the god of music, physic, poetry, and prophecy: he had a famous temple and oracle at Delphi.]

<sup>d</sup> The oracles, of which such frequent mention is made in the writings of the ancients, were answers given in the temples of their gods to queries about future events, by the priests, or sometimes by a priestess, as here, and commonly in verse. Though these in the main were nothing but pure imposture, carried on by the roguery of the priests in the name of the gods; yet there are some answers upon record so very surprising, as give ground to suspect that evil spirits were suffered sometimes to interpose. The Greeks scarce ever undertook any business of importance without consulting this oracle at Delphi, which was famous even in foreign countries. Delphi was a town in Achaia not far from the Corinthian bay, of old great and famous, but now a poor small village, called *Delphi*.

<sup>e</sup> [The Thracians were the people of old Thrace, which is now called *Romania*, a large province in European Turkey.]

<sup>f</sup> [Pythia, so called from Pythius one of Apollo's names, as also Phœbas from another of his names, was the priestess of Apollo.]

<sup>g</sup> Lemnus is an island in the north parts of the Ægean sea, or Archipelago; it is now called *Stalimene*.

dentes

dentes responderunt; Tum id se facturos, cum ille domo navibus proficiscens, vento Aquilone venisset Lemnum: hic enim ventus à septentrionibus oriens, adversum tenet Athenis proficiscentibus. Miltiades morandi tempus non habens, cursum direxit quò tendebat, pervenitque Chersonesum.

CAP. II. Ibi brevi tempore barbarorum copiis disiectis, totâ regione, quam petierat, potitus, loca castellis idonea communivit: multitudinem, quam secum duxerat, in agris collocavit, crebrisque excursionibus locupletavit. Neque minùs in ea re, prudentiâ, quàm felicitate, adjutus est: nam cum virtute militum devicisset hostium exercitus, summâ æquitate res constituit; atque ipse ibidem manere decrevit: erat enim inter eos dignitate regiâ, quamvis carebat nomine: neque id magis

*that the Lemnians would do that of their own accord; they bantering him, replied, That they would then do it, when he coming by ship from home, should arrive at Lemnus with the wind called Aquilo: for this wind arising from the north, is full against those that come from Athens &c. Miltiades having no time to stay, steered on his course to the place he was bound for, and came to the Chersonese.*

CHAP. II. There, in a short time, the forces of the barbarians<sup>i</sup> being routed, having made himself master of all the country, which he went for, he fortified places proper for castles; settled the people, which he had carried along with him, in the lands, and enriched them by frequent excursions. Nor was he less assisted in that matter by good conduct, than good fortune: for after he had, by the bravery of his soldiers, routed the enemies armies, he settled affairs with the greatest equity, and resolved to continue in the same place himself: for he was amongst them invested with regal authority, though he

<sup>h</sup> [Athens, now Setines, was once the most famous city of all Greece for useful arts, philosophers, orators, and poets; it is still a considerable city and castle, being the metropolis of the principality of Livadia or Achaia in European Turkey; it stands nigh the sea, about 120 miles from Mithra or Lacedæmon.]

<sup>i</sup> [That is, the Tracians. The Greeks used to call all other nations Barbarians, as if all the rest of mankind had been living in some vast country, named *Barbary*. But see Mr Clarke's note upon chap. iii. of Conon's life.]

imperio,



imperio, quàm justitiâ, consequutus. Neque eo fecius Atheniensibus, à quibus erat profectus, officia præstabat. Quibus rebus fiebat, ut non minùs eorum voluntate perpetuò imperium obtineret, qui miserant; quàm illorum, cum quibuserat profectus. Chersoneso tali modo constitutâ, Lemnum revertitur, et, ex pacto, postulat, ut sibi urbem tradant: illi enim dixerant, cum vento Boreâ domo profectus, eò pervenisset, sese dedituros; se autem domum Chersonesi habere. Cares, qui tum Lemnum incolebant, etsi præter opinionem res ceciderat, tamen non dicto, sed secundâ fortunâ adversariorum capti, resistere ausi non sunt, atque ex insula demigrârunt. Pari felicitate cæteras insulas, quæ Cyclades nominantur, sub Atheniensium redegit potestatem.

*wanted the name. Nor did he compass that more by his command in this expedition, than his justice. Nor did he the less perform all offices of due subjection to the Athenians, from whom he had gone. By which means it came to pass, that he held the government without intermission, no less by the consent of those who had sent him, than of those with whom he had gone. Having thus settled the Chersonese, he returns to Lemnus; and demands, according to agreement, that they should surrender up the city to him: for they had said, that, when coming from home with a north wind, he arrived there, they would surrender; but that he now had his home at the Chersonese. The Carians, who at that time inhabited Lemnus, although the business had happened contrary to their expectation, yet being not moved by their promise, but the good fortune of their adversaries, durst not resist, and removed out of the island. With the like good fortune he reduced the other islands, which are called Cyclades<sup>1</sup>, under the power of the Athenians.*

<sup>k</sup> The Carians were a people in the south-west parts of Asia Minor; their country was called Caria, now Aidinelli.

<sup>1</sup> [A circle of little islands, in number 53, in the Ægean sea or Archipelago, between Europe and Asia; they are called Cyclades, because, as some say, they surround Delos the chief of them. They are now called *Isole del Archipelago*.]

CAP. III. Eisdem temporibus Persarum Rex Darius, ex Asia in Europam exercitu trajecto, Scythis bellum inferre decrevit. Pontem fecit in istro flumine, quâ copias traderet. Ejus pontis, dum ipse abesset, custodes reliquit principes, quos secum ex Ionia et Æolide duxerat: quibus singulis ipsarum urbium perpetuâ dederat imperia. Sic enim putavit facillimè se Græcâ linguâ loquentes, qui Asiam incoherent, sub sua retenturum potestate, si amicis suis oppida tuenda tradidisset: quibus, se oppresso, nulla spes salutis relinque-

CHAP. III. *About the same time Darius<sup>m</sup>, King of the Persians<sup>n</sup>, drawing an army over out of Asia<sup>o</sup>, into Europe<sup>p</sup>, resolved to make war upon the Scythians<sup>q</sup>. He made a bridge upon the river Ister<sup>r</sup>, by which way he might draw his troops over. He left the princes, whom he had brought along with him from Ionia<sup>s</sup> and Æolis, keepers of that bridge, whilst he was away; to each of whom he had given the perpetual sovereignty of their respective cities. For thus he thought he should most easily keep under his subjection such as spoke the Greek tongue, that inhabited Asia, if he delivered up those cities to be maintained by their friends, to whom no hope of security would be left, if*

<sup>m</sup> [This was Darius the First, who was the son of Hystaspes, (a noble Persian, of the royal family of Achæmenes, and who had followed Cyrus in all his wars). Darius was chosen King by the neighing of his horse.]

<sup>n</sup> [The people of Persia, one of the most considerable empires in Asia.]

<sup>o</sup> [Asia is the first of the four general parts of the world; the mother, and, for a long time, the nurse and mistress of mankind.]

<sup>p</sup> [Europe is the least, but most celebrated of the four general parts of the world as to arts, commerce, religion, government, and war.]

<sup>q</sup> The inhabitants of the north of Europe and Asia were formerly called *Scythians*, now *Tartars*.

<sup>r</sup> [This is reckoned the greatest river in Europe, and, as it passeth by Illyricum, is called by its ancient name *Ister*; but in Germany and other countries it is called the *Danube*. It runneth about 1500 miles in its course, and passing through Bavaria, Austria, Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria, Moldavia, Bessarabia, and part of Tartary, having received into it 60 more rivers, discharges itself into the Euxine or Black Sea. It rises out of Abnoba or Abenow, a mountain in Germany, according to the poet Dionysius:]

*Abnoba mons Istro pater est: cadit Abnobæ hiatu  
Flumen, in Eoos autem convertitur axes, &c.]*

<sup>s</sup> Ionia and Æolis were countries of Asia Minor, lying along the coasts of the Ægean sea.

retur. In hoc fuit tum numero Miltiades, cui illa custodiaceretur. Hic, cum crebri afferrent nuntii, male rem gerere Darium, premique ab Scythis, Miltiades hortatus est pontis custodes, ne à fortuna datam occasionem liberandæ Græciæ dimitterent: nam si cum his copiis, quas secum transportaverat, interfisset Darius, non solum Europam fore tutam, sed etiam eos, qui Asiam incolerent Græci genere, liberos à Persarum futuros dominatione et periculo. Id et facile effici posse: ponte enim rescisso, regem vel hostium ferro, vel inopiâ, paucis diebus interitum. Ad hoc consilium cum plerique accederent, Histiaeus Milesius, ne res conficeretur, obstitit, dicens: non idem ipsis, qui summas imperii tenebant, expedire, et multitudinî; quod Darii regno ipsorum niteretur dominatio: Quo extincto, ipsos potestate expulsos, civibus suis poenas daturus. Itaque adeò se abhorrere à cæterorum consilio, ut nihil putet ipsis utilius, quam confirmari regnum Persarum. Hujus quum sententiam plurimi essent sequuti,

*he was conquered. Miltiades was then in this number, to whom that guard of the bridge was intrusted. Here, when frequent messengers brought word, that Darius managed his business but badly, and was hard put to it by the Scythians, Miltiades advised the keepers of the bridge, that they would not let slip an opportunity of delivering Greece given them by fortune: for, if Darius should perish with the army, which he had carried over with him, not only Europe would be safe, but likewise those, who, being Greeks by original, inhabited Asia, would be free from the dominion of the Persians, and all danger. And that that might easily be effected; for the bridge being cut down, the king would in a few days perish, either by the enemy's sword, or want. When most of them came into this advice, Histiaus the Milesian<sup>a</sup> opposed the business, that the thing was not done, saying: that the same thing was not expedient for them, who had the sovereignty of their cities under Darius, and the people; that their authority depended upon the kingdom of Darius: which being destroyed, that they being deposed from their office, would be punished by their subjects. Wherefore he was so far from agreeing to the counsel of the rest, that he thought nothing was more advantageous to them, than that the kingdom*

<sup>a</sup> That is, a man of Miletus, now called Melaxo or Milazo, one of the most considerable ancient cities of Ionia in the Lesser Asia.]

Miltiades non dubitans, tam multis consiliis, ad regis aures consilia sua perventura, Chersonesum reliquit, ac rursus Athenas demigravit. Cujus ratio etsi non valuit, tamen magnopere est laudanda; quum amicio omnium libertati, quam suæ fuerit dominationi.

CAP. IV. Darius autem, quum ex Europa in Asiam redisset, hortantibus amicis, ut Græciam in suam redigeret potestatem, classem quingentarum navium comparavit, eique Datim præfecit, et Artaphernem; hisque ducenta peditum millia, et decem equitum dedit: causam interferens; se hostem esse Atheniensibus, quod eorum auxilio Iones Sardis expugnassent, suaque præsidia interfecissent. Illi præfecti regii, classe ad Eubœam appulsâ, celeriter Eretriam ceperunt, omnesque ejus gentis cives

of the Persians should be established. As most of them followed his advice, Miltiades not doubting, so many being privy to the matter, that his counsels would come to the king's ears, quitted the Chersonese, and again removed to Athens. Whose advice, though it did not prevail, yet is mightily to be commended; since he was more a friend to the liberty of all, than his own authority.

CHAP. IV. But Darius, after he had returned out of Europe into Asia, his friends advising him to it, that he might reduce Greece under his authority, fitted out a fleet of five hundred ships, and set Datis and Artaphernes over it, and gave them two hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse: alledging this reason; that he was an enemy to the Athenians, because, by their assistance, the Ionians<sup>a</sup> had taken Sardis<sup>b</sup>, and cut off his garrisons. These admirals of the king, having brought up their fleet to Eubœa<sup>c</sup>, quickly took Eretria<sup>d</sup>, and sent all the natives of that nation, being taken from thence, into Asia to the king. After that, they came to

<sup>a</sup> The Ionians were a people of Asia Minor, bordering upon the Ægean sea, being a colony of Greeks sent thither by the Athenians about 1044 years before Christ.

<sup>b</sup> Sardis was the metropolis of Lydia, a country bordering upon Ionia to the eastward; it was one of the seven churches of Asia, but it is now utterly ruined.

<sup>c</sup> Eubœa, now Negropont, is a large island of the Ægean sea, separated from Achaia by a narrow sea called the Euripus, now Negropont channel.

<sup>d</sup> [Eretria was a town of Eubœa.]



abreptos, in Asiam ad regem miserunt. Inde ad Atticam accesserunt, ac suas copias in Campum Marathona deduxerunt. Is abest ab oppido circiter milliapassumdecem. Hoc tumultu Athenienses tam propinquo, tamque magno permoti, auxilium nusquam, nisi à Lacedæmoniis, petiverunt; Philippidemque curforum ejus generis, qui hemerodromi vocantur, Lacedæmonem miserunt, ut nunciaret, quam celeri opus esset auxilio. Domi autem creati decem prætores, qui exercitui præessent: in eis Miltiades. Inter quos magna fuit contentio, utram moribus se defenderent, an obviam irent hostibus, acieque decernerent. Unus Miltiades maximè nitebatur, ut primo quoque tempore castra fierent: Id si factum esset, et civibus animum accessurum, cum viderent de eorum virtute non desperari; et hostes eadem re fore tardiores, si animadverterent, <sup>c</sup> auderi adversus se tam exiguis copiis dimicare.

*Attica* <sup>a</sup>, and drew out their troops into the plain of Marathon. That is distant about ten miles from the town of Athens. The Athenians being very much startled at this alarm, so near them, and so prodigious, sought for assistance no where, but from the Lacedæmonians; and dispatched away Philippides, a courier of that kind, who are called day-couriers, to Lacedæmon <sup>b</sup>, to tell them what speedy assistance they had occasion for. But at home ten officers were chosen to command the army: amongst them was Miltiades. Amongst whom there was a mighty dispute, whether they should defend themselves by their walls, or march to meet the enemy, and engage them in the field. Miltiades always very much insisted upon it, that a camp should be formed as soon as possible: if that was done, that both courage would grow upon their countrymen, when they saw their commanders did not despair of their bravery; and the enemy would be rendered by the same means more backward, when they found they durst engage them with so small a force.

<sup>a</sup> Attica was the country of the Athenians, in the east parts of Achaia, lying along an arm of the Aegean sea, called the Saronic bay, which bay is now called the gulf of Engia, between Attica, or the duchy of Setines, and Peloponnesus, or the Morea.

<sup>b</sup> Lacedæmon was a city in the south parts of Peloponnesus.

<sup>c</sup> [Passive, uti apud Velleii 2. 56. et sic Livium dixisse notat Voss. 4. de analog. 13.]

CAP. V. Hoc in tempore nulla civitas Atheniensibus auxilio fuit præter Platæenses: ea milie misit militum. Itaque horum adventu, decem millia armatorum completa sunt; quæ manus mirabili flagrabat pugnandi cupiditate: quo factum est, ut plus, quam collegæ, Miltiades valuerit. Ejus enim auctoritate impulsæ Athenienses, copias ex urbe eduxerunt, locoque idoneo castra fecerunt; deinde postero die, sub montis radicibus, acie ð regione instructâ, novâ arte, vi summâ prælium commiserunt. Namque arbores multis locis erant strætæ, hoc consilio, ut et montium tegerentur altitudine, et arborum tractu equitatus hostium impediretur, ne multitudine clauderentur. Datis, etsi non æquum locum videbat suis, tamen fretus numero copiarum suarum, configere cupiebat; eoque magis, quod priusquam Lacedæmonii subsidio venirent, dimicare utile arbitrabatur. Itaque in aciem, pedum centum, equitum decem millia produxit, præliumque commisit. In quo

-CHAP. V. At this time no state was assisting to the Athenians, besides the Plataensians<sup>d</sup>; that state sent a thousand soldiers. Wherefore, upon their arrival, they were ten thousand armed men complete; which army was fired with, a wonderful desire of fighting. By which means it came to pass, that Miltiades prevailed more than his fellow-commissioners. For the Athenians, wrought upon by his authority, drew their troops out of the city, and formed a camp in a proper place; and then the day following, having drawn up their army at the bottom of a mountain over-against the enemy, with uncommon art, they joined battle with the utmost mettle<sup>e</sup>. For there were trees laid in many places, with this design, both that they might be covered by the height of the mountain, and the enemy's horse might be entangled by the lying of the trees, that they might not be inclosed by their numbers. Datis, although he saw the place was not convenient for his men, yet depending upon the numbers of his troops, was desirous to engage; and the rather, because he thought it convenient to fight, before the Lacedæmonians came to their assistance. Wherefore he drew out into the field a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, and joined

<sup>d</sup> The people of Plataea, a town in Bœotia, about twelve or fourteen miles from Athens to the north-west.

<sup>e</sup> The Latin text is here very much corrupted: and therefore, if the translation appear not to be very good sense, the reader will excuse it.

tanto plus virtute valuerunt Athenienses, ut decemplacem numerum hostium profligarent; adeoque perterruerunt, ut Persæ non castra, sed naves peterent. Quâ pugnâ nihil adhuc est nobilius. Nulla enim unquam tam exigua manus tantas opes prostravit.

CAP. VI. Cujus victoriæ, non alienum videtur, quale præmium Miltiadi sit tributum, docere; quo facilius intelligi possit, eandem omnium civitatum esse naturam. Ut enim populi nostri honores quondam fuerunt rari et tenues, ob eamque causam gloriosi; nunc autem effusi, atque obsoleti: sic olim apud Athenienses fuisse reperimus. Namque huic Miltiadi, qui Athenas, totamque Græciam liberavit, talis honos tributus est in porticu, quæ *Pæcile* vocatur, cum pugna depingeretur Marathonia; ut in decem prætorum numero prima ejus imago poneretur, isque hortaretur milites, præliumque committeret. Idem ille populus, posteaquam majus imperium est nactus, et largitione magistratuum corruptus est, trecentas statuas Demetrio Phalereo decrevit.

*battle. In which the Athenians prevailed so much more than the enemy, by their bravery, that they routed ten times the number of enemies, and so affrighted them, that the Persians did not make for their camp, but their ships. Than which fight there is nothing as yet more famous; for no army so small ever routed so vast a force before.*

CHAP. VI. For which victory it does not seem improper to inform the reader, what reward was given Miltiades; that it may be the more easily understood, that the nature of all states is the same. For as the honours of our people were formerly rare and small, and for that reason glorious; but now extravagant, and worn thread-bare: thus we find it to have been formerly amongst the Athenians. For such was the honour paid to this Miltiades, who delivered Athens, and all Greece, in the piazza, which is called *Pæcile*, when the battle of Marathon was painted there, that his picture was placed first in the number of the ten commanders, and he encouraged the soldiers, and began the battle. The very same people, after they got a larger extent of dominion, and were corrupted by the extravagance of their own magistrates, decreed three hundred statues to Demetrius Phalereus<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> Demetrius (named Phalereus, from the Phalerean harbour at Athens) was for ten years governor of Athens about 350 years before Christ;



CAP. VII. Post hoc prælium, classem septuaginta navium Athenienses eidem Miltiadi dederunt, ut insulas, quæ barbaros adjuverant, bello persequeretur: quo imperio pleræque ad officium redire coegit, nonnullas vi expugnavit. Ex his Parum insulam opibus elatam, cum oratione reconciliare non posset; copias è navibus eduxit, urbem operibus clausit, omnique comæatu privavit: deinde vineis ac testudinibus constitutis, propius muros accessit. Cum jam in eo esset, ut oppido potiretur, procul in continenti lucus, qui ex insula conspiciebatur, nescio quo casu, nocturno tempore incensus est; cujus flamma ut ab oppidanis et oppugnatoribus est visa, utrisque venit in opinionem, signum à classiariis regiis datum. Quo factum est, ut et Parii à deditiōne deterrerentur, et Miltiades, timens ne classis regia adventaret, incensis

CHAP. VII. *After this battle, the Athenians gave the same Miltiades a fleet of seventy ships, that he might prosecute in war the islands that had assisted the barbarians: in which command he obliged most of them to return to their duty; some he took by force. Being not able by persuasion to prevail upon one of these, the island Parus<sup>g</sup>, too much elated by their wealth, he drew his troops out of his ships, blocked up the city by lines drawn round it, and deprived it of all provisions; and then, having erected his vineæ and testudo's<sup>h</sup>, came nearer the walls. When he was now upon the point of taking the town, a grove, at a distance upon the continent, which was visible from the island, was, by I know not what chance, set on fire in the night-time; the flame of which being seen by the townsmen and the besiegers, it came into the fancy of both, that it was a signal given by those on board the king's fleet. By which it came to pass, that both the Parians were dissuaded from surrendering, and Miltiades, fearing lest the king's fleet was coming, setting fire to*

Christ; but being driven from thence by the fury of an opposite party, went into Egypt, where, upon account of his learning, he was made president of the museum, or academy erected at Alexandria by Ptolemy Soter.

<sup>g</sup> Parus was one of the islands called *Cyclades* in the *Ægean* sea, famous for white marble.

<sup>h</sup> I have not translated the Latin words, *vineæ* and *testudo*, because our language has none to answer them; they were machines made use of in sieges to cover the besiegers. See a more particular account of them in Kennet's *Roman antiquities*, part 2. chap. 19.

operibus,



operibus, quæ statuerat, cum totidem navibus atque erat profectus, Athenas magna cum offensione civium suorum rediret. Accusatus ergo proditoris, quòd, cum Parum expugnare posset, à rege corruptus, infectis rebus, à pugna discessisset. Eo tempore æger erat vulneribus, quæ in oppugnando oppido acceperat. Itaque, quoniam ipse pro se dicere non posset, verba pro eo fecit frater ejus Tisagoras. Causâ cognitâ, capitis absolutus, pecuniâ multatus est; eaque lis quinquaginta talentis æstimata est, quantus in classem sumtus factus erat. Hanc pecuniam quòdolvere non poterat, in vincula publica conjectus est, ibique diem obiit supremum.

CAP. VIII. Hic et scirmine Pario est accusatus, tamen alia fuit causa damnationis. Namque Athe-

*the works, which he had erected, returned to Athens, to the great disgust of his countrymen, with as many ships as he went out with. Wherefore he was impeached of treachery, because, when he might have taken Parus, being bribed by the king of Persia, he had quitted the siege, without doing his work. He was at that time ill of the wounds which he had received in attacking the town: wherefore, because he could not speak for himself, his brother Tisagoras spoke for him. Upon hearing his cause, being acquitted as to life, he was fined a sum of money; and that fine was set at fifty talents; which was the charge they had been at in fitting out the fleet. Because he could not pay the money, he was thrown into the public gaol, and there he ended his last day.*

CHAP. VIII. *Although he was accused upon his miscarriage at Parus, yet there was another reason of his condemnation. For the A-*

i [There are different opinions about the value of a talent in English money. Mr Kennett, in his *Roman antiquities* near the end, makes the Attic talent, the same with the Roman, to be 187l. 10s. Mr Ainsworth, in his dictionary, (see there *talentum* and *mina*) makes the Attic talent to be 180l. Mr Clarke, in his note upon the ninth chapter of Alcibiades's life, reckons it 208l.; yet in his index, at *talenta quinque*, 3000 *coronati*, it is found to be only 150l. But Mr Elisha Cole, and some others, seem to be more accurate in accounting for the Attic talent, by distinguishing it into the greater and lesser talent; the greater, according to Mr Cole in his dictionary, valued 800 crowns, and the lesser 600 crowns.]

nienſes, propter Piſiſtrati tyrannidem, quæ paucis annis antè fuerat, omnium ſuorum civium potentiam extimeſcebant. Miltiades multùm in imperiis magiſtratibusque verſatus, non videbatur poſſe eſſe privatus; præſertim cùm conſuetudine ad imperii cupiditatem trahi videretur. Nam Cherſoneſi omnes illos, quos habitàrat annos, perpetuè n obtinuerat dominationem, tyrannusque fuerat appellatus, ſed juſtus: non erat enim vi conſequutus, ſed ſuorum voluntate; eamque poteſtatem bonitate retinuerat. Omnes autem et habentur et dicuntur tyranni, qui poteſtate ſunt perpetuà in ea civitate, quæ libertate uſa eſt. Sed in Miltiade erat cùm ſumma humanitas, tum mira comitas, ut nemo tam humilis eſſet, cui non ad eum aditus pateret: magna auctoritas apud omnes civitates, nobile nomen, laus rei mi-

thenians, becauſe of the uſurpation<sup>k</sup> of Piſiſtratus, which had happened a few years before, dreaded the power of all their own citizens. Miltiades having been much in command, and civil offices, did not ſeem capable of being a private perſon; eſpecially ſince he ſeemed to be dragged by cuſtom into a fondneſs for power. For he had held, without intermiſſion, the ſovereignty of the Cherſoneſe all the years that he had lived there, and had been called tyrannus, but was a juſt<sup>l</sup> one: for he had not compaſſed his power by violence, but by the conſent of his countrymen, and had kept that authority by his goodneſs. Now all are both accounted and called tyranni, who are inveſted with power for life, in a ſtate, which has before enjoyed the happineſs of liberty. But there was in Miltiades, both the greateſt humanity, and a wonderful complaiſance, that no body was ſo mean, to whom acceſs to him was not allowed. His authority was great amongſt all the cities of Greece, his name was famous, and his reputation for military affairs very uncommon. The

<sup>k</sup> I tranſlate *tyrannis* uſurpation; becauſe though Piſiſtratus did, by ſeizing the government, deſtroy the liberty of his country, and was upon that ſcore an execrable villain; yet he does not appear to have been at all tyrannical in his government. The word *tyrannus* was at firſt uſed in a good ſenſe, for a king or prince; then for an uſurper, howſoever he managed his power when he had got it, as appears from our author; and laſtly, for a wicked barbarous prince, though no uſurper.

<sup>l</sup> [That is, governed according to law.]

litaris maxima. Hæc populus respiciens, maluit eum innoxium plecti, quàm se diutius esse in timore.

*people<sup>m</sup> considering these things, chose rather to have him punished, innocent as he was, than that they should be any longer in fear of him.*

<sup>m</sup> [Besides these considerations, there was probably another that wrought powerfully upon the people: for Plutarch writes, that, after Miltiades had settled affairs in the Chersonese, he became tyrannical in his government, and that his reign did not continue long there; for having been worsted first by the Scythians, and then by the Phœnicians, he was obliged to fly for refuge to Athens. *Plut. in libello de sera numinis vindicta.*]

II.

II.

THEMISTOCLES,  
Neoclis filius, Atheniensis.

THEMISTOCLES, the  
son of Neocles, the Athenian.

CAP. I.

CHAP. I.

**H**Ujus vitia ineuntis adolescentiæ magnis sunt emendata virtutibus: adeò ut anteferatur huic nemo, pauci pares putentur. Sed ab initio est ordiendum. Pater ejus Neocles generosus fuit. Is uxorem Halicarnassiam civem duxit, ex qua natus est Themistocles. Quicùm minùs esset probatus parentibus, quod et liberius vivebat, et rem familiarem negligebat, à patre exheredatus est. Quæ contumelia non fregit eum, sed erexit. Nam quùm judi-

**T**HE vices of his early youth were made amends for by his great virtues: so that no body is preferred before him, and few are thought his equals. But we must speak of him from his beginning. His father Neocles was a gentleman; he married a lady, who was a citizen of Halicarnassus<sup>a</sup>, of whom was born Themistocles; who being not at all approved of by his parents, because he both lived too fast, and neglected his estate, he was disinherited by his father; which rough usage did not break his spirit, but roused him. For as he judged that affront could not be

<sup>a</sup> Halicarnassus was a famous town of Caria, a province in the south-west parts of Asia Minor; it is now utterly ruined.

câsset, sine summa <sup>b</sup> industria non posse eam extinguere, totum se dedidit reipublicæ, diligentius amicis famæque serviens. Multum in judiciis privatis versabatur: sæpe in concionem populi prodibat; nulla res major sine illo gerabatur; celeriterque, quæ opus erant, reperiebat, facillè eadem oratione explicabat. Neque minus in rebus gerendis promptus, quàm excogitandis, erat; quòd et de instantibus (ut ait Thucydides) verissimè judicabat, et de futuris callidissimè conjiciebat. Quo factum est, ut brevi tempore illustraretur.

CAP. II. Primus autem gradus fuit capeffendæ rei publicæ, bello Corcyreò: ad quod gerendum prætor à populo factus, non solum præsentì bello, sed etiam reliquo tempore <sup>d</sup> ferociorem reddidit civitatem. Nam cum pecunia publica, quæ ex metallis redibat, largitione magistratuum quotannis inter-

*wiped off without the closest application to business, he gave himself entirely to matters of government, serving diligently his friends, and his own reputation. He was much concerned in private causes<sup>c</sup>, often came into the assembly of the people; no great thing was transacted without him, and he quickly discovered what was needful to be done, and easily laid open the same in his address to the people. Nor was he less expeditious in the management of business, than in the contrivance; because (as Thucydides says) he judged very truly of things present, and guessed very shrewdly at things to come. By which means it came to pass, that he was very famous in a short time.*

CHAP. II. Now his first step in taking upon him the management of public business, was in the Corcyrean war: for the carrying on of which he was made prætor by the people, and made the city more daring, not only for the war then upon their hands, but also for the time to come. For whereas the public money, which came in by the mines, was exhausted every year by the ex-

<sup>b</sup> [*Industria* signifies thoughtfulness, contrivance, application, or pains-taking, and is a word that may be used either in good or bad part.]

<sup>c</sup> Private causes were such wherein particular persons only, and not the state or government, were concerned.

<sup>d</sup> *Perox*, used in a bad, also in a good part, (as here), signifies proud, haughty, courageous, mettlesome. Dr *Essenes*, in his note here, will not allow it to signify, rude, savage, or cruel; but if it comes from *feræ*, a wild beast, it is surely akin to these significations.



iret ; ille persuasit populo, ut eâ pecuniâ classis centum navium ædificaretur. Quâ celeriter effectâ, primum Corcyræos fregit, deinde maritimos prædones confectando, mare tutum reddidit. In quo cum divitiis ornavit, tum peritissimos belli navalis fecit Athenienses. Id quantæ salutis fuerit universæ Græciæ, bello cognitum est Persico. Nam cum Xerxes et mari et terrâ bellum universæ inferret Europæ ; cum tantis eam copiis invasit, quantas neque ante, neque postea habuit quisquam ; hujus enim classis mille et ducentarum navium longarum fuit, quam duo millia onerariarum sequebantur : terrestres autem exercitus septingentorum millium peditum, equitum quadringentorum millium fuerunt. Cujus de adventu cum fama in Græciam esset perlata, et maximè Athenienses peti dicerentur, propter pugnam Marathoniam ; miserunt Delphos consultum, quidnam facerent de rebus suis. Deliberantibus Pythia respondit, *Ut manibus ligneis se munirent.* Id responsum, quò valeret, cum intelligeret ne-

*travagance of the magistrates, he persuaded the people, that a fleet of an hundred ships should be built with that money ; which being quickly effected, he first reduced the Corcyreans, and then rendered the sea secure, by chasing the pirates. In which he both enriched the Athenians with wealth, and likewise rendered them very skilful in sea-fights. How much that contributed to the preservation of all Greece, was visible in the Persian war. For when Xerxes made war upon all Europe, both by sea and land, he invaded it with so great a force, as neither any one before or since had ; for his fleet was a thousand two hundred long ships<sup>a</sup>, which two thousand ships of burthen attended : and his land-armies were to the number of seven hundred thousand foot, and four hundred thousand horse. Concerning whose coming when the news was brought into Greece, and the Athenians were said to be chiefly aimed at, because of the battle of Marathon, they sent to Delphi, to consult what they should do in their case. The Pythonesse answered the querists, That they should secure themselves by wooden walls. When no body could understand to what that answer tended, Themistocles persuaded them, that it was the*

<sup>a</sup> The ships used in sea-fights, or men of war, were of a longer make than the trading vessels, and therefore called *longe naves*.



mo, Themistocles persuasit, consilium esse Apollinis, ut in naves se suaque conferrent: eum enim à deo significari murum ligneum. Tali consilio probato, addunt ad superiores totidem naves triemes, suaque omnia, quæ moveri poterant, partim Salaminem, partim Træzenem asportant: arcem sacerdotibus paucisque majoribus natu, ac sacra procuranda tradunt, reliquum oppidum relinquunt.

CAP. III. Hujus consilium plerisque civitatibus displicebat, et in terra dimicari magis placebat. Itaque missi sunt delecti cum Leonida Lacedæmoniorum rege, qui Thermopylas occuparent, longiusque barbaros progredi non paterentur. Hi vim hostium non sustinuerunt, eoque loco omnes interierunt. At classis communis Græciæ trecentarum navium, in qua ducentæ erant Atheniense, primum apud Artemisium, inter Eubœam continentemque ter-

advice of Apollo, to get themselves, and what they had, on board their ships, for that was the wooden wall meant by the god. This advice being approved, they add to their former as many more ships, with three banks of oars, and carry off all their goods that could be removed, partly to Salamis<sup>a</sup>, partly to Træzen. They deliver up the citadel and holy things to the priests, and a few old men to take care of, and leave the rest of the town.

CHAP. III. His advice displeased most of the cities, and they liked rather to fight by land. Wherefore some chosen men were sent with Leonidas the king of the Lacedæmonians, to seize Thermopyla<sup>b</sup>, and hinder the barbarians from advancing any farther. These could not withstand the fury of the enemy, and all died in that place. But the common fleet of Greece, consisting of three hundred ships, in which were two hundred of the Athenians, first engaged with the king's fleet at Artemisium<sup>c</sup>, betwixt Eubœa and the continent. For Themistocles sought a

<sup>a</sup> Salamis, now *Caleri* or *Elbeza*, is an island almost over-against Athens; and Træzen is a town of Peloponnesus upon the Saronic bay.

<sup>b</sup> Thermopylæ, now called *Bocca de Lupo*, is a narrow pass betwixt the Ægean sea and the mountains, upon the confines of Thessaly and Achaia.

<sup>c</sup> Artemisium is a promontory in the north parts of the island of Eubœa.

ram, cum classiariis regiis confligit. Angustias enim Themistocles quærebat, ne multitudine circumhæretur. Hic etsi pari prælio discederant, tamen eodem loco non sunt ausi manere: quòd erat periculum, ne, si pars navium adversariorum Eubœam superâisset, ancipiti præmerentur periculo. Quo factum est, ut ab Artemisio discederent, et ex adversum Athenas apud Salamina classem suam constituerent.

CAP. IV. At Xerxes, Thermopylis expugnatis, protinus accessit Astu,<sup>k</sup> idque nullis defendentibus, interfectis sacerdotibus, quos in arce invenerat, incendio delevit. Cujus famâ perterriti classiarii cum manere non auderent, et plurimi hortarentur, ut domos suas quisque discederent, mœnibusque se defenderent: Themistocles unus restitit, et universos esse pares aiebat, dispersos testabatur perituros: idque Eurybiadi regi Lacedæmoniorum, qui tum summæ imperii præerat, fore affirmabat. Quem quum minùs quàm vellet, moveret, no-

*narrow sea to engage in, lest he should be surrounded by their numbers. Although they came off here with equal advantage in the fight, yet they durst not stay in the same place; because the danger was, lest, if part of the enemy's ships should go round Eubœa, they should be distressed by a double danger. Upon which account it came to pass that they departed from Artemisium; and drew up their fleet over-against Athens by Salamis.*

CHAP. IV. But Xerxes, having taken Thermopylæ, immediately came to the city, and none defending it, slaying the priests, which he he found in the citadel, he destroyed it by fire. With the news of which, those on board the fleet being affrighted, not daring to stay, and many advising that they should depart every one to their own homes, and defend themselves by their walls, Themistocles alone opposed it, and said, that all together they would be a match for them; but declared, that if they separated, they would be ruined; and that, he affirmed, would be, to Eurybiades king of the Lacedæmonians, who at that time was in the chief command. Whom since he wrought upon less than he could

<sup>i</sup> *Ancipiti periculo premi*, signifies, in plain English, to be attacked in front and rear all at once.

<sup>k</sup> [*Astu* is a Greek word signifying a city, and emphatically that of Athens in Greek authors; as *urbs* the city, denoted Rome amongst the Romans.]

Et de servis suis, quem habuit fidelissimum, ad regem misit, ut ei nuntiaret suis verbis : adversarios ejus in fuga esse : qui si discessissent, majore cum labore, et longinquiore tempore bellum confecturum, quum singulos confectari cogeretur ; quos si statim aggrediretur, brevi universos oppressurum. Hoc eò valebat, ut ingratis ad depugandum omnes cogerentur. Hanc re auditâ, Barbarus nihil doli subesse, credens, postridie alienissimo sibi loco, contra opportunissimo hostibus, adeò angusto mari conflixit, ut ejus multitudo navium explicari non potuerit. Victus ergo est magis consilio Themistoclis, quàm armis Græciæ.

CAP. V. Hic Barbarus etsi malè rem gesserat, tamen tantas habebat reliquias copiarum, ut etiam cum his opprimere posset hostes. Interim tamen ab eodem gradu depulsus est. Nam Themistocles verens, ne bellare perseveraret, certiore eum fecit, id agi, ut pons, quem ille in Hellesponto fecerat, dissolve-

*wish, he sent by night the most trusty of the slaves that he had to the king, to tell him, in his words, that his enemies were about flying : who, if they should depart, that he would dispatch the war with greater trouble and longer time, since he would be obliged to pursue them singly, whom, if he attacked immediately, he might conquer them all in a short time. This tended to that purpose, that they might be forced to fight all together against their wills. The Barbarian, hearing this thing, supposing there was nothing of fraud in the case, engaged the day following in a place the most improper for himself, and on the other hand very convenient for his enemies, in so narrow a sea, that the great number of his ships could not be drawn out to a due length. Wherefore he was conquered more by the contrivance of Themistocles than the arms of Greece.*

CHAP. V. Here although the Barbarian had managed his business but badly, yet he had such considerable remains of forces, that even with these he might have conquered his enemies. Notwithstanding in the mean time he was driven from his <sup>1</sup> stand by the same person. For Themistocles fearing lest he should continue the war, made him acquainted, that it was intended that the bridge, which he had

<sup>1</sup> This is a metaphor taken from gladiators or fencers, who, when obliged to quit their stand on ground, were said *gradu dejici*, or *gradu depelli*.

retur, ac reditu in Asiam excluderetur; ideque ei persuasit. Itaque quâ sex mensibus iter fecerat, eâdem minùs diebus triginta in Asiam reversus est; seque à Themistocle non superatum, sed conservatum iudicavit. Sic unius viri prudentiâ Græcia liberata est, Europæque succubuit Asia. Hæc altera victoria, quæ cum Marathonio posset comparari tropæo: nam pari modo apud Salamina, parvo numero navium, maxima post hominum memoriam classis est devicta.

CAP. VI. Magnus hoc bello Themistocles fuit, nec minor in pace. Quum enim Phalereo portu neque magno, neque bono Athenienses uterentur, hujus consilio triplex Piræci portus constitutus est; isque mœnibus circumdatus, ut ipsam urbem dignitate æquipararet, utilitate superaret. Idemque muros Atheniensium restituit præcipuo periculo suo. Namque Lacedæmonii causam idoneam nacti, propter barbarorum excursiones, quâ

made over the<sup>m</sup> Hellespont, should be broke down, and he prevented from returning into Asia. And that, he persuaded him, was certainly so. Wherefore he returned into Asia, in less than thirty days, the same way by which he had made his march thither in no less than six months; and judged himself not conquered, but saved by Themistocles. Thus, by the prudence of one man, Greece was delivered, and Asia fell under Europe. This is another victory, that may be compared with the victory of Marathon; for the greatest fleet, since we have had any history of mankind, was conquered in the like manner at Salamis, with a small number of ships.

CHAP. VI. Themistocles was great in this war, and no less in peace. For whereas the Athenians made use of the Phalerean harbour, neither great nor good, by his advice a triple harbour was formed at<sup>n</sup> Pyræus, and that was surrounded with a wall; so that it equalled the city in beauty, and exceeded it in usefulness: and the same man rebuilt the walls of the Athenians, at his own particular hazard. For the Lacedæmonians having got a fine pretence, by reason of the incursions of the barbarians, whereupon to deny that any city

<sup>m</sup> [A strait of the sea between Thrace and Phrygia, dividing Europe from Asia, and now called the *Dardanel's Straits*.]

<sup>n</sup> Pyræus was a town at the mouth of the river Cephissus, upon which Athens stood, and about five miles from that city. It is now called *Porta di Lione*.



negarent oportere extra Peloponnesum ullam urbem haberi, nè essent loca munita, quæ hostes possiderent; Athenienses ædificantes prohibere sunt conati. Hoc longè aliò spectabat, atque videri volebant. Athenienses enim duabus victoriis, Marathoniâ et Salaminîâ, tantam gloriam apud omnes gentes erant consequuti, ut intelligerent Lacedæmonii, de principatu sibi cum his certamen fore: quare eos quàm infirmissimos esse volebant. Postquam autem audierunt muros instrui, legatos Athenas miserunt, qui id fieri vetarent. His presentibus desierunt, ac se de ea re legatos ad eos missuros dixerunt. Hanc legationem suscepit Themistocles, et solus primò profectus est: reliqui legati, ut tum exirent, cum satis altitudo muri extructa videretur, præcepit; ut interim omnes servi atque liberi opus facerent, neque ulli loco parcerent, sive sacer esset, sive profanus, sive privatus, sive publicus; et undique, quod idoneum ad muniendum pu-

ought to be kept without<sup>o</sup> Peloponnesus, that there might be no fortified places, which the enemy might possess themselves of, endeavoured to hinder the Athenians from building. This tended to quite another purpose, than they were willing should appear. For the Athenians, by the two victories of Marathon and Salamis, had got so much glory amongst all nations, that the Lacedæmonians were sensible they should have a dispute with them for the mastery. Wherefore they had a mind they should be as weak as possible. But after they heard the walls were a-building, they sent ambassadors to Athens, to forbid that to be done. Whilst they were present, they gave over, and said, they would send ambassadors to them about that affair. Themistocles undertook this embassy, and went alone at first: he ordered that the rest of the ambassadors should then set forward, when the height of the wall seemed to be sufficiently raised; that in the mean time all slaves and freemen should work, and spare no place, whether it was sacred or profane, whether private or public; and get together from all hands what they thought proper to build with. From whence it

<sup>o</sup> Peloponnesus is a celebrated, great, and fruitful peninsula of Greece, about 550 miles in circuit; it is shaped like a mulberry leaf, which gave occasion to one of the emperors to call it in Greek *Mopia*, which signifies the mulberry tree, and it is called the *Morea* to this day.]

tarent, congererent. Quo factum est, ut Atheniensi-  
um muri ex sacellis sepul-  
chrique constarent.

CAP. VII. Themisto-  
cles autem, ut Lacedæmo-  
nem venit, adire ad ma-  
gistratus noluit, et dedit  
operam, ut quam longis-  
sime tempus duceret; cau-  
sam interponens, se col-  
legas expectare. Cùm La-  
cedæmonii quererentur, o-  
pus nihilominus fieri, e-  
unque eâ re conari falle-  
re, interim reliqui legati  
sunt consequuti; a quibus  
cùm audisset, non multum  
superesse munitionis, ad  
Ephoros Lacedæmonio-  
rum accessit, penes quos  
summum imperium erat;  
atque apud eos contendit,  
falsa his esse delata: quare  
æquum esse, illos, viros  
bonos nobilesque mittere,  
quibus fides haberetur, qui  
rem explorarent: interea  
se obsidem retinerent. Ge-

*came to pass, that the walls of  
the Athenians consisted of chapels  
and sepulchres.*

CHAP. VII. But Themistocles,  
as soon as he came to Lacedæmon,  
would not wait upon the magi-  
strates, and did his endeavour to  
spin out the time as long as pos-  
sible; alleging this reason, that  
he waited for his colleagues. When  
the Lacedæmonians complained  
that the work went on neverthe-  
less, and that he endeavoured to  
deceive them in that matter, in  
the mean time the rest of the am-  
bassadors came up: from whom  
when he had heard, that not much  
of the work of fortifying remained  
to be done, he went to the Ephori  
of the Lacedæmonians, in whom  
the supreme power was vested,  
and avers before them, that a false  
account had been given them;  
wherefore it was but reasonable  
for them to send honest men, and  
gentlemen, to whom credit might  
be given, to examine into the mat-  
ter; in the mean time they might

<sup>a</sup> [Munitio signifies a fortification, also the action of fortifying, and seems to include more in its signification than a wall, (which was Mr Clarke's word here), according to the distinction some make between *murus* and *munia*; *murus* signifies properly the stone-wall encompassing a town; and *munia* the turrets and other pieces of fortification added to the *murus*; and *munitio* may be a general word comprehending them both.]

<sup>b</sup> [The Ephori were Lacedæmonian magistrates, like in office to the tribunes among the Romans. The Lacedæmonians used to appeal from their king to the Ephori, as the Romans from their consuls to the tribunes. At first the Ephori were chosen to be assistants to the king; but in a short time their authority grew the greater, so that they could censure, imprison, and even depose their king when they found cause. Suidas saith, they were ordinarily five in number, and chosen yearly.]

stus est ei mos, tresque legati, functi summis honoribus, Athenas missi sunt. Cum his collegas suos Themistocles iussit proficisci; eisque prædixit, ut ne prius Lacedæmoniorum legatos dimitterent, quàm ipse esset remissus. Hos postquam Athenas pervenisse ratus est, ad magistratum, senatumque Lacedæmoniorum adiit, et apud eos liberrimè professus est: Athenienses suo consilio, quod communi jure gentium facere possent, deos publicos, suosque patrios ac penates, quò facilius ab hoste possent defendere, muris seposuisse: neque eo, quod inutile esset Græciæ, fecisse: nam illorum urbem, ut propugnaculum, oppositam esse barbaris, apud quam jam bis<sup>b</sup> classis regia fecisset naufragium. Lacedæmonios autem malè et injustè facere, qui id potiùs intuerentur, quod ipsorum dominationi, quàm quod universæ Græciæ utile esset. Quare, si suos legatos recipere vellent, quos Athenas miserant, se re-

keep him as an hostage. He was complied with, and three ambassadors, that had borne the highest offices, were sent to Athens. Themistocles ordered his colleagues to go along with them, and warned them, that they should not dismiss the ambassadors of the Lacedæmonians, before he was sent back again. After he thought they were got to Athens, he went to the magistrates and senate of the Lacedæmonians, and very frankly declared before them, that the Athenians, by his advice, had inclosed within walls their public gods<sup>a</sup>, their country gods, and household gods, that they might the more easily defend them from an enemy, which they might have done by the common law of nations; nor had they done therein what was useless to Greece: for their city was placed as a bulwark against the barbarians, at which the king's fleet had already twice suffered shipwreck. And that the Lacedæmonians acted ill and unjustly, who more regarded that which was useful to promote their own dominion, than what was for the interest of all Greece. Wherefore, if they had a mind to receive their ambassadors again, which they had sent to Athens, they must send him back; otherwise they

<sup>a</sup> [Those gods whom the Athenians in common with all Greece worshipped, were their public gods. Those whom the Athenians, as a particular state by themselves, worshipped, were their country gods, as their tutelæ goddess Minerva; and such as were reckoned to take care of private families, were their household gods.]

<sup>b</sup> [This reading of Courtinus is preferred by some of good note to that of *classis regiam fecisse naufragium*, which indeed seems to be too harsh.]

mitterent; aliter illos nunquam in patriam essent recepturi.

CAP. VIII. Hic tamen non effugit civium suorum invidiam: namque ob eundem timorem, quo damnatus erat Miltiades, testularum suffragiis e civitate ejectus, Argos habitatum concessit. Hic quum propter multas ejus virtutes magna cum dignitate viveret, Lacedæmonii legatos Athenas miserunt, qui eum absentem accusarent, quod societatem cum rege Persarum ad Græciam opprimendam fecisset. Hoc crimine absens proditionis est damnatus. Id ut audivit, quod non satis tutum se Argis videbat, Corcyram demigravit. Ibi cum ejus principes civitatis animadvertisset timere, ne, propter se, bellum his Lacedæmonii et Athenienses in-

would never receive them into their country again.

CHAP. VIII. Yet he did not escape the odium of his countrymen: for being turned out of the city by the votes of the shells<sup>t</sup>, from the same jealousy upon which Miltiades had been condemned, he went to Argos<sup>u</sup> to dwell. As he lived here in great honour, because of his many excellent qualities, the Lacedæmonians sent ambassadors to Athens, to accuse him in his absence, for having made an agreement with the king of the Persians, to subdue Greece. Upon this charge he was condemned in his absence for treason. As soon as he heard that, because he saw he should not be safe enough at Argos, he removed to Corcyra<sup>x</sup>. There, when he observed the great men of that state to be afraid, lest the Athenians and Lacedæmonians should proclaim war against them upon his account, he fled to Admetus king

<sup>t</sup> The Athenians, when they became jealous of any of their great men, as dangerous to the public liberty, used to banish them for ten years. The way of voting upon that occasion was, by writing the person's name upon a shell, called in Greek *ὄστρακον*, from whence this sort of banishment was called *ostracism*. [Upon such occasions the magistrates called the people together, and to each man of the assembly was given a shell, upon which whoever consented to the banishment was to write the person's name that was to be banished, and put his shell into an urn provided for that purpose; then the magistrates counted the shells, which if they did not amount to the number of six thousand, the person was not to be banished; but if they made up that number, he was banished the city for ten years without confiscating his goods.]

<sup>u</sup> Argos was a city in the north parts of Peloponnesus.

<sup>x</sup> Corcyra is an island in the Ionian sea, or gulf of Venice, upon the coast of Epire, now called *Corfu*, and belongs to the Venetians.

dicerent,



dicerent, ad Admetum Molossorum regem; cum quo ei hospitium fuerat, confugit. Huc cum venisset, et in præsentia rex abesset, quò majore religione se receptum tueretur, filiam ejus parvulam arripuit, et cum ea se in sacrum, quod summâ colebatur ceremoniâ, conjectit: inde non prius egressus est, quàm rex eum datâ dextrâ in fidem reciperet: quam præstitit. Nam cum ab Atheniensibus et Lacedæmoniis exposceretur publicè, supplicem non prodidit; inquitque, ut consuleret sibi: difficile enim esse, in tam propinquo loco tuto eum versari. Itaque Pydnam eum deduci iussit, et quod satis esset præsidii dedit. Hâc re auditâ, hic in navem omnibus ignotus ascendit; quæ cum tempestate maximâ Naxum ferretur, ubi tum Atheniensium erat exercitus, sensit Themistocles, si eò pervenisset, sibi esse periurum. Hâc necessitate coactus, domino navis, qui sit, aperit, multa pollicens, si se conservasset. At ille clarissimi viri captus misericordiâ, diem noctemque procurat ab insula in salvo navem tenuit in ancoris, neque

of the Molossians, with whom he had a friendship. After he was come hither, and the king at that time was absent, that he might secure himself upon his reception with a stronger obligation of religion, he took his little daughter, and threw himself with her into a chapel, which was regarded with the utmost veneration. He came not out from thence, till the king, giving him his right hand, took him under his protection, which he made good. For when he was publicly remanded by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, he did not betray his refugee, and warned him to provide for himself; for it would be difficult for him to be safe in so near a place. Wherefore he ordered him to be conducted to Pydna<sup>b</sup>, and gave him what guard was sufficient. This thing being heard, he went aboard a ship, unknown to all there; which being driven by a very great storm for Naxos<sup>c</sup>, where at that time was an army of the Athenians, Themistocles was sensible, if he came there, he must perish. Being forced by this necessity, he discovers to the master of the vessel, who he was, promising him many things, if he would save him. But he, being seized with pity of this most famous man, kept the ship day and night a great distance from the island, in the main sea, at anchor, nor did he suffer any bo-

<sup>a</sup> The Molossi were a people of Epirus.

<sup>b</sup> [Pydna was a city in Macedonia.]

<sup>c</sup> Naxos, now Naxia, is an island of the Ægean sea, one of those called Cyclades: it is populous and fruitful.

quemquam ex ea exire passus est: Inde Ephesum pervenit, ibique Themistoclem exponit: cui ille pro meritis gratiam postea retulit.

CAP. IX. Scio plerisque ita scripsisse, Themistoclem, Xerxe regnante, in Asiam transisse. Sed ego potissimum Thucydidi credo, quod ætate proximus erat de his, qui illorum temporum historiam reliquerunt, et ejusdem civitatis fuit. Is autem ait, ad Artaxerxem eum venisse, atque his verbis epistolam misisse: *Themistocles veni ad te, qui plurimâ mala omnium Graiorum in domum tuam intuli, cum mihi necesse fuit adversus patrem tuum bellare, patriamque meam defendere. Idem multo plura bona feci, postquam in tuto ipse, et ille in periculo esse cepit. Nam cum in Asiam reverti nollet, prælio apud Salamina facto, literis eum certiore feci, id agi, ut pons, quem in Hellesponto fecerat, dissolveretur, atque ab hostibus circumiretur: quo nuncio ille periculo est liberatus. Nunc autem ad te confugi, ex agitatus à cuncta Græcia, tuam petens*

*dy to go out of it. After that he came to Ephesus<sup>b</sup>, and there lands Themistocles, to whom [the ship-master] he afterwards made a requital according to his deserts.*

CHAP. IX. *I know that most authors have writ thus, that Themistocles went over into Asia, whilst Xerxes was reigning. But I trust Thucydides above others, because he was in time the nearest to him of those who have left the history of those times, and was of the same city. Now, he says, that he came to Artaxerxes, and sent a letter to him in these words: I Themistocles am come to you, who of all the Greeks brought the most evils upon your family, when it was necessary for me to fight against your father, and defend my country. I the same man did him much more service, after I was in safety, and he began to be in danger. For when he intended not to return into Asia, after the battle was fought at Salamis, I made him acquainted by a letter, that it was intended, that the bridge, which he had made over the Hellespont, should be broken down, and he inclosed by his enemies: by which advice he was delivered from danger. But now I have fled to you, being persecuted by all Greece, begging your friendship; which, if I shall obtain,*

<sup>b</sup> Ephesus, now *Efeso*, was a famous city in that part of Asia Minor, called *Ionia*, near the Archipelago; it was one of the seven churches of Asia, but now a poor desolate village, inhabited by about 40 or 50 families of Turks, without one Christian among them.

*amicitiam : quam si ero adeptus, non minùs me bonum amicum habebis, quàm fortem inimicum ille expertus est. Ea autem rogo, ut de his rebus, de quibus tecum colloqui volo, annum mihi temporis des, eoque transactò, me ad te venire patiaris.*

CAP. X. Hujus rex animi magnitudinem admirans, cupiensque talem virum sibi conciliari, veniam dedit. Ille omne illud tempus literis fermonique Persarum dedit : quibus adeò eruditus est, ut multo commodiùs dicatur apud regem verba fecisse, quàm hi poterant, qui in Perside erant nati. Hic quum multa regi esset pollicitus, gratissimumque illud, si suis uti consiliis vellet, illum Græciam bello oppressurum ; magnis muneribus ab Artaxerxe donatus in Asiam rediit, domiciliumque Magnesiæ sibi constituit. Namque hanc urbem ei rex donârat, his usus verbis, quæ ei panem præberet : (ex qua regione quinquaginta [ei] talenta quotannis redibant) : Lampfacum, unde vinum sumeret : Myntem, ex qua

you shall find me a no less good friend, than he experienced me to be a gallant enemy. And therefore I beg this of you, that you would allow me a year's time for the business, concerning which I desire to talk with you ; and after that is past, you would suffer me to wait upon you.

CHAP. X. The king admiring the greatness of his mind, and desiring to have such a man gained over effectually to him, granted him the favour. He spent all that time in the books and language of the Persians : in which he was so perfectly instructed, that he is said to have spoke before the king much more handsomely than those could who were born in Persia. After he had promised the king many things, and that which was the most agreeable of all, that if he would follow his advice, he should conquer Greece by war ; being presented with great gifts by Artaxerxes, he returned into Asia<sup>c</sup>, and fixed his habitation at Magnesia<sup>d</sup>. For the king had given him this city, using these words, to furnish him with bread ; (out of which territory fifty talents came in [to him] yearly) ; Lampfacus<sup>e</sup>, from whence he might have his wine : Myus<sup>f</sup>, from whence he might have his other provisions. Two

<sup>c</sup> [Viz. the Lesser Asia, called *Natolia*.]

<sup>d</sup> Magnesia was a town of Asia Minor, in that part of it called *Ionis*, near the river Meander or Madre.

<sup>e</sup> Lampfacus was a town of Mysia Minor, in Asia Minor, near the Hellespont.

<sup>f</sup> Myus was a town of *Ionis*, not far from Magnesia.

opsonium haberet. Hujus ad nostram memoriam monumenta manserunt duo: sepulchrum prope oppidum, in quo est sepultus: statuae, in foro Magnesiæ. De cujus morte multis modis apud plerosque scriptum est; sed nos eundem potissimum Thucydidem auctorem probamus, qui illum ait Magnesiæ morbo mortuum: neque negat fuisse famam, venenum suâ sponte sumsisse, quum se, quæ regi de Græciâ opprimenda pollicitus esset, præstare possederet. Idem ossa ejus clam in Attica ab amicis esse sepulta, quoniam legibus non concederetur, quod proditiōis esset damnatus, memoriæ prodidit.

monuments of him have continued to our times: his sepulchre nigh the town, in which he was buried; his statues, in the forum of Magnesia. Concerning whose death an account is given after different manners in most authors; but we approve of the same author Thucydides above others, who says, that he died of a disease at Magnesia. Nor does he deny, that there was a report that he took poison voluntarily, because he despaired of being able to perform what he had promised the king, about conquering Greece. The same man has left upon record, that his bones were privately buried in Attica by his friends, because it was not allowed by the laws, seeing he had been condemned for treason.

## III.

ARISTIDES, Lyfimachi filius, Atheniensis.

## CAP. I.

**A**ristides Lyfimachi filius, Atheniensis, æqualis ferè fuit Themistocli. Itaque cum eo de principatu contendit: namque obrectârunt inter se. In his autem cognitum est, quanto antistaret eloquentia in-

## III.

ARISTIDES, the son of Lyfimachus, the Athenian.

## CHAP. I.

**A**ristides the son of Lyfimachus, the Athenian, was almost equal <sup>a</sup> to Themistocles. Wherefore he contended with him for the superiority: for they detracted from one another. And it was visible in them, how much eloquence outdoes innocence. For

<sup>a</sup> [This equality may be understood of both age and power, but not manners; for Aristides was of a calm and easy temper, but Themistocles hot and ambitious.]



nocentiæ. Quanquam enim adeo excelebat Aristides abſtinentiâ, ut unus poſt hominum memoriam, quod quidem nos audivimus, cognomine JUSTUS ſit appellatus, tamen à Themistocle collaſeſſus teſtula illâ, exilio decem annorum multatus eſt. Qui quidem, cùm intelligeret reprimi concitatam multitudinem non poſſe, cedensque animadvertet quendam ſcribentem, ut patriâ pelleretur: quaſiſſe ab eo dicitur, Quare id faceret? aut, quid Ariſtides commiſſet, cur tantâ pœnâ dignus duceretur? Cui ille reſpondit: Seignorare Ariſtides; ſed ſibi non placere, quòd tam cupidè elaboraſſet, ut, præter cæteros, JUSTUS appellaretur. Hic decem annorum legitimam pœnam non pertulit. Nam poſtquam Xerxes in Græciam deſcendit, ſexto fere anno, quàm erat expulſus, populſcito in patriam reſtitutus eſt.

CAP. II. Interfuit autem pugna navali apud Salamina, quæ facta eſt prius, quàm pœnâ liberaretur. Idem prætor fuit Athenienſium apud Plataeas, in prælio, quò Mardonius fuſus, barbarorumque ex-

*though Ariſtides did excel ſo much in juſtice, that he alone, ſince the firſt accounts of mankind that we indeed have heard of, was called by ſurname the JUST, yet being overborn by Themistocles by that ſpell <sup>b</sup>, he was puniſhed with the baniſhment of ten years. Who truly, when he found that the incenſed people could not be reſtrained, and going off, obſerved one writing, that he ſhould be baniſhed his country; he is ſaid to have inquired of him, Why he did it? or, what Ariſtides had done, for which he ſhould be thought worthy of ſo great a puniſhment? To whom he replied, That he did not know Ariſtides; but that it did not pleaſe him, that he had labourèd ſo earneſtly to be called JUST, above other people. He did not ſuffer the legal puniſhment of ten years. For after Xerxes came into Greece, about the ſixth year after he had been baniſhed, he was reſtored to his country by an order of the commons.*

CHAP. II. He was preſent, too in the ſea-fight at Salamis, which was fought before he was reſealed from his puniſhment. The ſame man was commander of the Athenians at Plataeæ, in the battle in which Mardonius was routed, and the army of the barbarians cut

<sup>b</sup> [See the firſt note upon the eighth chapter of Themistocles's life.]

exercitus est interfectus. Neque aliud est illum hujus in re militari illustre factum, quàm hujus imperii memoria: justitiæ verò, et æquitatis, et innocentiae multa. Imprimis, quòd ejus æquitate factum est, cùm in communi classe esset Græciæ simul cum Pausania, quo duce Mardonius erat fugatus, ut summa imperii maritimi à Lacedæmoniis transferretur ad Athenienses. Namque ante id tēpus, et mari et terrâ duces erant Lacedæmonii. Tum autem et intemperantiâ Pausaniæ, et justitiâ factum est Aristidis, ut omnes ferè civitates Græciæ ad Atheniensium societatem se applicarent, et adversus barbaros, hos duces deligerent sibi, quo facilius repellerent, si fortè bellum renovare conarentur.

CAP. III. Ad classes ædificandas, exercitusque comparandos, quantum pecuniæ quæque civitas daret, Aristides delectus est, qui constitueret. Ejus arbitrio quadringena et sexagena talenta quotannis Delum sunt collata. Id enim commune ærarium esse voluerunt. Quæ omnis pecu-

cut off. Nor is there any other illustrious action of his in military affairs, besides the account of this command: but there are a great many instances of his justice, equity, and innocence. In the first place, that it was brought about by his justice, when he was in the common fleet of Greece, together with Pausanias, by which general Mardonius had been routed, that the chief command at sea was transferred from the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians. For before that time, the Lacedæmonians were commanders both by sea and land; but then it came to pass, through the insolence of Pausanias, and the justice of Aristides, that almost all the cities of Greece applied themselves to the alliance of the Athenians, and chose them for their leaders against the barbarians, that they might the more easily repulse them, if perhaps they should endeavour to renew the war.

CHAP. III. Aristides was pitched upon to appoint how much money every city should furnish for the building of fleets and the raising of armies. By his order four hundred and sixty talents were carried to <sup>c</sup> Delus every year; for they ordained that to be the common treasury. All which money, some time after, was removed to Athens. Of how great

<sup>c</sup> Delus, now *Sdiller*, is an island of the Ægean sea, one of the Cyclades, formerly very famous for an oracle of Apollo.

nia postero tempore Athenas translata est. Hic quâ fuerat abstinentiâ, nullum est certius indicium, quàm quòd, quum tantis rebus præfuisset, in tanta paupertate decessit, ut, qui efferretur, vix reliquerit. Quo factum est, ut filie ejus publicè alerentur, et de communi ærario dotibus datis, collocarentur. Decessit autem ferè post annum quartum, quam Themistocles Athenis erat expulsus.

*moderation he was, there is no more certain proof, than that, though he had commanded in such great affairs, he died in so great poverty, that he scarce left wherewith he might be buried. Whence it came to pass, that his daughters were maintained at the public charge, and were disposed of in marriage, their fortunes being paid out of the common treasury. He died about the fourth year after Themistocles was banished Athens.*

## IV.

## IV.

PAUSANIAS, Lacedæmonius.

PAUSANIAS, the Lacedæmonian.

## CAP. I.

## CHAP. I.

**P**Ausanas magnus homo, sed varius in omni genere vitæ fuit. Nam ut virtutibus eluxit, sic vitiis est obrutus. Hujus illusterrimum est prælium apud Platæas. Namque illo duce, Mardonius<sup>a</sup> satrapes regius, natione Medus, regis gener, in primis omnium Persarum, et ma-

**P**Ausanas was a great man, but inconstant in every way of life. For as he was illustrious for his excellent qualities, so was he overrun with vices. His most famous battle is that at Platææ. For he was commander there, when Mardonius the king's lord deputy, by nation a Mede, the<sup>a</sup> king's son-in-law, amongst the chief of all the Persians, both brave

<sup>a</sup> *Satrapes* was a name amongst the Persians for the governors of the provinces of that empire.

<sup>b</sup> [He was indeed son-in-law to Darius the former king; but some think that *gener* should here signify brother-in-law, as is also used by Justin; for Mardonius's lady was sister to Xeræes (the son of Darius) who was then reigning.]

nu fortis, et consilii plenus, cum ducentis millibus peditum, quos viritem legerat, et viginti millibus equitum, haud ita magnâ manu, Græciâ fugatus est; eoque ipse dux cecidit prælio. Quâ victoriâ elatus, plurima miscere cœpit, & inajora concupiscere. Sed primum in eo est reprehensus, quod ex præda tripodem aureum Delphis posuisset, epigrammate scripto, in quo erat hæc sententia: *Suo ductu barbaros apud Plataeas esse deletes, ejusque victoriæ ergo Apollini donum dedisse.* Hos versus Lacedæmonii exculpservnt, neque aliud scripserunt, quàm nomina earum civitatum, quarum auxilio Persæ erant victi.

CAP. II. Post id prælium, eundem Pausaniam eum classe communi Cyprum atque Hellepontum miserunt, ut ex his regionibus barbarorum præsidia depelleret. Pari feli-

in action, and full of good sense, was driven out of Greece with two hundred thousand foot, which he had chosen out man by man, and twenty thousand horse, by an army not near so big; and the general himself fell in that battle. With which victory being elated, he began to make great confusion, and to aim at things above him. But he was first of all blamed for this, that he had dedicated a golden <sup>c</sup> trivet at Delphi of the spoil, with an inscription writ upon it, in which was this sentence: That the barbarians, by his conduct, had been cut off at Plataeas, and that he had made this present to Apollo upon the account of that victory. The Lacedæmonians, erase these lines, nor d'd they write any thing else, but the names of those cities, by whose assistance the Persians had been conquered.

CHAP. II. After that battle, they sent the same Pausanias with the common fleet to <sup>c</sup> Cyprus and the Hellespont, to drive the garrisons of the barbarians out of those parts. And having the same good fortune in that affair, he began

<sup>c</sup> [The trivet or tripod was a three-footed stool or table, particularly that upon which the priestess [Pythia] sat, and gave forth her answers; and it was a custom among the ancient conquerors, especially the Greeks, to dedicate a tripod generally to Apollo, of the spoils taken from the enemy.]

d [These lines are to be found thus in Thucydides:

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγός, ἐπὶ πρῶτον ἄλκις Μήδων,  
Παυσανίας, Φεῖβρ' μῆμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.]

<sup>e</sup> Cyprus is a famous island in the eastern parts of the Mediterranean.



citare in ea re usus, elatus se gerere cœpit, majoresque appetere res. Nam cum, Byzantio expugnato, cepisset complures Persarum nobiles, atque in his nonnullos regis propinquos; hos clam Xerxi remisit, simulans ex vinculis publicis effugisse; et cum his Gongylum Eretriensem, qui literas regi redderet, in quibus hæc fuisse scripta Thucydides memorie prodidit: *Pausanias dux Sparta, quos Byzantii ceperat, postquam propinquos tuos cognovit, tibi muneri misit; seque tecum affinitate conjungi cupit: quare, si tibi videtur, des ei filiam tuam nuptum. Id si feceris, et Spartam, et ceteram Græciam sub tuam potestatem, te adjuvante, se redacturum pollicetur. His de rebus si quid geri volueris, certum hominem ad eum mittas fac, cum quo colloquatur. Rex tot hominum salute, tam sibi necessariorum, magnopere gavisus, confestim cum epistola Artabazum ad Pausaniam mittit; in qua eum collaudat, ac petit, ne cui rei parcat ad ea perficienda, quæ pollicetur. Si fe-*

*to behave himself more haughtily, and to aim at greater matters. For when, after the carrying of Byzantium<sup>f</sup>, he had taken many noble men of the Persians, and amongst them, some of the king's relations, he privately sent these to Xerxes, pretending they had escaped out of the public custody; and with them Gongylus the Eretrian, to carry a letter to the king, in which, Thucydides writes; these things were written: Pausanias, general of Sparta, after he understood that these, whom he took at Byzantium, were your relations, has sent them you as a present; and desires to be joined in affinity with you: wherefore, if it seem good to you, give him your daughter in marriage. If you do that, he promises, that, with you assisting him, he shall reduce both Sparta and the rest of Greece under your power. If you would have any of these things done, see you send a trusty person to him, with whom he may confer about the matter. The king, rejoicing mightily at the security of so many persons so nearly allied to him, dispatches away immediately Artabazus with a letter to Pausanias; in which he commends him, and desires he would not spare any thing to effect the matters which he promised. If he did it, he should have a refusal of nothing from him. Pausanias*

<sup>f</sup> Byzantium, a town upon the Thracian Bosphorus, at the mouth of the Euxine, now called the Black Sea: it was much enlarged and beautified by the Roman emperor Constantine the Great, and from him called *Constantinople*. Its name is now *Stamboul*, being the metropolis of the Turkish empire.

cerit, nullius rei à se repul-  
sam laturum. Hujus Pau-  
sanias voluntate cognitâ,  
alacrior ad rem gerendam  
factus, in suspicionem ce-  
cidit Lacedæmoniorum. In  
quo facto domum revoca-  
tus, accusatus capitis, ab-  
solvitur; mulctatur tamen  
pecuniâ: quam ob cau-  
sam ad classem remissus  
non est.

CAP. III. At ille post  
non multò, suâ sponte ad  
exercitum rediit; et ibi  
non callidâ, sed dementi  
ratione, cogitata patefecit.  
Non enim mores patrios  
solum, sed etiam cultum,  
vestitumque mutavit. Ap-  
paratu regio utebatur, veste  
Medicâ: satellites Medi et  
Ægyptiî sequebantur: epu-  
labatur more Persarum lu-  
xuriosius, quàm qui ade-  
rant perpeti possent: adi-  
tum petentibus conveni-  
endi non dabat: superbè  
respondebat, et crudeliter  
imperabat: Spartam redire  
nolebat: Colonas, qui lo-  
cus in agro Troade est, se-  
contulerat: ibi consilia  
cum patriæ, tum sibi ini-  
mica capiebat. Id post-  
quam Lacedæmonii rescie-  
verunt, legatos ad eum  
cum Scytala miserunt, in

having understood his mind, being  
rendered more forward for the ma-  
nagement of the affair, fell under  
the suspicion of the Lacedæmoni-  
ans. In the middle of which  
transaction, being recalled home,  
and accused of this capital crime,  
he is acquitted; yet is fined a sum  
of money: for which reason he  
was not sent back to the fleet.

CHAP. III. But he not long af-  
ter, returned to the army of his  
own accord; and there discovered  
his intentions, not after a cun-  
ning, but a mad manner. For he  
not only laid aside his country  
manners, but even its furniture  
and dress. He had the equipage of  
a king, the Median robe: Me-  
dian and Egyptian guards at-  
tended him: he feasted after the  
manner of the Persians, more lu-  
xuriously than they that were  
with him could endure: he did  
not grant access to those that de-  
sired to wait upon him: he an-  
swered proudly, and commanded  
cruelly: he would not return to  
Sparta: he retired to Colona,  
which place is in the territory of  
Troas<sup>E</sup>, where he formed designs  
of pernicious tendency, both to his  
country and himself. After the  
Lacedæmonians understood it, they  
sent messengers to him with a  
Scytala<sup>H</sup>; in which was writ, af-  
qua:

<sup>E</sup> Troas was a country of Asia Minor, so called from the city  
Troy, that was in it; it lay along the Hellespont.

<sup>H</sup> This scytala was a white roll of parchment wrapped about a  
black stick, about nine cubits long. It was used thus: When the

qua more illorum erat scriptum, nisi domum reverteretur, se capitis cum damnaturos. Hoc nuncio commotus, sperans, se etiam pecuniâ et potentiâ instans periculum posse depellere, domum rediit. Huc ut venit, ab Ephoris in vincula publica conjectus est. Licet enim legibus eorum cuivis Ephoro hoc facere regi. Hinc tamen se expedit; neque cò magis carbat suspicione: nam opinio manebat, eum cum rege habere societatem. Est genus quoddam hominum, quod *Helotes* vocatur, quorum magna multitudo agros Lacedæmoniorum colit, servorumque munere fungitur. Hos quoque sollicitare spe libertatis existimabatur: sed quòd harum rerum nullum erat apertum crimen, quo argui posset, non putabant de tali tamque claro viro su-

ter their fission, that unless he returned home, they would condemn him to die. Being startled at this message, hoping that he might keep off the danger that threatened him, even by his money and his power, he returned home. As soon as he came here, he was clapped into public custody by the Ephori: for by their laws it is allowable for any Ephorus to do this to a king. Yet he got himself rid of that grievance: nor yet was he the more free from suspicion; for this opinion of him continued, that he had an agreement with the king of Persia. There is a certain kind of men, which is called *Helots*<sup>k</sup>, of which a great number till the lands of the Lacedæmonians, and perform the office of slaves. He was supposed to solicit these also to join him, with the hopes of liberty; but because there was no charge against him, as to these things, well made out, upon which he might be convicted, they did not think it reasonable to pass sentence upon so great and so famous a

magistrates gave commission to any as general or admiral, they took two round pieces of wood, of the same size exactly; one of those they kept, the other was given to the commander, to whom as oft as they had occasion to send any private dispatches, they cut a long narrow scroll of parchment, and rolling it about their own staff, one told close upon another, they wrote their business upon it: then taking it off, sent it away to the commander, who applying it to his own staff, the folds exactly fell in one with another, as at the writing; and the characters, which, before it was wrapped up, were confusedly disjointed and unintelligible, appeared very plain.

i Our author here imitates the Greek authors, who used to call the king of Persia simply, or by way of eminence, *The King*, and sometimes *The great King*.

k So called from Helos, a town of Laconia, which was conquered by the Spartans, who made all the inhabitants prisoners of war, and reduced them into the condition of slaves.

spicionibus



suspicionibus oportere judicari: sed expectandum, dum se ipsa res aperiret.

CAP. IV. Interim Argilius quidam adolescentulus, quem puerum Pausanias amore venerico dilexerat, cum epistolam ab eo ad Artabazum accepisset, eique in suspicionem venisset, aliquid in ea de se esse scriptum, quod nemo eorum redisset, qui super tali causa eodem missi erant; vincula epistolæ laceravit, signoque detracto, cognovit, si pertulisset, sibi esse pereundum. Erant in eadem epistola, quæ ad ea pertinebant, quæ inter regem Pausaniamque conveniant. Hæc ille literas Ephoris tradidit. Non est prætereunda gravitas<sup>m</sup> Lacedæmoniorum hoc loco. Nam ne hujus quidem indicio impulsæ sunt, ut Pausaniam comprehenderent: neque prius vim adhibendam putaverunt, quam se ipse indicasset. Itaque huic indicii, quid fieri vellent,

man, upon suspicions; but that they ought to stay till the matter discovered itself.

CHAP. IV. In the mean time one Argilius, a young man, whom when a boy Pausanias had loved with a venerical passion, having received a letter from him to Artabazus; and it coming into his fancy, that there was something writ in it about himself, because none of those had come back again, who had been sent to the same place upon such an occasion; he tore<sup>l</sup> the string of the epistle, and taking off the seal, he understood, if he carried it, he was to perish. There was in the same epistle what appertained to those things, which had been agreed on betwixt the king and Pausanias. He delivered this letter to the Ephori. The steadiness of the Lacedæmonians upon this occasion is not to be passed by. For they were not wrought upon even by his information, to seize Pausanias; nor did they think any force was to be used against him before he discovered himself. Wherefore they ordered the informer what they would have done. There is a temple of Neptune at Tenarus<sup>n</sup>,

<sup>l</sup> The way of writing letters was anciently upon wooden tablets, covered with wax; these they used to clap together, and tie with a thread, the note of which had a seal upon it.

<sup>m</sup> *Gravis* properly signifies heavy: and as things that are heavy are not easily moved, thence it was figuratively applied to such as are not apt to alter their purposes, or form resolutions, but upon weighty considerations; and agreeably to this sense of *gravis* is *gravitas* here used.

<sup>n</sup> [Tenarus was a promontory of Laconia, (a large country of Peloponnesus), under which is an hollow cave with a wide mouth, which some thought to be the entrance of hell.]

præceperunt.



præceperunt. Fanum Neptuni est Tanari, quod violare nefas putant Græci: eò ille index confugit: in ara confedit. Hanc juxta, locum fecerunt sub terra, ex quo posset audiri, si quis quid loqueretur cum Argilio. Huc ex Ephoris quidam descenderunt. Pausanias, ut audivit Argilium confugisse in aram, perturbatus eò venit; quem cum supplicem Dei videret in ara sedentem, quaerit, causæ quid sit tam repentino consilio: Huic ille, quid ex literis comperisset, aperit. Tanto magis Pausanias perturbatus orare cœpit, ne enunciaret, nec se, meritum de illi optime, proderet. Quod si eam veniam sibi dedisset, tantisque implicitum rebus sublevasset, magno esse ei præmio futurum.

CAP. V. His rebus Ephori cognitis, satius putaverunt in urbe eum comprehendi. Quò cum essent profecti, et Pausanias, placato Argilio, (et putabat), Lacedæmonem reverteretur; in itinere, cum jam in eo esset, ut comprehenderetur, è vultu cujusdam Ephori, qui eum admonere cupiebat, insidias sibi fieri intellexit. Itaque paucis ante gradibus, quam qui sequebatur, in ædem Minervæ,

which the Greeks account it a most heinous crime to profane. Thither the informer fled, and sat upon the altar. Nigh this they made a place under ground, from whence, if any one talked any thing with Argilius, it might be overheard. Some of the Ephori went down into it. Pausanias, as soon as he heard that Argilius was fled to the altar, came thither in great disorder; whom when he saw sitting upon the altar as a suppliant to the god, he asks what the reason was of this sudden resolution: He tells him what he had discovered from the letter. Pausanias, being so much the more confounded, began to beg, that he would not discover it, nor betray him, that had deserved very well from him: and that if he would but grant him that favour, and would relieve him now intangled in such mighty difficulties, he should have a considerable reward for it.

CHAP. V. The Ephori having understood these things, thought it better to have him seized in the city. Whither as they were going, and Pausanias, having pacified Argilius, as he thought, was returning to Lacedæmon; in the way, when he was now upon the point of being seized, he understood, by the look of a certain Ephorus, who desired to acquaint him, that there was a design upon him. Wherefore he fled into the temple of Minerva, which is called Chalcia-cus, a few steps before those that followed him. That he might not

quæ

quæ ° Chalciæcus vocatur, confugit. Hinc ne exire posset, statim ephori valvas ejus ædis obstruxerunt, tectumque sunt demoliti, quò facilius sub divo interiret. Dicitur eo tempore matrem Pausaniæ vixisse; eamque jam magno natu, postquam de scelere filii comperit, in primis, ad filium claudendum, lapidem ad introitum ædis attulisse. Sic Pausanias magnam belli gloriam turpi morte maculavit. Hic cum femi-animis de templo clatus esset, confestim animam efflavit. Cujus mortui corpus cum eodem nonnulli dicerent inferri oportere, quò hi, qui ad supplicium essent dati; displicuit pluribus; et procul ab eo lo-

get out hence, the Ephori immediately blocked up the folding-doors of the temple, and took off the roof, ° that he might die the more easily in the open air. It is said, that the ° mother of Pausanias was living at that time; and that she, being now of a great age, after she had been informed of the wickedness of her son, brought amongst the foremost, a stone to the entrance of the temple, to shut up her son. Thus Pausanias sullied the great glory he had got in the war, by a shameful death. After he had been brought half dead out of the temple, he immediately breathed out his soul. The body of whom, being dead, when some said ought to be carried into the same place whither they were carried, who were delivered up to capital punishment, it displeased many; and they buried him a great way

° [Chalciæcus (a Greek word which signifies having a house of brass) was an epithet of Minerva among the Lacedæmonians, according to Plutarch; and she was so called from her statue that was made of brass, and placed in the temple at Lacedæmon; but the temple itself is called by Livy and Elian, Chalciæcum, that is, the house or temple of brass.]

° This reason of our author's seems trifling; and therefore, I am apt to think, is not the true one: there was, I fancy, some point of superstition in the case.

° This behaviour of a mother to a son will appear almost incredible to such as are unacquainted with the temper and spirit of the Lacedæmonians, which was very singular; but if that be considered, there was nothing strange or extraordinary in the matter. It was customary with the mothers, when their sons went to the war, to deliver them their shield with these words, ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἰνὶ τὰς, i. e. Either bring this back, or be brought upon it; as much as to say, Lose your life rather than this. Nay, there are authors who tell us, that upon news of the defeat of a Lacedæmonian army, it was usual for the relations of the slain to meet with all the signs of joy, congratulating one another; whilst the relations of such as had saved themselves by running away, appeared with dejected melancholy looks, or durst not show their heads at all for shame.

co infoderunt, in quo erat mortuus. Inde posterius dei Delphici responso erutus, atque eodem loco sepultus, ubi vitam posuerat.

*from that place in which he died. He was afterwards taken up, upon an answer of the Delphian oracle, and buried in the place where he had ended his life.*

## V.

CIMON, Miltiadis filius, Atheniensis.

## CAP. I.

CIMON, Miltiad's filius, Atheniensis, duro admodum initio usus est adolescentiæ. Nam cum pater ejus litem æstimatam populo solvere non potuisset, ob eamque causam in vinculis publicis decessisset, Cimon eadem custodiâ, tenebatur, neque legibus Atheniensium emitti poterat, nisi pecuniam, quâ pater multatus esset, solvisset. Habebat autem in matrimonio<sup>a</sup> sororem suam germanam, nomine Elpinicen, non magis amore, quam patrio more, ductus: nam Atheniensibus licet eodem patre natas, uxores ducere. Hujus conjugii cupidus Callias quidam, non tam gencrosus, quam pecuniosus, qui magnas pecunias ex metal-

## V.

CIMON, the son of Miltiades, the Athenian.

## CHAP. I.

CIMON, the son of Miltiades, the Athenian, had a very hard entrance upon his state of manhood. For whereas his father was not able to pay the people his fine, and for that reason died in the public gaol; Cimon was confined in the same custody, nor could he be discharged by the laws of the Athenians, unless he paid the sum his father had been fined. Now he had in marriage his sister of the same father, by name Elpinice, not more induced to it by love, than the passion of his country; for it is lawful for the Athenians to marry those that are born of the same father. One Callias being desirous of this match, not so much a gentleman as a moneyed man, who had got a great estate by the mines, dealt with Cimon, to give him her to

<sup>a</sup> [Soror germana, sister-german, properly is a sister both by father and mother's side; soror consanguinea, a sister by the father's side only; and soror uterina, a sister by the mother's side only: so with respect to frater germanus, consanguineus, uterinus. But this distinction is not always observed by classic authors.]



lis fecerat, cgit cum Cimonē, ut eam sibi uxorem daret: id si impetrasset, se pro illo pecuniam soluturum. Is cum talem conditionem aspernaretur, Elpinice negavit se passuram Miltiadis progeniem in vinculis publicis interire, quoniam prohibere posset; seque Calliæ nupturam, si ea, quæ polliceretur, præstitisset.

CAP. II. Tali modo custodiâ liberatus Cimon, celeriter ad principatum pervenit. Habebat enim satis eloquentiæ, summam liberalitatem, magnam prudentiam cum juris civilis, tum rei militaris, quod cum patre à puero in exercitu fuerat versatus. Itaque hic et populum urbanum in sua tenuit potestate, et apud exercitum plurimum valuit auctoritate. Primum imperator apud flumen Strymona magnas copias Thracum fugavit, oppidum Amphipolim constituit, eoque decem millia Atheniensium in coloniam misit. Idem iterum apud

wife, promising, if he obtained that of him, that he would pay the money for him. When he rejected this offer, Elpinice denied that she would suffer the son of Miltiades to die in the public gaol, since she could hinder it; and that she would marry Callias, if he would perform the things, which he promised.

CHAP. II. Cimon being delivered out of custody in this manner, quickly came to the greatest eminence. For he had eloquence enough, the utmost generosity, great skill, as well in the civil law as military affairs, because he had been with his father in the army from a child. Wherefore he both kept the people of the town at his command, and swayed much by his authority with the army. In the first place, being commander of the Athenian forces, he routed a great body of the Thracians at the river <sup>b</sup> Strymon, built the town of <sup>c</sup> Amphipolis, and sent ten thousand Athenians as a colony thither. The same man again at <sup>e</sup> Mycale, took a fleet of two hundred ships of the Cyprians

<sup>b</sup> Strymon was a river of Macedonia, nigh the borders of Thrace.

<sup>c</sup> Amphipolis was built upon the bay and river of Strymon, which did almost surround the city, from whence it had its name. The modern Greeks call it *Chrysopolis*, and the Turks *Emboli*.

<sup>d</sup> [A colony is a company of people transplanted from one place to another, with an allowance of land for their tillage: a city or state propagated as it were from another.]

<sup>e</sup> Mycale was a town of Caria. [Pomponius Mela, *lib. 1. cap. 14*, and others say, that this sea-fight happened at the mouth of Eurymedon, a river in Pamphylia.]



Mycalen, Cyprianorum et Phœnicum ducentarum navium classem devictam cepit; eodemque die pari fortunâ in terra usus est. Namque hostium navibus captis, statim ex classe copias suas eduxit, barbarorum uno concursu maximam vim prostravit. Quâ victoriâ, magnâ prædâ potitus, cum domum reverteretur, quod jam nonnullæ insulæ, propter acerbitatem imperii, defecerant, benè animatas confirmavit, alienatas ad officium redire coëgit. Scyrum, quam eo tempore Dolopes incolabant, quod contumaciùs se gesserat, vacuefecit; sesores veteres urbe insulâque ejecit; agros civibus divisit. Thasios opulentiam fretos suo adventu fregit. His ex manubiis Athenarum arx, quâ ad meridiem vergit, est ornata.

CAP. III. Quibus rebus cum unus in civitate maximè floreret; incidit in eandem invidiam, quam pater suus, cæterique Atheniensium principes. Nam testarum suffragiis, quod

and the Phœnicians, which he conquered; and the same day had the like good fortune by land. For after he had taken the enemy's ships, he immediately drew his forces out of the fleet, and at one push overthrew a mighty army of the barbarians. In which victory getting a great deal of plunder as he was returning home, because now some islands had revolted, by reason of the rigour of the Athenian government, he fixed the well-affected, and the revolters he obliged to return to their duty. He swept Scyrus of its people; which at that time the Dolopes inhabited, because it had behaved itself obstinately; turned the old inhabitants out of the city and island; divided the lands amongst his citizens. He reduced the Thasians, elated with their great wealth, upon his arrival amongst them. Out of these spoils the citadel of Athens was beautified, where it looks to the south.

CHAP. III. By which means, as he made the greatest figure in the city, he fell under the same odium, which his father, and the rest of the great men of the Athenians, had done. For he was punished with the banish-

† The Phœnicians were a people of Asia upon the coasts of the Mediterranean, eastward from Cyprus, famous for their skill in sea affairs, and the great traffic they carried on up and down the Mediterranean.

§ Scyrus is an island of the Egean sea, a little above Eubœa.

¶ The Dolopes were a people of Thessaly.

i Thasus, now Thaso, is an island of the Egean sea, nigh the coast of Thrace.

illi ὀστρακισμόν (*ostracismum*) vocant, decem annorum exilio multatus est. Cujus facti celerius Athenienses, quam ipsam, poenituit. Nam cum ille forti animo invidiæ ingratorum civium cessisset, bellumque Lacedæmonii Atheniensibus indixissent, confestim notæ ejus virtutis desiderium consequutum est. Itaque post annum quintum, quam expulsus erat, in patriam revocatus est. Ille, quod & hospitio Lacedæmoniorum utebatur, satius existimans<sup>k</sup> eos et cives suos inter se unâ voluntate consentire, quam armis contendere, Lacedæmonem suâ sponte est profectus, pacemque inter duas potentissimas civitates conciliavit. Post, neque ita multo, in Cyprum cum ducentis navibus imperator missus, cum ejus majorem partem insulæ devicisset, in

ment of ten years, by the votes of the shells, which they call *ostracism*. Which action the Athenians were sooner sorry for than himself. For after he had given way to the hatred of his ungrateful countrymen with a gallant mind, and the Lacedæmonians had proclaimed war against the Athenians, immediately a great miss of his known bravery and conduct followed. Wherefore he was recalled into his country, five years after his banishment. He, because he had a great friendship for the Lacedæmonians, thinking it better that they and his countrymen should agree betwixt themselves in the same mind, than contend together with arms, went to Lacedæmon of his own accord, and made a peace betwixt those two most powerful states. And not long after, being sent admiral into Cyprus, with two hundred ships, after he had conquered the greatest part of that island, falling into a distemper,

<sup>k</sup> *Hospitium* properly signifies lodging or entertainment, but is likewise used for friendship: for in the more early ages of the world, before the convenience of public inns was thought of, persons that travelled, lodged in private houses, and were obliged to return the favour to those that entertained them, if need required. This was the occasion of the most intimate friendship betwixt the parties, inasmuch that they treated one another as relations. Thence the word *hospitium* came to signify friendship founded upon that bottom.

<sup>l</sup> [*Eos et cives suos inter se unâ voluntate consentire, quam armis contendere.* Some editions want this part of the sentence, but others have it, such as that of *M. And. Stubæus*, printed at *Leipsic* anno 1715, who is very particular in noticing the various readings; as also that little neat copy printed by *Peter Mortier* at *Amsterdam*, anno 1704, from *Jo. And. Bosius*, who is reckoned one of the most accurate editors of *Nepos*.]

morbum implicitus, in opido Citio est mortuus.

CAP. IV. Hunc Athenienses non solum in bello, sed in pace, diu desideraverunt. Fuit enim tantâ liberalitate, cum compluribus locis prædia, hortosque haberet, ut nunquam in eis custodem imposuerit fructus servandi gratiâ, ne quis impediretur, quo minus ejus rebus, quibus quisque vellet, frueretur. Sempereum pedisseque cum nummis sunt secuti, ut, si quis opis ejus indigeret, haberet, quod statim daret, ne differendo videretur negare. Sæpe, cum aliquem offensum fortunâ, videret minus bene vestitum, suum amiculum dedit. Quotidie sic cœna ei coquebatur, ut quos invocatos vidisset in foro, omnes devocaret: quod facere nullum diem prætermittebat. Nulli fides ejus, nulli opera, nulli res familiaris defuit: multos locupletavit: Complures pauperes mortuos, qui unde esserentur, non reliquissent, suo sumtu extulit. Sic se gerendo, minimè est mirandum, si et vita ejus fuisset secura, et mors acerba.

he died in the town of<sup>m</sup> Citium.

CHAP. IV. The Athenians had a miss of him a long time, not only in war, but in peace. For he was a man of so great generosity, that having estates and gardens in several places, he never placed a keeper in them, upon account of preserving the fruit, lest any should be hindered from enjoying his things as every one pleased. Footmen always followed him with money, that if any one stood in need of his assistance, he might have to give him immediately, lest he should seem to deny him, by putting him off. Oftentimes, when he saw any one<sup>n</sup> ill handled by fortune, less handsomely clad, he gave him his own coat. His supper was so dressed for him every day, that he invited all whom he saw in the forum, not invited elsewhere, which he omitted to do no day. His faithfulness was wanting to none, his service to none, his estate to none: he enriched many: he buried at his own charge many poor people when dead, who had not left wherewith they might be buried. It is not to be wondered at, if upon behaving himself thus, both his life was secure, and his death afflicting.

<sup>m</sup> [Citium was a town of Cyprus.]

<sup>n</sup> I am afraid the Latin text is corrupted here, *offensus fortuna* being, in my opinion, no very intelligible expression.

## VI.

LYSANDER, Lacedæmonius.

## CAP. I.

LYfander Lacedæmonius magnam reliquit fui famam, magis felicitate, quàm virtute partam. Athenienfes enim in Peloponnefios fexto et vicesimo anno bellum gerentes confeciffe, apparet. Id quâ ratione confecutus fit, latet. Non enim virtute fui exercitûs, fed immodestiâ factum eft adverfariorum, qui, quòd dicto audientes imperatoribus fuis non erant, difpalati in agris, relictis navibus, in hoftium venerunt potestatem. Quo facto Athenienfes fe Lacedæmoniis dederunt. Hâc victoriâ Lyfander elatus, cùm antea femp̃ factiofus, audaxque fuiffet, fic fibi indulfit, ut ejus operâ in maximum odium Græciæ Lacedæmonii pervenerint. Nam cùm hanc caufam Lacedæmonii diciffent fibi effe belli, ut Athenienfibus impotentem domi-

## VI.

LYSANDER, the Lacedæmonian.

## CHAP. I.

LYfander the Lacedæmonian left a great name behind him, got more by his good fortune than his good behaviour. For it is apparent, that he conquered the Athenians, carrying on a war against the Peloponnefians, in the fix and twentieth year thereof. But how he effected that, <sup>a</sup> is but little known. For it was not brought about by the valour of his army, but by the unruly behaviour of his enemies; who, because they were not obedient to their commanders, being difperfed in the country, having left their fhips, came under the power of their enemies; upon which the Athenians fubmitted themselves to the Lacedæmonians. Lyfander being elevated with this victory, having been before always a factious and a bold man, gave himself fo much liberty, that by his means the Lacedæmonians came under a very great odium of Greece. For whereas the Lacedæmonians had faid, that their

nationem

<sup>a</sup> [By what immediately follows here, one would readily think the author plainly fhowes how Lyfander effected that; and therefore fome are of opinion, that we fhould read in the text *non latet*, it is known, or, we are not ignorant.]

<sup>b</sup> *Impotens* fignifies *weak*, or *wanting power* properly, yet is oftentimes applied to perfons in the greateft power, as kings and princes; but then they are confidered as under the influence and command of



nationem refringerent ; postquam apud Ægos flumen Lyfander classis hostium est potitus, nihil aliud molitus est, quàm ut omnes civitates in sua teneret potestate, cùm id se Lacedæmoniorum causâ facere simularet. Namque undique, qui Atheniensium rebus studuissent, ejectis, decem delegerat in unaquaque civitate, quibus summum imperium, potestatemque omnium rerum committeret. Horum in numerum nemo admittebatur, nisi qui aut ejus hospitio contineretur, aut se illius fore proprium fide confirmârat.

CAP. II. Ita decemviri potestate in omnibus urbibus constitutâ, ipsius nutu omnia gerebantur. Cujus de crudelitate ac perfidia, fatis est unam rem, exempli gratiâ, proferre, ne de eodem plura enumerando fatigemus lectores. Victor ex Asia cùm reverteretur, Thasumque divertisset, quod ea civitas præcipuâ fide fuerat erga Athenienses, proinde ac si iidem firmissimi solerent esse amici, qui constantes fuissent inimici, eam pervers-

reason for the war was this, that they might curb the outrageous tyranny of the Athenians ; after Lyfander made himself master of the enemy's fleet at the river <sup>c</sup> Ægos, he laboured nothing else so much, as that he might have all the cities at his devotion, whilst he pretended he did that upon the account of the Lacedæmonians. For those being every where turned out, who favoured the interest of the Athenians, he chose ten in every city, to whom he entrusted the supreme authority and management of all affairs. No body was admitted into their number, but who either was engaged to him by friendship, or assured him by promise, that he would be entirely his.

CHAP. II. The decemviral authority being thus established in all cities, all things were managed by his direction. Concerning whose cruelty and perfidiousness, it is sufficient to produce one instance, for example's sake, lest we should tire our readers, by reckoning up many concerning the same man. When he returned victorious out of Asia, and had taken a turn to Thasus, because that had been a state of extraordinary fidelity to the Athenians, as if those used to be the fast friends, who had been resolute enemies, he was desirous

their passions, and wanting power to govern themselves, and keep within bounds. Thence it signifies extravagant, proud, intolerable, as here.

<sup>c</sup> A river of Thrace falling into the Hellespont ; it is called also Ægos Potamos, i. e. the Goats River.

tere concupivit. Vidit autem, nisi in eo occultâset voluntatem, futurum, ut Thasii dilaberentur, confulerentque rebus suis. \* \* \* \*

CAP. III. Itaque decemviralem suam potestatem, sui ab illo constitutam sustulerunt. Quo dolore incensus, iniit consilia, reges Lacedæmoniorum tollere; sed sentiebat, id se sine ope decorum facere non posse, quòd Lacedæmonii omnia ad oracula referre consueverant. Primum itaque Delphos corrumpere est conatus. Cum id non potuisset, Dodonam adortus est. Hinc quoque repulsus, dixit se vota suscepisse, quæ Jovi Ammoni solveret, ex-

to reduce it; but he saw that unless he concealed his design, it would come to pass, that the Thasians would slip away, and provide for their own security. \* \* \* \*<sup>d</sup>

CHAP. III. Wherefore his countrymen abolished his decemviral authority set up by him. With which provocation being fired, he entered into a design to take away the <sup>c</sup> kings of the Lacedæmonians; but was sensible he could not do that without the help of the gods, because the Lacedæmonians had been accustomed to propose all things to the oracles. Wherefore first he attempted to <sup>e</sup> corrupt Delphi. When he could not effect that, he tried <sup>g</sup> Dodona. Being rejected here too, he said he had made a vow, which he must pay to <sup>h</sup> Jupiter Ham-

<sup>d</sup> [Polyænus, i. 45. 4. supplies what is wanting here to this purpose: *Simulavit ergo, se veniam dare his, qui laterent; benignissimâ oratione habitâ in templo Herculis; sed fidem habentes et prodeuntes post paulò iussit interfici.* Wherefore he (Lyfander) pretended to pardon these (Thasians) that had absconded, in a very kind speech he had made in the temple of Hercules; but a little after, upon their believing him to be ingenuous, and as they were coming out of their hiding-places, he ordered them all to be slain.]

<sup>e</sup> The Lacedæmonians had two kings at once, both of the posterity of Hercules. They used to command their armies, and were indeed more properly generals only, than kings; for their power in the government was but small, being subjected to the censure of, and liable to be deposed by the magistrates, called *Ephori*.

<sup>f</sup> It may seem a little wonderful, that these oracle-mongers should all prove so backward to comply with Lyfander, since they might, it is likely, have been well paid for it, and their only business and trade was to tell lies, and take money. They must have looked upon his design as rash, desperate, and impracticable, as what would bring them under a strong suspicion of corruption, lessen their authority, and spoil their trade, otherwise, no doubt, they would have been glad enough to finger his money.

<sup>g</sup> Dodona was a city in Epire, famous for an oracle of Jupiter.

<sup>h</sup> The oracle of Jupiter Hammon was in the deserts of Lybia, on the west of Egypt.

istimans, se Afros facilius corrupturum. Hâc spe cùm profectus esset in Africam; multum eum antistites Jovis fefellerunt: nam non solum corrumpi non potuerunt, sed etiam legatos Lacedæmona miserunt, qui Lyfandrum accusarent, quod sacerdotes fœni corrumpere conatus esset. Accusatus hoc crimine, judicunque absolutus sententiis, Orchomeniis missus subsidio, occisus est à Thebanis apud Haliartum. Quam verè de eo foret judicatum, oratio indicio fuit, quæ post mortem in domo ejus reperta est; in qua suadet Lacedæmoniis, ut regiâ potestate dissolutâ, ex omnibus dux deligatur ad bellum gerendum: sed ita scripta, ut deorum videretur congruere sententiæ, quam ille se habiturum, pecuniâ fidens, non dubitabat. Hanc ei scripsisse Cleon Halicarnasseus dicitur.

CAP. IV. Atque hoc loco non est prætereundum factum Pharnabazi, satrapis regii. Nam cùm Lyfander præfectus classis in bello multa crudeliter avarèque fecisset, deque his rebus suspicaretur ad cives suos esse perlatum; petiit à Pharna-

mon, thinking he should more easily bribe the Africans. When he was come into <sup>i</sup> Africa with these hopes, the priests of Jupiter deceived him much: for they not only could not be bribed, but likewise sent deputies to Lacedæmon, to accuse Lyfander of having endeavoured to bribe the priests of the temple. Being impeached for this crime, and acquitted by the votes of his judges, he was sent to the relief of the <sup>k</sup> Orchomenians, and slain by the Thebans at <sup>l</sup> Haliartus. How truly they had judged of him, a speech of his was a proof, which was found in his house after his death; in which he advises the Lacedæmonians, that, dissolving the regal authority, a general should be chosen from among them all, to carry on the war; but so written, that it seemed to agree with the advice of the gods, which he, trusting to his money, did not doubt he should have. Cleon of Halicarnassus is said to have writ this for him.

CHAP. IV. And in this place an action of Pharnabazus, viceroy of the king of Persia, is not to be passed by. For when Lyfander, being admiral of the fleet, had done many things in the war cruelly and covetously, and suspected that advice had been carried to his countrymen of those things;

i [Africa is the third part of the terraqueous globe, lying for the most part under the torrid zone.]

k The Orchomenians were a people of Bœotia.

l Haliartus, a city of Bœotia.

bazo, ut ad Ephoros sibi testimonium daret, quantâ sanctitate bellum gessisset, sociosque tractâset, deque ea re accuratè scriberet: magnam enim ejus auctoritatem in ea re futuram. Huic ille liberaliter pollicetur: librum gravem multis verbis conscripsit, in quo summis eum effert laudibus. Quem cum legisset, probâsetque, dum obignatur, alterum pari magnitudine, tantâ similitudine, ut discerni non posset, signatum subjecit; in quo accuratissimè ejus avaritiam perfidiamque accusârat. Hinc Lyfander domum cum redisset, postquam de suis rebus gestis apud maximum magistratum, quæ voluerat, dixerat, testimonii loco librum à Pharnabazo datum tradidit. Hunc, summo Lyfandro, cum Ephori cognovissent, ipsi legendum dederunt. Ita ille imprudens ipse suus fuit accusator.

*he requested of Pharnabazus, that he would give him a testimonial to the Ephori, with how much integrity he had carried on the war, and treated their allies, and that he would write fully as to that matter; for that his authority would be great in that case. He promises him frankly, writ a large letter in many words, in which he extols him with the highest praises. Which when he had read, and approved, whilst it is a-sealing, he put in its room another of equal bigness, and such likeness, that it could not be distinguished from it, ready signed; in which he had charged him very particularly with his covetousness and treachery. After this, when Lyfander was come home, after he had said what he had a mind before the chief magistrate, concerning his exploits, he delivered the letter given him by Pharnabazus, by way of testimonial. Lyfander being ordered to withdraw, when the Ephori had looked it over, they gave it him to read. So he was unaware his own accuser.*

## VII.

ALCIBIADES, Clinix  
filius, Atheniensis.

## CAP. I.

**A**Leibiades Clinix filius, Atheniensis: In hoc natura, quid efficere

## VII.

ALCIBIADES, the son of  
Clinias, the Athenian.

## CHAP. I.

**A**Leibiades the son of Clinias, the Athenian: Nature seems to have tried in him what she possit,



possit, videtur experta. Constat enim inter omnes, qui de eo memoriæ prodiderunt, nihil illo fuisse excellentius, vel in vitiis, vel in virtutibus. Natus in amplissimâ civitate, summo genere, omnium ætatis suæ multò formosissimus, ad omnes res aptus, consilii-que plenus. Namque imperator fuit summus et mari et terrâ; disertus, ut in primis dicendo valeret: quòd tanta erat commendatio oris atque orationis, ut nemo ei dicendo posset resistere. Dives; cum tempus posceret, laboriosus, patiens, liberalis, splendidus, non minùs in vita, quàm victu: affabilis, blundus, temporibus callidissimè inserviens. Idem, simul ac se remiserat, neque causa suberat, quare animi laborem perferret, luxuriosus, dissolutus, libidinosus, intemperans reperiebatur: ut omnes admirarentur, in uno homine tantam inesse dissimilitudinem, tamque diversam naturam.

CAP. II. Educatus est in domo Periclis, (privignus enim ejus fuisse dicitur, eruditus à Socrate. Socerum habuit Hipponicum,

could do. For it is agreed upon amongst all, who have writ about him, that no body was more extraordinary than he, either in vices or in virtues, being born in a very great city, of a great family, much the handsomest man of all his time, fit for all things, and abounding in sense for the management of affairs. For he was a very great commander both by sea and land; so eloquent, that he mightily prevailed in speaking: because the plausibleness of his elocution and language was so great, that in bating no body was able to stand before him. He was rich too; yet when occasion required, was laborious, hardy, generous, splendid, no less in his equipage than his diet; affable, fawning, very cunningly serving the times. The same man, when he had unbent himself, and there was no reason, why he should take upon him any labour of thought, was found to be luxurious, dissolute, lustful, and intemperate; inso-much that all admired, that in the same man there should be so much unlikeness to himself, and so different a nature.

CHAP. II. He was educated in the house of Pericles (for he is said to have been his stepson), instructed by <sup>a</sup> Socrates: He had for his father-in-law Hipponicus, the

<sup>a</sup> This Socrates was the greatest man among the ancients: such a complete master of his passions, that one of the greatest misfortunes that can befall a good man, a scolding wife, was not able to discompose or put him out of temper in the least.

omnium b Græcorum ditissimum; ut, si ipse finire vellet, neque plura bona reminisci, neque majora posset consequi, quam vel fortuna vel natura tribuerat. Ineunte adolescentiâ, amatus est à multis, more Græcorum; in eis à Socrate, de quo mentionem facit Plato in Symposio: namque eum induxit commemorantem, se pernoctasse cum Soerate, neque aliter ab eo surrexisse, ac filius à parente debuerit. Posteaquam robustior est factus, non minus multos amavit, in quorum amore, quoad licitum est, odiosa multa delicatè jocoseque fecit: quæ referemus, nisi majora potioraque haberemus.

CAP. III. Bello Peloponnesiaco, hujus consilio atque auctoritate Athenienses bellum Syracusanis indixerunt: ad quod gerendum ipse dux electus est. Duo præterea collegæ dati, Nicias et La-

*richest of all the Greeks; that if he would have contrived for himself, he could neither have thought of more advantages, nor have compassed greater, than either fortune or nature had bestowed upon him. In the entrance upon his manhood, he was beloved by many, after the fashion of the Greeks; and amongst them by Socrates, of whom Plato makes mention in his Symposium: for he has brought him in relating, that he lay all night with Socrates, and rose from him no otherwise than a son ought to do from his father. After he was grown more a man, he loved as many, in the love of whom, so far as it was allowable by the laws, he did many odious things wantonly and jocosely; which we should relate, but that we have greater and better things to relate of him.*

CHAP. III. In the <sup>c</sup> Peloponnesian war, by his advice and persuasion, the Athenians proclaimed war against the Syracusans d, for the management of which he was chosen general. Two colleagues besides were given him, Nicias and Lamachus. Whilst that

b [Some copies have in the text here, *Græcæ linguae eloquentiâ ditissimum*; but in regard Plutarch affirms, that Hipponicus was not eloquent, but immensely rich: therefore others read *omnium Græcorum ditissimum*; which, because thought to be the better reading, is here inserted.]

c This Peloponnesian war was so called, because all the states of Peloponnesus joined in it, under the command of the Lacedæmonians, against the Athenians. It began in the year before Christ 430, and ended in the taking of Athens, after the fatal battle of the river Ægos, mentioned above, in the year before Christ 403.

d Syracuse is still a noted city on the eastern coast of the isle of Sicily, built, and at first inhabited by a colony of the Corinthians.

machus. Id cū apparetur, priusquam classis exiret, accidit, ut unā nocte omnes Hermæ, qui in oppido erant Athenis, deijcerentur, præter unum, qui ante januam erat Andocidi. Itaque ille postea Mercurius Andocidis vocatus est. Hoc cū appareret, non sine magna multorum consensione esse factum, quod non ad privatam, sed ad publicam rem pertineret, magnus multitudini timor est injectus, ne qua repentina vis in civitate existeret, quæ libertatem opprimeret populi. Hoc maximè convenire in Alcibiadem videbatur, quod et potentior et major, quàm privatus, existimabatur. Multos enim liberalitate devinxerat, plures etiam operâ forensi suos reddiderat. Quare fiebat, ut omnium oculos, quotiescunque in publicum prodisset, ad se converteret, neque ei par quisquam in civitate poneretur. Itaque non solum spem in eo habebant maximam, sed etiam timorem, quod et obesse plurimum, et prodesse poterat. Aspergebatur etiam iusfantiâ, quod

expedition was a-preparing for, before the fleet went out, it happened, that in one night all the <sup>c</sup>Mercuries, which were in the town of Athens, were thrown down, except one, which was before the door of Andocides. Therefore that was afterwards ordinarily called the Mercury of Andocides. As it appeared, this was not done without a strong confederacy of many, because it did not appertain to a private, but a public concern; a mighty terror fell upon the people, lest a sudden violence should break out in the city, that should bear down the liberty of the people. This seemed chiefly to agree to Alcibiades, because he was thought both more powerful and greater than a private person: for he had obliged many by his generosity, and rendered more his friends, by his serving them in their law-concerns. By which means it came to pass, that he turned the eyes of all people upon him, as oft as he went abroad; nor was any one counted equal to him in the whole city. Wherefore they not only had great hopes in him, but a great apprehension of him too, because he was able both to do them a great deal of mischief, and a great deal of service. He was likewise bespattered with infamy, because it was said, that he celebrated the <sup>e</sup>mysteries in

<sup>c</sup> 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.

<sup>f</sup> Rites secretly performed in honour of any god, were called *mysteries*. Those here meant are the mysteries of Ceres, worshipped in

in domo sua facere mysteria dicebatur, quod nefas erat more Atheniensium; idque non ad religionem, sed ad conjurationem pertinere existimabatur.

CAP. IV. Hoc crimine in concione ab inimicis compellabatur. Sed instabat tempus ad bellum proficiscendi. Id ille metuens, neque ignorans civium suorum consuetudinem, postulabat, ut, si quid de se agi vellent, potius de præsente quæstio haberetur, quàm absens invidiæ crimine accusaretur. Inimici verò ejus quiescendum in præsenti, quia noceri non posse intelligebant, et illud tempus expectandum decreverunt, quo exisset, ut sic absentem aggredirentur: itaque fecerunt. Nam postquam in Siciliam eum pervenisse crediderunt, absentem, quòd sacra violasset, reum fecerunt. Qua de re cùm ei nuncius a magistratu in Siciliam missus esset, ut domum ad causam dicendam rediret, essetque in magna spe provinciæ benè administrandæ; non parere noluit, et in triremem, quæ ad eum erat deportandum missa, ascendit;

*his own house, which was a heinous crime, according to the usage of the Athenians; and that was supposed not to concern religion so much, as to be an argument of a conspiracy.*

CHAP. IV. *He was charged with this crime in an assembly of the people, by his enemies. But the time for going to the war was at hand. He fearing that, and being not ignorant of the custom of his countrymen, insisted, that if they had a mind to do any thing about him, an inquiry might be made about him whilst present, rather than that he should be charged with an invidious crime, when absent. But his enemies resolved to be quiet for the present, because they were sensible that he could not be hurt, and to wait the time when he should go out, that so they might attack him when absent. And so they did. For after they believed he was got into Sicily, they impeached him, though absent, for having profaned the holy mysteries. Concerning which affair when a messenger was dispatched to him into Sicily by the government, that he should return home to plead his cause, and he was in great hopes of managing his province successfully, he would not disobey, and went aboard a ship with three banks of oars, which was sent to bring him away; and arriving at <sup>h</sup> Thurii in Italy, con-*

a singular manner at Eleusis in Attica, nigh the Saronic bay. None were admitted to the celebration of these or any other *mysteria*, but upon certain conditions, one of which was an oath of secrecy.

z A city in the country of the Brutii, in the botom of Italy.



ac Thurios in Italiam per-  
vectus, multa secum repu-  
tans de immoderata civi-  
um suorum licentia, cru-  
delitateque erga nobiles;  
utilissimum ratus impen-  
dentem evitare tempesta-  
tem, clam se à custodibus  
subduxit, et inde primum  
Elidem, deinde Thebas ve-  
nit. Postquam autem se  
capitis damnatum, bonis  
publicatis, audivit, et, id  
quod usu venerat, Eumol-  
pidas sacerdotes à populo  
coactos, ut se devoverent,  
ejusque devotionis quò te-  
stator esset memoria, ex-  
emplum in pila lapidea in-  
cisum, esse positum in pu-  
blico, Lacedæmonem de-  
migravit. Ibi (ut ipse  
prædicare consueverat) non  
adversus patriam, sed ini-  
micos suos bellum gessit,  
quò iidem hostes essent ci-  
vitati. Nam cum intellige-  
rent se plurimum prodesse  
posse reipublicæ, ex ea eje-  
cisse, plusque iræ suæ, quam  
utilitati communi paruisse.  
Itaque hujus consilio Lace-  
dæmonii cum Persarum re-  
ge amicitiam fecerunt: de-  
inde Deceliam in Attica  
munierunt, præsidioque  
perpetuo ibi posito, in ob-  
sidione Athenas tenuerunt.

*sidering much with himself of  
the extravagant licentiousness of  
his countrymen, and their cru-  
elty towards men of quality,  
judging it the most expedient to  
avoid the impending storm, he pri-  
vately withdrew himself from  
his keepers, and went from thence  
first to <sup>h</sup> Elis, and afterwards to  
<sup>i</sup> Thebes. But after he heard that  
he was condemned to die, his e-  
state being confiscated, and, that  
which had been usual, that the  
priests called <sup>k</sup> Eumolpidæ had  
been forced by the people to curse  
him, and that the monument of  
that curse might be the more pu-  
blic, a copy of the curse was  
cut in a stone pillar, and erect-  
ed in a public place, he remov-  
ed to Lacedæmon. There, as he  
used to say, he carried on a war,  
not against his country, but his  
enemies, because the same were  
enemies to the city. For because  
they understood that he could be  
very serviceable to the common-  
wealth, they had turned him  
out of it, and had more regard  
to the gratifying of their own re-  
sentment, than the common in-  
terest. Wherefore, by his advice,  
the Lacedæmonians made an al-  
liance with the king of the Per-  
sians, and then fortified <sup>i</sup> Dece-  
lia in Attica, and having pla-  
ced a constant garrison there, kept  
Athen's under a blockade. By*

<sup>h</sup> A city in the west parts of Peloponnesus.

<sup>i</sup> A city in the west parts of Achaia, north of Athens, and the me-  
tropolis of the country called Bœotia. It is now called *Stives*.

<sup>k</sup> [These were the successors in office to one Eumolpus, the inventor of  
this institution.]

<sup>l</sup> [A town about 15 miles from Athens.]

Ejusdem operâ Ioniam à societate averterunt Atheniensium : quo factò, multò superiores bello esse cœperunt.

CAP. V. Neque verò his rebus tam amici Alcibiadi sunt facti, quàm timore ab eo alienati. Nam cum acerrimi viri præstantem prudentiam in omnibus rebus cognoscerent, pertimuerunt, ne, caritate patriæ ductus, aliquando ab ipsis descisceret, et cum suis in gratiam rediret. Itaque tempus ejus interficiundi quærere instituerunt. Id Alcibiadi diutius celari non potuit : erat enim eâ sagacitate, ut decipi non posset, præsertim cum animum attendisset ad cavendum. Itaque ad Tissaphernem præfectum regis Darii se contulit, cujus cum in intimam amicitiam pervenisset, et Atheniensium, malè gestis in Sicilia rebus, opes senescere, contra Lacedæmoniorum crescere videret : initio cum Pisandro prætorè, qui apud Samum exercitum habebat, per internuntios colloquitur, et de reditu suo facit mentionem ; erat enim eodem, quo Alcibiades, sensu, populi poten-

his means they took off Ionia from the alliance of the Athenians ; upon the doing of which, they began to be much superior in the war.

CHAP. V. But they were not so much made friends to Alcibiades by these things, as they were alienated from him by fear. For as they observed the excellent conduct of this very active man in all things, they were much afraid lest, tempted by the love of his country, he should some time revolt from them, and return to a good understanding with his countrymen. Wherefore they resolved to seek an opportunity to kill him. That could not be long concealed from Alcibiades : for he was a person of that sagacity, that he could not be deceived, especially when he applied his attention to be upon his guard. Wherefore he betook himself to Tissaphernes, viceroy of king Darius, into whose intimate friendship when he was got, and perceived the power of the Athenians to decline, their affairs being ill managed in <sup>m</sup> Sicily, and on the other hand, that of the Lacedæmonians to grow, he confers at first by messengers with Pisander the commander, who had an army at <sup>n</sup> Samos, and makes mention of his return ; for he was in the same mind with Alcibiades, no friend to the power of the people, and a favourer of the

<sup>m</sup> [Sicily is a large and fertile island in the Mediterranean sea.]

<sup>n</sup> Samos is an island of the Ægean sea, upon the coast of Ionia.

tiæ non amicus, et optimatum fautor. Ab hoc destitutus, primum per Thrasybulum Lycei filium, ab exercitu recipitur, prætorque fit apud Samum. Post, suffragante Theramene, populiscito restituitur, parique absens imperio præficitur, simul cum Thrasybulo et Theramene. Horum in imperio tanta commutatio rerum facta est, ut Lacedæmonii, qui paulò ante victores viguerant, perterriti pacem peterent. Victi enim erant quinque præliis terrestribus, tribus navalibus: in quibus ducentas naves triremes amiserant, quæ captæ in hostium venerant potestatem. Alcibiades, simul cum collegis, receperat Ioniam, Hellespontum, multas præterea urbes Græcas, quæ in ora sitæ sunt Asiæ, quarum expugnarent complures; in his Byzantium: neque minùs multas consilio ad amicitiam adjunxerant, quòd in captos clementiâ fuerant usi.

CAP. VI. Inde prædâ onusti, locupletato exercitu, maximis rebus gestis, Athenas venerunt. His cum obviam universa civitas in Pyræum descendisset, tanta fuit omnium expectatio visendi Alcibiadis, ut ad ejus triremem vulgus conflueret, perinde ac si

quality. Being baulked by him, he is received first of all by the army, by means of Thrasybulus the son of Lyceus, and is made commander at Samos. Afterward Theramenes making interest for him, he is restored by an order of the commons, and, though absent, is placed in the same command, together with Thrasybulus and Theramenes. Under their command, there was so great an alteration of affairs, that the Lacedæmonians, who a little before had flourished as conquerors, being very much terrified, sued for peace. For they had been defeated in five battles at land, and three by sea: in which they had lost two hundred ships with three banks of oars, which being taken, had come under the power of the enemies. Alcibiades, together with his fellow-commanders, had recovered Ionian, the Hellespont, and many Greek cities besides, that are on the border of Asia, several of which they took by force; amongst these Byzantium. Nor had they brought over fewer to their alliance by their good conduct, because they used great clemency to the conquered.

CAP. VI. After this, being laden with spoil, having enriched their army, and performed very great things, they came to Athens. When the whole city came down to Pyræus to meet them, such was the longing of all people to see Alcibiades, that the commonalty flocked to his ship, as if he had come alone.

solus

solus advenisset. Sic enim populo erat persuasum, et adversas superiores, et præsentēs secundas res, accidisse ejus operâ. Itaque et Siciliæ amissum, et Lacedæmoniorum victorias culpæ suæ tribuebant, quod talem virum è civitate expulissent. Neque id sine causa arbitrari videbantur. Nam postquam exercitui præesse cœperat, neque terrâ, neque mari hostes pares esse potuerant. Illic ut navi egressus est, quanquam Theramenes et Thrasylbulus eisdem rebus præfuerant, simulque venerant in Piræum, tamen illum unum omnes prosequébantur: et (id quod nunquam antea usu venerat, nisi Olympicæ victoribus) coronis aureis æneisque vulgò donabatur. Ille lacrymans talem benevolentiam civium suorum accipiebat, reminiscens pristini temporis acerbiter. Postquam Astu venit, concione advocatâ sic verba fecit, ut nemo tam ferus fuerit, quin ejus casum lacrymârit, inimicumque his se ostenderit, quorum operâ patriâ pulsus fuerat; proinde ac si alius populus, non ille ipse, qui tum flebat, eum sacrilegii damnâisset. Restituta ergò huic sunt publicæ bona; iidemque illi Eumolpidæ sacerdotes rursus resacrare sunt coacti, qui enim devoverant; pilæ-

*For thus the people were persuaded, that both the former calamitous and present happy condition of their affairs had happened through his means. Wherefore they imputed both the loss of Sicily, and the victories of the Lacedæmonians to their own fault, because they had banished such a man out of their city. Nor did they seem to think so without reason. For after he began to command the army, their enemies were neither able to be a match for them by land nor sea. As soon as he went out of his ship, tho' Theramenes and Thrasylbulus had been in the same command, and had come together with him into Piræus, yet they all followed him alone; and (that which had never happened before, unless to the conquerors at Olympia) he was commonly presented with golden and brazen crowns. He received this kindness of his countrymen weeping, remembering their severity some time before. After he came to the city, having called an assembly, he spoke so, that no body was so cruel, but he lamented his hard hap, and declared himself an enemy to those, by whose means he had been banished his country; just as if some other people, and not that very same, which then wept, had condemned him for sacrilege. Wherefore his estate was restored him at the public charge; and the very same priests, called Eumolpidæ, who had cursed him, were again obliged to take off their curses; and these*



que illæ, in quibus devotio fuerat scripta, in mare præcipitata.

CAP. VII. Hæc Alcibiadi lætitia non nimis fuit diuturna. Nam cum omnes essent honores decreti, totaque respublica domi bellique tradita, ut unius arbitrio gereretur; et ipse postulasset, ut duo sibi collegæ darentur, Thrasylbulus et Adimantus, neque id negatum esset; classe jam in Asiam profectus, quod apud Cymen minus ex sententia rem gesserat, in invdiam recidit; nihil enim eum non efficere posse ducebant. Ex quo fiebat, ut omnia minus prosperè gesta ejus culpæ tribuerent, cum eum aut negligenter, aut malitiosè fecisse loquerentur, sicut tum accidit. Nam corruptum à rege capere Cymen noluisse, arguebant. Itaque huic maxime putamus malo fuisse, nimiam opinionem ingenii atque virtutis. Timebatur enim non minus, quam diligebatur, ne secundâ fortunâ, magnisque opibus elatus, tyrannidem concupisceret. Quibus rebus factum est, ut absenti magistratum abrogarent, et alium in ejus locum substituerent. Id ille ut audivit, domum reverti noluit, et se

pillars, upon which the curse had been writ, were thrown into the sea.

CHAP. VII. This joy of Alcibiades was not too lasting. For after all manner of honours had been voted for him, and the whole management of the commonwealth, both at home and in the war, delivered to him, to be carried on at the pleasure of him alone; and he had demanded, that two partners should be given him, Thrasylbulus and Adimantus, nor was that denied him; having now gone with the fleet into Asia, because he did not manage his business at Cyme to their mind, he again fell under their hatred; for they thought he could do every thing. From whence it was, that they imputed all things less successfully managed, to his fault, because they said he either acted carelessly, or with a bad design, as it then happened. For they alleged against him, that, being bribed by the king of Persia, he would not take Cyme. Wherefore we think that their excessive opinion of his parts and abilities was chiefly his misfortune. For he was no less feared than beloved, lest being elevated by his good fortune and great power, he should aim at the sovereignty. By which means it came to pass, that they took his command from him even when absent, and put another in his place. As soon as he heard that, he would not re-

\* A town of Æolia in Asia Minor, upon the Ægean sea.

Pactyen contulit, ibique tria castella communivit, Bornos, Byfanten, Neontichos; manuque collectâ, <sup>1</sup> primus Græciæ in Thraciam introiit, gloriosius existimans barbarorum prædâ locupletari, quàm Græcorum. Qua ex re creverat cum famâ tum opibus, magnamque amicitiam sibi cum quibuscumque regibus Thraciæ pepererat.

CAP. VIII. Neque tamen à caritate patriæ potuit recedere. Nam cum apud Ægos flumen Philocles prætor Atheniensium classem constituisset suam, neque longè abesset Lyfander prætor Lacedæmoniorum, qui in eo erat occupatus, ut bellum quàm diutissime duceret, quod ipsis pecunia à rege suppeditabatur, contra Atheniensibus exhaustis, præter ar-

turn home, and betook himself to <sup>p</sup> Paſſye, and there fortified three castles, Borni, Byſante, and Neontiche; and having got together a body of troops, he entered into Thrace <sup>r</sup> the first man of Greece, thinking it more glorious to be enriched with the spoils of the barbarians, than the Greeks. From which thing he grew both in fame and riches, and he procured to himself a strong alliance with several kings of Thrace.

CHAP. VIII. However, he could not recede from his affection for his country. For when Philocles, the admiral of the Athenians, had drawn up his fleet at the river Ægos, and Lyfander the admiral of the Lacedæmonians, was not far off, who was employed wholly in a design to protract the war as long as possible, because money was given them by the king of Persia; on the other hand, the Athenians being exhausted, had nothing left besides their arms.

<sup>p</sup> A town of Thrace, upon the Propontis.

<sup>r</sup> [Both Staveren and Bosius have in the text here, *primus Græciæ civitatis in Thraciam introiit*; yet because this neither seems to make the text better, nor takes off Mr Clarke's charge against the author here, it was thought needless to alter the way Mr Clarke has it; but Stubælius, formerly mentioned in a note upon Cimon's life, chap. 3. has it thus: *Primus Græciæ civitates in Thracia introiit*. The first man of Greece made inroads upon the free states of Thrace (such as were under no regal government, whereas Miltiades probably invaded those that were subject to kings): but which of these shall be reckoned the best reading, must be left to be determined by such as are of superior judgment; meanwhile Stubælius seems to bid fairest for plain sense here.]

<sup>r</sup> Our author is here guilty of a strange piece of forgetfulness, having told us above, that Miltiades had before planted a colony in the Thracian Chersonese, and made frequent inroads into the neighbouring country of the Thracians.

ma et naves, nihil erat super; Alcibiades ad Atheniensium venit exercitum, ibique, præsente vulgo, agere cœpit; si vellent, se coacturum Lyfandrum aut dimicare, aut pacem petere: Lacedæmonios cōnole configere classe, quod pedestribus copiis plus quàm navibus valerent: sibi autem esse facile, Scuthen regem Thracum deducere, ut eos terrâ depelleret: Quo facto, necessario aut classe conficiendos, aut bellum composituros. Id etsi verè dictum Philocles animadvertibat, tamen postulata facere noluit, quèd sentiebat, se, Alcibiade recepto, nullius momenti apud exercitum futurum; et si quid secundi evenisset, nullam in ea re suam partem fore: contra ea, si quid adversi accidisset, se unum ejus delicti futurum reum. Ab hoc discedens Alcibiades, *Quoniam, inquit, victoriæ patriæ repugnas, illud moneo, juxta hostes castra habeas nautica: periculum est enim, ne immodestia militum nostrorum occasio datur Lyfandro nostri opprimendi exercitus. Neque ea res illum sefellit. Nam Lyfander, cum per speculatores comperisset, vulgum Atheniensium in terram prædatum exisse, navesque penè inanes reli-*

*and their ships; Alcibiades came to the army of the Athenians, and there, before the common soldiery, he began to tell them, that, if they pleased, he would force Lyfander either to fight, or beg peace; that the Lacedæmonians were unwilling to engage with their fleet for this reason, because they were stronger in land-forces than ships; but that it was an easy matter for him to bring down Scuthes, king of the Thracians, to drive them from the land: upon doing of which they would of necessity either engage with their fleet, or make an end of the war. Though Philocles observed that was rightly said, yet he would not do the things desired, because he was sensible, that if Alcibiades was received amongst them, he should be of no account with the army; and if any good success happened upon it, that his share in the matter would be none at all: on the other hand, if any ill hap should fall out, that he alone should be called to an account for the miscarriage. Alcibiades, upon his departing from him, said, Since you oppose your country's success, this however I advise you, to have your sea-camp nigh the enemy; for the danger is, lest, by the disorderly behaviour of our soldiers, an opportunity should be given Lyfander of cutting off our army. Nor did that thing deceive him. For Lyfander, after he had found by his scouts, that the common soldiers of the Athenians were gone ashore a-plundering, and that the ships were left almost empty.*

Etas, tempus rei gerendæ non dimisit, eoque impetu totum bellum deletit.

CAP. IX. At Alcibiades, victis Atheniensibus, non satis tuta eadem loca sibi arbitratus, penitus in Thraciam se supra Propontidem abdidit, sperans ibi facillimè suam fortunam oculi posse; <sup>f</sup> sed falsò: nam Thraces, postquam cum magna pecunia venisse senserunt, insidias ei fecerunt: qui ea, quæ apportavit, abstulerunt, ipsum capere non potuerunt. Ille, cernens nullum locum sibi tutum in Græcia, propter potentiam Lacedæmoniorum, ad Pharnabazum in Asiam transiit; quem quidem ad eò suâ cepit humanitate, ut cum nemo in amicitia antecederet. Namque ei Grunium dederat in Phrygia castrum, ex quo quinquagena talenta vectigalis capiebat. Quâ fortunâ Alcibiades non erat contentus, neque Athenas victas Lacedæmoniis servire poterat pati. Itaque ad patriam liberandam omni ferebatur cogitatione;

*ty, did not let slip the opportunity of doing his business, and at that push made an end of the whole war.*

CHAP. IX. But Alcibiades, after the Athenians were conquered, not thinking the same places secure enough for him, hid himself for a good way up in Thrace; above the Propontis<sup>f</sup>, hoping that his condition might be very easily concealed there; but falsely. For the Thracians, after they perceived he was come with a great deal of money, laid an ambush for him, who carried off the things, which he brought with him, but could not catch himself. He perceiving no place was safe for him in Greece, by reason of the power of the Lacedæmonians, went over to Pharnabazus into Asia, whom verily he so charmed with his courteous behaviour, that no body exceeded him in his friendship. For he gave him Grunium, a castle in Phrygia, from which he received yearly fifty <sup>u</sup> talents revenue. With which good fortune Alcibiades was not content, nor could he endure, that conquered Athens should be subject to the Lacedæmonians. Wherefore he was bent, with the utmost concern, upon delivering his country; but saw that could not be done without

<sup>f</sup> [The Propontis (now the sea of Marmora) is that sea, extending from the Dardanelles on the Hellespont, to the Thracian Bosphorus or straits of Constantinople.]

<sup>t</sup> [Some Latin copies want *sed* here, *falso* by itself being an elegant Latin turn, by which one word is signified, that a person may be deceived, or in vain hope to do a thing.]

<sup>u</sup> The talent used in common reckoning, was that of Attica, worth about 208l. By this seems to be meant the greater talent.



sed videbat id sine rege Persarum non posse fieri: idèòque eum amicum sibi cupiebat adjungi. Neque debuit facile se consequuturum, si modò ejus conveniendi habuisset potestatem. Nam Cyrum fratrem ei bellum clam parare, Lacedæmoniis adjuvantibus, sciebat: id si ei aperuisset, magnam se ab eo initurum gratiam videbat.

CAP. X. Hæc cum moliretur, peteretque à Pharnabazo, ut ad regem mitteretur, eodem tempore Critias, cæterique tyranni Atheniensium certos homines ad Lyfandrum in Asiam miserunt, qui eum certiores facerent, nisi Alcibiadem sustulisset, nihil earum rerum fore ratum, quas ipse Athenis constitulisset. Quare, si suas res gestas manere vellet, illum persequeretur. His Lacedæmoniis commotus statuit, accuratius sibi agendum cum Pharnabazo. Huic ergo renunciat, quæ regi cum Lacedæmoniis essent, irrita,

*the king<sup>x</sup> of the Persians; and therefore he desired to have him joined to him as his friend. Nor did he doubt but he should easily compass it, provided he could but have the opportunity of waiting upon him; for he knew that his brother<sup>y</sup> Cyrus was privately levying war against him, with the Lacedæmonians assisting him: if he discovered this to him, he saw that he should be in great favour with him.*

CHAP. X. *Whilst he was attempting this, and desiring of Pharnabazus, that he might be sent to the king, at the same time<sup>z</sup> Critias, and the other tyrants of the Athenians, dispatched away trusty men into Asia to Lyfander, to make him acquainted, that, unless he took off Alcibiades, none of those things would stand good, which he had established at Athens. Wherefore, if he had a mind his acts should continue, he must look after him. The Lacedæmonian being roused with this, resolved to deal roundly with Pharnabazus. Wherefore he tells him, that the alliance which the king had with the Lacedæmonians would be of no effect, unless he de-*

<sup>x</sup> This king of the Persians was Artaxerxes Mnemon, son of Darius Nothus.

<sup>y</sup> This Cyrus is commonly surnamed the Lesser, to distinguish him from the grand Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy. He was a prince of great abilities, according to Xenophon's account of him, who was personally acquainted with him, and attended him in his expedition against his brother. He had been made by his father governor of Asia Minor.

<sup>z</sup> When the Lacedæmonians had reduced Athens, in the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, they vested the government in a council of thirty, ever after called the Thirty Tyrants.

futura, nisi Alcibiadem vivum aut mortuum tradidisset. Non tulit hoc satrapes, et violare clementiam, quam regis opes minui, maluit. Itaque misit Syfamithren et Bagæum ad Alcibiadem interficiendum, cum ille esset in Phrygia, iterque ad regem compararet. Missi, clam vicinitati, in qua tum Alcibiades erat, dant negotium, ut eum interficiant. Illi cum eum ferro aggredi non auderent, noctuligna contulerunt circa casam eam, in qua quiescebat, eamque succenderunt, ut incendio conficerent, quem manu superari posse diffidebant. Ille autem ut sonitu flammæ est excitatus, etsi gladius ei erat subductus, familiaris sui <sup>b</sup> subalare telum eripuit. Namque erat cum eo quidam ex Arcadia hospes, qui nunquam discedere volebat. Hunc sequi se jubet, et id quod in præsentia vestimentorum fuit, arripit. His in ignem ejectis, flammæ immixtus transit. Quem, ut barbari incendium effugisse viderunt, telis eminus missis interfecerunt, caputque ejus ad Pharnabazum retulerunt. At mulier, quæ

*livered up Alcibiades alive or dead. The viceroy could not bear that, and chose rather to violate the laws of clemency, than that the king's interest should be lessened. Wherefore he sent Syfamithres and Bagæus to kill Alcibiades, whilst he was in <sup>a</sup> Phrygia, and preparing for a journey to the king. The persons sent, privately give order to the neighbourhood in which Alcibiades then was, to kill him. They not daring to attack him with the sword, in the night-time laid wood about the thatched house, in which he was asleep, and set it on fire, that they might dispatch him by burning, whom they despaired could be mastered by fighting. But as soon as he was awakened by the crackling of the flame, although his sword had been privately withdrawn from him, he drew out a dagger of his friend. For there was with him a certain host of his of <sup>c</sup> Arcadia, who would never depart from him. He bids him follow him, and takes up what clothes he had by him at that time, and throwing them out into the fire, passes the fury of the flame. Whom as soon as the barbarians saw to have escaped the fire, discharging their weapons at a distance, they killed him, and brought his head to Pharnaba-*

<sup>a</sup> There were two provinces of Asia Minor, called Phrygia the bigger and the lesser.

<sup>b</sup> {Subalare telum is a weapon that can be easily carried under one's armpit, such as a Scots highlandman's durk.}

<sup>c</sup> Arcadia is a country in the middle of Peloponnesus.

cum eo vivere consueverat, muliebri suâ veste contentum, ædificiî incendio mortuum creinavit, quod ad vivum interimendum erat comparatum: Sic Alcibiades, annos circiter quadraginta natus, diem obit inpreum.

CAP. XI. Hunc infamatum à plerisque tres gravissimi historici summis laudibus extulerunt: Thucydides, qui ejusdem ætatis fuit; Theopompus, qui fuit post aliquantò natus; et Timæus: qui quidem duo maledicentissimi, nescio quo modo, in illo uno laudando consenserunt. Nam ea, quæ supra diximus, de eo prædicarunt, atque hoc amplius, cum Athenis splendidissimâ civitate natus esset, omnes Athenienses splendore ac dignitate vitæ superasse:

*But the a woman, which had used to live with him, burnt him when dead, wrapped in a woman's raiment, even her own, in the fire of the house which had been prepared to destroy him alive. Thus Alcibiades ended his last day, being about forty years old.*

CHAP. XI. Three very authentic historians have extolled him, tho' blackened by most writers, with the highest commendations: Thucydides, who was of the same age; Theopompus, who was born some time after; and Timæus. Which two last indeed, tho' much addicted to ill language, I know not how, have agreed together in praising him alone: for they have related these things of him, which we have spoke of above; and this further, that tho' he was born in Athens, the most splendid city in the world, he excelled all the Athenians in the splendour and dignity of his life: After he came

d Alcibiades seems, by this account, to have been but very poorly attended, for a person of his figure, whose circumstances, though in banishment, might very well have afforded him a much more considerable equipage; since he had, by virtue of Pharnabazus's generosity to him, an income of ten thousand pounds a year. But we are not to judge of antiquity by the present times, and think every thing incredible, that does not square with the way and fashion of the world now-a-days. There was then a great simplicity of manners amongst the Greeks, which, with the freedom of their government, rendered them invincible; as the luxury of the Persians, a beautiful, fashionable people, like us, together with their slavish subjection to their prince, rendered them an easy prey to the Greeks, and made them fly like sheep in the day of battle. There are abundance of amazing instances of this prodigious difference betwixt the two nations, in the history of Greece; which consideration ought to produce in us a passionate fondness for liberty, that dear delight of the best and bravest of men, the root and support of all that is valuable in the world, and without which this life is but a sort of hell upon earth.

postquam

postquam inde expulsus Thebas venerit, adeò studiis eorum inservisse, ut nemo eum labore corporis, et viribus posset æquiparare. Omnes enim Bæotii magis firmitati corporis, quam ingenii acuminis inserviunt. Eundem apud Lacedæmonios, quorum moribus summa virtus in patientia ponebatur, sic duritiæ se dedisse, ut parsimoniâ victûs atque cultûs omnes Lacedæmonios vinceret: fuisse apud Thracas, homines violentos, rebusque veneris deditos; hos quoque in his rebus antecessisse: Venisse ad Persas, apud quos summa laus esset fortiter venari, luxuriosè vivere; horum sic imitatum consuetudinem, ut illi ipsi eum in his maximè admirarentur. Quibus rebus effecisse, ut, apud quoscunque esset, princeps poneretur, habereturque carissimus. Sed satis de hoc: reliquos ordiamur.

*to Thebes, upon his being banished thence, he so applied himself to their course of life, that no body could equal him in laborious exercises, and strength of body; for all the Bæotians mind more the improvement of their bodily strength, than acuteness of parts. The same man, amongst the Lacedæmonians, according to the fashion of whom, the highest virtue was placed in the enduring of hardship, did so give himself up to a hard way of life, that he excelled all the Lacedæmonians in the frugality of his diet and dress. That he was amongst the Thracians, drunken fellows, and addicted to lewdness; he quite outwent them too in these matters. Then he came amongst the Persians, with whom it was matter of the highest commendation, to hunt hard, and live high. That he so imitated their way of life, that they themselves admired him prodigiously in these things. By which means he brought it to pass, that with whomsoever he was, he was reckoned a leading man, and mightily beloved. But enough of him: let us now proceed to the rest.*

## VIII.

THRASYBULUS, Lyci filius, Atheniensis.

## CAP. I.

Thrasylbulus, Lyci filius, Atheniensis. Si per se virtus sine fortuna

## VIII.

THRASYLUBUS, the son of Lycus, the Athenian.

## CHAP. I.

Thrasylbulus, the son of Lycus, the Athenian. If virtue is to be considered by itself, ponderanda



ponderanda sit, dubito an hunc primum omnium ponam. Illud sine dubio; neminem huic præfero fide, constantiâ, magnitudine animi, in patriam amore. Nam quod multi voluerunt, paucique potuerunt, ab uno tyranno patriam liberare; huic contigit, ut à triginta oppressam tyrannis, è servitute in libertatem vindicaret. Sed, nescio quo modo, cum eum nemo anteiret his virtutibus, multi nobilitate præcurrerunt. Primum Peloponnesio bello multa hic sine Alcibiade gessit, ille nullam rem sine hoc; quæ ille universa naturali quodam bono fecit lucri. Sed illa tamen omnia communia imperatoribus cum militibus et fortuna, quod in prælii concursu abit res à consilio ad vires, <sup>b</sup> vinque pugnantium. Itaque jure suo nonnulla ab imperatore miles, plurima verò fortuna vindicat: seque his plus valuisse, quàm ducis prudentiam, verè potest prædicare. Quare illud magnificentissimum factum proprium est Thrasybuli: Nam cum triginta tyranni, præpositi à Lacedæmoniis, servitute oppressas tenebant Athenas, plurimos cives, quibus in bello peper-

*without fortune, I am in doubt whether or no I should not place him the first of all the Greek commanders. This is without doubt: I prefer no body before him, for honour, constancy, greatness of soul, and love to his country. For what a great many have desired, and few could effect; that is, to deliver their country from one tyrant, happened to him, to deliver his country oppressed by thirty tyrants, out of slavery into liberty. But, I know not how, tho' no body excelled him in those virtues, many<sup>a</sup> outstripped him in fame. First of all, in the Peloponnesian war, he performed many things without Alcibiades: he did nothing without him; all which, by a certain natural advantage, he gained the credit of. But however, all those things are in common to the generals with the soldiery and fortune, because, in the rencounter of a battle, the business proceeds from conduct to strength, and the mettle of the fighters. Wherefore the soldiery of right claims something from the general, but fortune very much; and she may truly boast, that she has always prevailed more in those matters, than the prudence of a general. Wherefore that most noble action is entirely Thrasybulus's: For when the thirty tyrants, set up by the Lacedæmonians, kept Athens oppressed in slavery, and partly banished their country, partly killed a great many citi-*

<sup>a</sup> [Or, as others, were more nobly distinguished in their births.]

<sup>b</sup> [Others read *virtutemque*.]

cerat fortuna, partim patriâ expulissent, partim interfecissent, plurimorum bona publicata inter se divisissent, non solum princeps, sed et solus initio bellum his indixit.

CAP. II. Hic enim cum Phylon confugisset, quod est castellum in Attica munitissimum, non plus habuit secum, quam triginta de suis. Hoc initium fuit salutis Atticorum; hoc robur libertatis clarissimæ civitatis. <sup>c</sup> Neque verò hic non contemptus est primò à tyrannis, atque ejus solitudo: quæ quidem res et illis contemnentibus, perniciæ, et huic despecto, saluti fuit. Hæc enim illos ad persequendum segnes, hos autem, tempore ad comparandum dato, fecit robustiores. Quo magis præceptum illud omnium in animis esse debet: *nihil in bello oportere contemni: nec sine causa dici; matrem timidi flere non solere.* Neque tamen pro opinione Thrasybuli auctæ sunt opes; nam jam tum illis temporibus fortius boni pro libertate loquebantur, quam pugnabant. Hinc in Pyræum transiit, Munychiamque munivit. Hanc

*zens, whom fortune had spared in the war, and divided the estates of many, being confiscated, amongst them; he was not only the principal, but the only man at first, that proclaimed war against them.*

CHAP. II. *For when he first fled to Phyle, which is a very strong castle in Attica, he had no more with him than thirty of his countrymen. This was the original of the recovery of the Athenians; this the force that disputed the liberty of that famous city. And indeed he was despised at first by the tyrants, as also his being assisted by few: which thing undoubtedly was both the ruin of those that despised him, and the security of him that was despised; for this rendered them too lazy to look after him, and made the others stronger, by the time that was given them to make due preparations. For which the more ought that maxim to be in the minds of all: That nothing ought to be slighted in war; and that it is not said without reason; That the mother of a coward does not use to weep. However, Thrasybulus's strength was not increased according to his expectations: for even then at that time good men spoke more bravely for their liberty, than they fought for it. After that, he went into Pyræus, and fortified Munychia. The tyrants twice at-*

<sup>c</sup> [This sentence in the original is variously read by various editors: but, by what immediately follows, this seems to be the genuine reading.]

his tyranni oppugnare sunt adorti, ab eaque turpiter repulsi, protinus in urbem, armis impedimentisque amissis, refugerunt. Usus est Thrasylulus non minus prudentiâ, quàm fortitudine: nam cedentes violari vetuit, cives enim civibus parcere æquum censebat; neque quisquam est vulneratus, nisi qui prior impugnare voluit. Neminem jacentem veste spoliavit: nil attigit, nisi arma, quorum indigebat, et quæ ad victum pertinebant. In secundo prælio cecidit Critias, dux tyrannorum, cum quidem ex adversus Thrasylulum fortissimè pugnaret.

CAP. III. Hoc dejecto, Pausanias venit Atticis auxilio, rex Lacedæmoniorum. Is inter Thrasylulum, et eos, qui urbem tenebant, fecit pacem his conditionibus: Ne qui, præter triginta tyrannos, et decem, qui postea prætores creati, superioris more crudelitatis erant usi, afficerentur exilio; neve cuiusquam bona publicarentur; reipublicæ procuratio populo redderetur. Præclarum hoc quoque Thrasyluli, quòd reconciliatâ pace, cum plurimum in civitate posset, legem tulit; ne quis antea factarum rerum accusaretur, neve multaretur; eamque illi legem ob-

tempted to assault it, and being shamefully driven from it, immediately fled into the town, their arms and baggage being lost. Thrasylulus made use of prudence no less than valour; for he forbid those that fled to be hurt: for he thought it reasonable that citizens should spare their fellow-citizens; nor was any one wounded, but he that would first attack them. He stripped none as he lay of his clothes: he meddled with nothing but arms, which he wanted, and provisions. In the second battle fell Critias, the tyrants general, when he was indeed fighting very bravely right against Thrasylulus.

\*CHAP. III. He being slain, Pausanias, king of the Lacedæmonians, came to the assistance of the Athenians. He made a peace betwixt Thrasylulus and those who held the town, upon these terms: That none, besides the thirty tyrants, and the ten who being afterwards made governors of the city, had used the way of the former cruelty, should be punished with banishment, nor any one's estate confiscated, and the government of the commonwealth should be restored to the people. This likewise was a famous thing of Thrasylulus, that after a peace was made, forasmuch as he was the most powerful person in the city, he made a law, that no body should be called to an account for things past, nor punished, and  
livionis

livionis appellârunt. Neque verò hanc tantùm ferendam curavit, sed etiam, ut valeret, effecit. Nam cùm quidam ex his, qui simul cum eo in exilio fuerant, cædem facere eorum vellent, cum quibus in gratiam reditum erat; publicè prohibuit, et id, quod pollicitus erat, præstitit.

CAP. IV. Huic pro tantis meritis, honoris corona à populo data est, facta duabus virgulis oleaginis: quæ, quòd amor civium, non vis expresserat, nullam habuit invidiam, magnâque fuit gloriâ. Benè ergo Pittacus ille, qui septem sapientium numero est habitus, cùm ei Mitylenæi multa millia<sup>g</sup> jugerum agri muneri darent, *Nolite, oro vos, (inquit), id mihi dare, quod multi invident, plures etiam concupiscunt. Quare ex istis nolo amplius, quàm centum ju-*

*they called that an act of oblivion. Nor did he only take care that this should be passed, but likewise looked to it, that it should take place effectually. For when some of those who had been together with him in banishment, would have made a massacre of those with whom they had returned to a good agreement; he publicly hindered it, and performed that, which he had promised.*

CHAP. IV. A<sup>d</sup> crown as a badge of honour, made of two sprigs of olive, was given him by the people, for these eminent services; which, because the love of his countrymen and not violence had procured him, had no hatred attending it, and was matter of great glory. Wherefore that Pittacus, who was reckoned in the number of the seven<sup>e</sup> wise men, when the Mityleneans<sup>f</sup> gave him a great many thousand acres of land as a present, said well, Do not, I beseech you, give me that which many may envy me for, and more covet. Wherefore I will have no

<sup>d</sup> This is an instance and a proof of the plainness and simplicity of those times, in comparison of our own. The olive was a tree sacred to the goddess Minerva, patroness of their city: for the Athenians had, in every city almost, some peculiar god or goddess, looked upon as the guardian of the place.

<sup>e</sup> These seven wise men flourished about the times of Cræsus the rich king of Lydia, and Cyrus the Great, founder of the Persian monarchy, i. e. about 560 years before Christ.

<sup>f</sup> Mitylene was the chief city of Lesbos, an island of the Ægean sea, nigh the coast of Asia Minor; and Pittacus was a philosopher there.

<sup>g</sup> Though I have rendered the word *jugera*, acres, yet it is only for want of a better. *Jugerum* is a piece of land 240 Roman feet long, and 120 broad, not much above half our acre.



*gera, quæ et mei animi æquitatem, et vestram voluntatem indicent. Nam parva munera, diutina: locupletia, non propria esse consueverunt. Illâ igitur coronâ contentus Thrasybulus, neque amplius requisivit, neque quenquam honore se antecessisse existimavit. Hic sequenti tempore, cum prætor classem ad Ciliciam appulisset, neque satis diligenter in castris ejus agerentur vigilæ, à barbaris, ex oppido noctu eruptione factâ, in tabernaculo interfectus est.*

*more of those than an hundred acres, which may both shew the reasonableness of my mind, and your good-will. For small gifts are lasting, but rich ones do not use to be of any long continuance. Wherefore Thrasybulus being content with that crown, neither sought for more, nor thought any one exceeded him in honour. He some time after, when being admiral he had brought up his fleet to Cilicia, and the watch was not diligently enough kept in his camp, was slain in his tent by the barbarians, in a sally made out of the town in the night-time.*

## IX.

## IX.

CONON, *Atheniensis.*CONON, *the Athenian.*

## CAP. I.

## CHAP. I.

**C**ONON Atheniensis Peloponnesio bello accessit ad rempublicam, in eoque ejus opera magni fuit; nam et prætor pedestribus exercitibus præfuit, et præfectus classis res magnas mari gessit. Quas ob causas præcipuus ei honos habitus est. Namque omnibus unus insulis præfuit: in qua potestate Pheras cepit, coloniam Lacedæmoniorum. Fuit etiam extre-

**C**ONON the Athenian came to be employed in public affairs in the Peloponnesian war, and his service in it was of great account; for he both commanded as general the land-forces, and being admiral of the fleet, performed great things by sea: for which reason a particular honour was conferred upon him. For he alone governed all the islands: in which post he took <sup>a</sup> Pheræ, a colony of the Lacedæmonians. He was likewise a commander in the

<sup>a</sup> [Pheræ here was a city, not of Thessaly, but of Messene, (in the Peloponnesus), in the Messenian bay, or Golfo di Corón.]

mo Peloponnesio bello prætor, cum apud Ægos flumen copiarum Atheniensium à Lyfandro sunt devictæ. Sed tum abfuit, eoque pejores res administrata est; nam et prudens rei militaris, et diligens erat imperator. Itaque nemini erat his temporibus dubium, si adfuisset, illam Athenienses calamitatem accepturos non fuisse.

CAP. II. Rebus autem afflictis, cum patriam obfideri audisset, non quaesivit, ubi ipse tuto viveret, sed unde præsidio posset esse civibus suis. Itaque contulit se ad Pharnabazum satrapem Ioniarum et Lydiarum, eundemque generum regis et propinquum; apud quem ut multum gratiam valeret, multo labore multisque exitu periculis. Nam cum Lacedæmonii, Atheniensibus devictis, in societate non manerent, quam cum Artaxerxe fecerant, Agesilaumque bellatum misissent in Asiam, maximè impulsus à Tissapherne, qui, ex intimis regis, ab amicitia ejus defecerat, et cum Lacedæmoniis coierat societatem; hunc adversus Pharnabazum habitus est imperator: re quidem verà ex-

*latter end of the Peloponnesian war, when the forces of the Athenians were defeated by Lysander at the river Ægos. But he was then absent, and the matter was so much the worse managed; for he was both well skilled in military affairs, and a diligent commander. Wherefore it was a doubt with no body in those times, that if he had been there, the Athenians would not have received that loss.*

CHAP. II. But the affairs of the Athenians being now in a bad condition, when he heard that his native city was besieged, he did not seek a place where he might live securely himself, but from whence he might be assisting to his countrymen; wherefore he betook himself to Pharnabazus, the viceroy of Ionia and <sup>b</sup> Lydia, and the same likewise son-in-law of the king and his relation; with whom that he might procure himself a very great interest, he effected by his great diligence and the running of many dangers. For when the Lacedæmonians, after the Athenians were conquered, did not continue in the alliance which they had made with Artaxerxes, and sent Agesilaus into Asia, to make war, being encouraged chiefly by Tissaphernes, who of one of the king's intimates, had quitted his friendship, and clapped up an alliance with the Lacedæmonians; Pharnabazus was accounted the gene-

<sup>b</sup> [Lydia was an inland country of the Lesser Asia, remarkable for the rich Cræsus king thereof, and Sardis the metropolis of it, &c.]

exercitui præfuit Conon, ejusque omnia arbitrio gestita sunt. Hic multum duccem suum Agefilaum impedivit, sæpeque ejus consiliis obstitit. Neque verò non fuit apertum, si ille non fuisset, Agefilaum Asiam Tauro tenus regi fuisset crepturum. Qui posteaquam domum à suis civibus revocatus est, quòd Bœotii et Athenienses Lacedæmoniis bellum indixerant; Conon nihilo secius apud præfectos regis versabatur, hisque omnibus maximo erat usui.

CAP. III. Defecerat à rege Tissaphernes, neque id tam Artaxerxi, quam cæteris, erat apertum: multis enim magnisque meritis apud regem, etiam cum in officio non maneret, valebat. Neque id mirandum, si non facile ad credendum inducitur, reminiscens ejus se operâ Cyrum fratrem superâsse. Hujus accusandi gratiâ Conon à Pharnabazo ad regem missus, posteaquam venit, primum, ex more Persarum, ad chiliarchum, qui secundum gradum imperii tenebat, Tithraustem accessit, seque ostendit cum rege colloqui velle; nemo enim sine hoc admittitur.

*ral against him, but indeed Conon commanded the army, and all things were managed at his pleasure. He very much curbed that great general Agefilaus, and oftentimes obstructed his designs. And indeed it was very apparent, that if he had not been there, Agefilaus would have taken all Asia, as far as mount <sup>c</sup> Taurus, from the king. Who after he was recalled home by his countrymen, because the Bœotians and Athenians had proclaimed war against the Lacedæmonians; Conon notwithstanding continued with the king's viceroys, and was of great service to them all.*

CHAP. III. Tissaphernes had revolted from the king, nor was that so plain to Artaxerxes, as to other people: for he had a great sway with the king, by reason of his many and great services, even when he did not continue in his allegiance. Nor is it to be wondered at, if he was not easily induced to believe it, remembering that he had conquered his brother Cyrus by his means. Conon being sent by Pharnabazus to the king, in order to accuse him, after he came to court, he first applied, according to the custom of the Persians, to Tithraustes captain of the guard, who had the next degree of power to the king himself; and informs him, that he was desirous to speak with the king; for no body is admitted without him. Upon which

<sup>c</sup> A mountain of Asia, that takes its rise upon the borders of Cilicia, and runs through the middle of Asia.

Huic ille, *Nulla, inquit, mora est; sed tu delibera, utrum colloqui malis, an per literas<sup>d</sup> agere, quæ cogitas. Necesse est enim, si in conspectum veneris, venerari te regem (quod προσκυνῆν, proskunin, illi vocant). Hoc si tibi grave est, per me niliis fecius edis mandatis, conficies quod studes. Tum Conon: Enimvero, inquit, mihi non est grave quemvis honorem habere regi: sed vereor, ne civitati meæ sit opprobrio, si, cum ex ea sim profectus, quæ cateris gentibus imperare consueverit, potius barbarorum, quàm illius, more jungar. Itaque quæ volebat, huic scripta tradidit.*

## CAP. IV. Quibus cogni-

*he says to him, There is no obstacle to that; but do you consider, whether you had rather talk with him, or treat with him by letters, upon what you design. For it is necessary for you, if you come into his sight, to<sup>e</sup> worship the king, (which they call προσκυνῆν, proskunein.) If this be troublesome to you, giving me your instructions, you shall notwithstanding dispatch what you desire. Then Conon replied, It is not indeed any trouble to me to pay any respect to the King; but I am afraid, lest it should be a disparagement to my native city, if, seeing I proceed from that city, which has been accustomed to rule over other nations, I should observe the usages of<sup>f</sup> foreigners, rather than those of that city. Wherefore he delivered to him in writing what he had a mind to say.*

## CHAP. IV. Which things be-

<sup>d</sup> [Others read *edere, to tell, shew, &c.*]

<sup>e</sup> This worshipping was falling flat on the face upon the ground before the king. The Greeks looked upon this as a piece of base mean-spirited submission, and could few of them be brought to comply with it. Nay an Athenian ambassador having once submitted to worship the king, was put to death for it by the Athenians upon his return home, as having done a thing highly reflecting on the honour of his country.

<sup>f</sup> The word *barbarous* is borrowed from the Greeks, among whom it was originally used to signify those that talked badly, or with difficulty; and because that was commonly the case of foreigners, as to the Greek tongue, it was used for all that were not Greeks. At last the word was taken in an ill sense; for the Greeks valuing themselves upon their learning, politeness, and humanity, by which indeed they stood remarkably distinguished from the rest of mankind, in its application to foreigners, it had at length tacked to it an intimation of their deficiency in the noblest ornaments of human nature mentioned before, and last of all was used for an ignorant, brutish, cruel man, whether foreigner or Greek.



tis, rex tantum auctoritate ejus motus est, ut Tiffaphernem hostem judicaret, et Lacedæmonios bello persequi jufferit, et ei permiserit, quem vellet eligere ad dispensandam pecuniam. Id arbitrium Conon negavit sui esse consilii, sed ipsius, qui optimè suos nosse deberet: sed se suadere, Pharnabazo id negotii daret. Hinc, magnis muneribus donatus, ad mare est missus, ut Cypriis, et Phœnicibus, cæterisque maritimis civitatibus, naves longas imperaret, classemque, quâ proximâ æstate mare tueri posset, compararet; dato adjutore Pharnabazo, sicut ipse voluerat. Id ut Lacedæmoniis est nuntiatum, non sine cura rem administrârunt, quòd majus bellum imminere arbitrabantur, quàm si cum Barbaro solum contenderent. Nam ducem fortem, et prudentem, regis opibus præfuturum, ac secum dimicaturum videbant; quem neque consilio, neque copiis, superare possent. Hâc mente magnam contrahunt classem, proficiscuntur Pisandro duce. Hos Conon apud Cnidum adortus, magno prælio fugat, multas naves capit, complures de-

ing known, the king was so much wrought upon by his persuasion, that he declared Tiffaphernes an enemy, and ordered him to fall upon the Lacedæmonians in war, and permitted him to chuse whom he pleased, to disburse the money for the army. Conon denied that that choice was a matter for his determination, but his own, who ought to know his own subjects best; but that he advised him to give that employ to Pharnabazus. Upon this, being presented with great presents, he was sent to the sea, to order the Cyprians, Phœnicians, and other nations on the sea-coast, to furnish men of war, and provide a fleet, with which he might secure the sea next summer; Pharnabazus being given him as his assistant, according as he himself had desired. As soon as this was told the Lacedæmonians, they managed their business not without care, because they thought a greater war threatened them, than if they had to do with the barbarian only. For they saw that a valiant and wise general would command the king's forces, and engage with them, whom they could outmatch neither in conduct nor troops. With this consideration they get together a great fleet, and go with Pisander for their admiral. Conon setting upon them near Cnidus, routs them in a great fight, takes ma-

\* [Cnidus was a famous city on the farthest part of the peninsula of Doris, in the Lesser Asia; but is now a huge heap of ruins near Cape Crio.]

primit. Quâ victoriâ non solàm Athenæ, sed etiam cuncta Græcia, quæ sub Lacedæmoniorum fuerat imperio, liberata est. Conon cum parte navium in patriam venit: muros dirutos à Lysandro, utrosque et Pyræi et Athenarum, reficiendos curat; pecuniæque quinquaginta talenta, quæ à Pharnabazo acceperat, civibus suis donat.

CAP. V. Accidit huic, quod cæteris mortalibus, ut inconsideratior in secunda, quàm in adversa esset fortuna. Nam classe Peloponnesiorum devictâ, cum ultum se injurias patriæ putaret, plura concupivit, quàm efficere potuit. Neque tamen ea non <sup>h</sup> pia et probanda fuerunt, quòd potius patriæ

*ny ships, and sinks many; by which victory not only Athens, but likewise all Greece, which had been under the yoke of the Lacedæmonians, was delivered. Conon came with part of the ships into his native country, and takes care to have the walls demolished by Lysander, both of Pyræus and Athens repaired; and presents to his countrymen fifty talents of money, which he had received from Pharnabazus.*

CHAP. V. That happened to him, which happens to other mortals, that he was more inconsiderate in his good, than in his bad fortune. For having conquered the fleet of the Peloponnesians, when he thought he had revenged the injuries done his country, he aimed at more things than he was able to accomplish. And yet these things were expressive of his duty to his

<sup>h</sup> The word *pius* seems manifestly derived from the Greek *ἥπιος*, mild, gentle, kind, such as a man ought to be, in a distinguishing manner, to his near relations: Thence it was put to signify one that behaved towards such with the regard and affection that was due to them. As a dutiful son is, as such, properly called *pius*, a person likewise that carried with due devotion or submission towards the gods, with due loyalty or affection to his prince or country, was upon that account denominated *pius*, and the virtue in all these cases called *pietas*. But our author talks here in the common strain and way of commending a man for his actions in behalf of his country, though without any regard to justice. It was a base piece of treachery in Conon to endeavour to debauch the Ionians and Æolians from their allegiance, and far from being commendable. Had any body served Augustus so, Nepos would, it is likely, have been forward enough to condemn him. But a very little consideration might have satisfied him, that what was criminal and villanous, when committed against an emperor of Rome, was as certainly so when committed against an emperor of Persia. This attempt of Conon's was too gross to admit of any excuse, much less does it deserve the commendation our author bestows upon it; and therefore herein I think he has betrayed his want of judgment.

opes augeri, quàm regis, maluit. Nam cum magnam auctoritatem sibi pugnâ illâ navali, quam apud Cnidum fecerat, constituisset, non solum inter barbaros, sed etiam inter omnes Græciæ civitates, clam dare operam cœpit, ut Ioniam et Æoliam restitueret Atheniensibus. Id cum minùs diligenter esset celatum, Tiribazus, qui Sardibus præerat, Cononem evocavit, simulans ad regem eum se mittere velle magna de re. Hujus nuncio parens cum venisset, in vincula conjectus est; in quibus aliquandiu fuit. Nonnulli eum ad regem abductum, ibique perisse scriptum reliquerunt. Contra ea, Dinon historicus, cui nos plurimum de Persicis rebus credimus, effugisse, scripsit; illud ad dubitat, utrùm Tiribazo sciente, an imprudente sit factum.

country, and commendable; because he chose rather to have the power of his country, than of the king, advanced. For after he had established to himself a great authority by that sea-fight, that he had fought at Cnidus, not only amongst foreigners, but amongst all the states of Greece, he began to endeavour underhand to restore Ionia and Æolia to the Athenians. As that was not carefully concealed, Tiribazus, who was governor of Sardis, sent for Conon, pretending that he would send him to the king about a matter of great importance. After he was come to him, in obedience to his message, he was put under confinement; in which he was for some time. Some have left it on record, that he was carried to the king, and there put to death. On the other hand, Dinon the historian, whom we chiefly give credit to as to Persian affairs, writes, that he made his escape; but is in some doubt whether it was done with the knowledge of Tiribazus or not.

## X.

## X.

DION, Hipparini filius, Syracusanus.

DION, the son of Hipparinus, the Syracusan.

## CAP. I.

## CHAP. I.

Dion, Hipparini filius, Syracusanus, nobili genere natus, utrâque im-

Dion, the son of Hipparinus, the Syracusan, was born of a noble family, and <sup>a</sup> related plicatus

<sup>a</sup> Either our author has here expressed himself a little carelessly, or

plicatus tyrannide Dionysiorum : namque ille superior Aristomachen, sororem Dionis, habuit in matrimonio ; ex qua duos filios, Hipparinum et Nyseum, procreavit ; totidemque filias, nomine Sophrosynen et Areten : quarum priorem Dionysio filio, eidem, cui regnum reliquit, nuptum dedit ; alteram, Areten, Dionii. Dion autem, præter nobilem propinquitatem, generosamque majorum famam, multa alia à natura habuit bona : in his, ingenium docile, come, aptum ad artes optimas ; magnam corporis dignitatem, quæ non minimum commendatur ; magnas præterea divitias à patre relictas, quas ipse tyranni muneribus auxerat. Erat intimus Dionysio priori, neque minus propter mores, quam affinitatem. Namque, etsi Dionysii crudelitas ei displicebat, tamen salvum propter necessitudinem, magis etiam suorum causâ, esse studebat. Aderat in magnis rebus ; ejusque consilio multum movebatur tyrannus, nisi qua in re major ipsius cupiditas intercesserat. Legationes verò omnes, quæ essent illustriores, per Dionem administrabantur ;

*by marriage to both the Dionysius's, the tyrants : for the first of them had Aristomache, Dion's sister, in marriage ; by whom he had two sons, Hipparinus and Nyseus, and as many daughters, by name Sophrosyne and Arete : the former of which he gave in marriage to Dionysius the son, the same, to whom he left his kingdom ; the other, Arete, to Dion. Now Dion, besides this noble alliance, and the generous fame of his ancestors, had a great many other advantages from nature : amongst these, a docible genius, courteous, fit for the best arts ; great handsomeness of person, which is not little esteemed : besides great riches left him by his father, which he had increased by the tyrant's presents. He was intimate with the first Dionysius, no less for his good behaviour, than his relation to him. For although the cruelty of Dionysius displeased him, yet he was desirous he should be secure, because of his alliance with him, and more upon account of his relations. He was assisting to him in all his weighty affairs ; and the tyrant was much swayed by his advice, unless, in any case, some violent humour of his own interposed. But all the embassies that were extraordinary, were performed by Dion ; by discharging which carefully, and managing faithfully,*

or else the reading, I think, must be faulty ; for to me the words do not seem to express the sense which, it is plain from the following words, he intended.

quas



quas quidem ille diligenter obeundo, fideliter administrando, crudelissimum nomen tyranni suâ humanitate tegebat. Hunc à Dionysio missum Carthagenienses suspexerunt, ut neminem unquam Græcâ linguâ loquentem magis sint admirati.

CAP. II. Neque verò hæc Dionysium fugiebant: nam quanto esset sibi ornamento, sentiebat. Quò fiebat, ut uni huic maximè indulgeret, neque eum secus diligeret ac filium. Qui quidem, cum Platonem Tarentum venisse fama in Siciliam esset perlata, adolescenti negare non potuit, quin eum arcefferet, cum Dion ejus audiendi cupiditate flagraret. Dedit ergo huic veniam, magnâque cum ambitione Syracusas perduxit. Quem Dion ad eò admiratus est, atque adamavit, ut se totum ei traderet. Neque verò minùs Plato delectatus est Dione. Itaque, cum à Dionysio tyranno crudeliter violatus esset, (quippe quem venundari jussisset), tamen eòdem rediit, ejusdem Dionis precibus adductus. Interim in morbum incidit Dionysius; quo cum graviter conflictaretur, quæsit à me-

he covered the most cruel name of the tyrant, under his own humanity. The Carthaginians admired him upon his being sent thither by Dionysius, so as they never admired any body that spoke the Greek tongue more.

CHAP. II. Nor indeed did these things escape the notice of Dionysius: for he was sensible how great an ornament he was to him; from whence it was, that he indulged him alone very much, nor did he love him any otherwise, than as his own son. Who too, when news was brought into Sicily, that Plato was come to Tarentum, could not deny the young man, but sent for him, seeing Dion was inflamed with a desire of hearing him, wherefore he granted him the favour, and by great importunity drew him to Syracuse. Whom Dion so much admired and loved, that he gave himself wholly up to him. Nor was Plato less pleased with Dion. Therefore, though he was cruelly abused by Dionysius the tyrant, (for he had ordered him to be sold), yet he returned to the same place, being prevailed upon by the intreaties of the same Dion. In the mean time, Dionysius fell into a dislemper; with which when he was grievously handled, Dion inquired of the physicians, how he

<sup>b</sup> [Tarentum, now Tarento, is an ancient, small, but strong and populous city of Calabria in Naples.]

<sup>c</sup> [Or, according to others, in great state.]

dicis Dion, quemadmodum se haberet? simulque ab his petiit, si fortè majori esset periculo, ut sibi faterentur: Nam velle se cum eo colloqui de partiendo regno, quòd sororis suæ filios ex illo natos, partem regni putabat debere habere. Id medici non tacerunt, et ad Dionysium filium sermonem retulerunt. Quo ille commotus, ne agendi cum eo esset Dionii potestas, patri soporem medicos dare coëgit. Hòc æger sumpto, ut somno sopitus, diem obiit supremum.

CAP. III. Tale initium fuit Dionis et Dionysii simultatis; eaque multis rebus aucta est: sed tamen primis temporibus, aliquandiu simulata inter eos amicitia mansit. Quumque Dion non desisteret obsecrare Dionysium, ut Platonem Athenis arcesseret, et ejus consiliis uteretur; ille, qui in aliqua re vellet patrem imitari, morem ei gessit; eodemque tempore Philistum historicum Syracusas reduxit, hominem amicum non magis tyranno, quam tyrannidi. Sed de hoc in eo meo libro plura sunt exposita, qui de historicis conscriptus est. Plato autem tantum apud Dionysium auctoritate potuit, valuitque eloquentiâ, ut ci

*was? and at the same time desired of them, if perhaps he was in great danger, that they would confess it to him: For he had a mind to talk with him about dividing the kingdom, because he thought his sister's sons, sprung from him, ought to have a share of the kingdom. The physicians did not conceal that, and carried these words to Dionysius the son. At which he being startled, that Dion might not have an opportunity of talking with him, he forced the physicians to give his father a sleeping dose. The sick prince having taken this, ended his last day, as one laid fast asleep.*

CHAP. III. Such was the beginning of the misunderstanding betwixt Dion and Dionysius; and that was increased by many things: but yet at first, for some time, a pretended friendship continued betwixt them. And as Dion did not cease to beg of Dionysius, that he would send for Plato from Athens, and make use of his advice; he, who had a mind to imitate his father in something, gave him his humour; and at the same time brought back Philistus the historian to Syracuse, a man not more a friend to the tyrant, than to tyranny itself. But more has been said about him, in that book of mine which was writ about the historians. But Plato wrought so much upon Dionysius by his authority, and prevailed so by his eloquence, that he persuaded him

I

persuaderit.

persuaserit, tyrannidis facere finem, libertatemque reddere Syracusanis; à qua voluntate Philisti consilio deterritus, aliquanto crudelior esse cepit.

CAP. IV. Qui quidem, cum à Dione se superari videret ingenio, auctoritate, amore populi; verens, ne si eum secum haberet, aliquam occasionem sui daret opprimendi; navem ei triremem dedit, quâ Corinthum deveheretur; ostendens, se id utriusque facere causâ, ne, quum inter se timerent, alteruter alterum præoccuparet. Id cum factum multi indignarentur, magnæque esset invidiæ tyranno, Dionysius omnia, quæ moveri poterant Dionis, in navem imposuit, ad eumque misit. Sic enim existimari volebat, id se non odio hominis, sed suæ salutis fecisse causâ. Postea verò quum audivit eum in Peloponneso manum comparare, sibi que bellum facere conari; Aretem Dionis uxorem alii nuptum dedit, filiumque ejus sic educari

to put an end to his usurpation, and to restore the Syracusans their liberty; from which intention being dissuaded by the counsel of Philistus, he began to be something more cruel.

CHAP. IV. Who also, when he saw himself excelled by Dion in parts, authority, and love of the people; fearing lest, if he kept him with himself, he should give him some opportunity of ruining him; he gave him a ship with three banks of oars, wherein he might go to<sup>d</sup> Corinth; declaring, he did it upon both their accounts, lest, since they were jealous of one another, one of them should trepan the other. As many people were angry at the fact, and it was to the tyrant an occasion of great<sup>e</sup> hatred, Dionysius put on board some ships all the substance of Dion that could be removed, and sent it to him. For he had a mind it should be thus thought, that he had done that, not out of a hatred of the man, but upon account of his own security. But after he heard that he was levying troops in Peloponnesus, and endeavouring to make war upon him, he gave Arete the wife of Dion in marriage to another, and ordered his son to be educated so,

<sup>d</sup> Corinth was a famous city in the entrance of Peloponnesus from Achaia.

<sup>e</sup> I have several times above translated *invidia* by *hatred*, for so indeed it commonly signifies, a popular odium or hatred; and that sense it visibly has here. This little remark is designed for the benefit of such smatterers in the Latin tongue, as may be more disposed to cavil, than to learn. I warn them, once for all, to have a care of meddling, for fear of burning their fingers.

justit, ut indulgendo, turpissimis imbueretur cupiditatibus. Nam puero, priusquam pubes esset, scorta adducebantur: vino epulisque obruebatur, neque ullum tempus sobrio relinquebatur. Is usque eò vitæ statum commutatum ferre non potuit, postquam in patriam rediit pater, (namque appositi erant custodes, qui eum à pristino victu deducerent), ut se de superiore parte ædium dejecerit, atque ita interierit. Sed illuc revertor.

CAP. V. Postquam Corinthum pervenit Dion, et eodem perfugit Heraclides, ab eodem expulsus Dionysio, qui præfectus fuerat equitum; omni ratione bellum comparare cœperunt: sed non multum proficiebant, quòd multorum annorum tyrannis, magnarum opum putabatur; quam ob causam pauci ad societatem periculi perducebantur. Sed Dion, fretus non tam suis copiis, quam odio tyranni, maximo animo, duabus onerariis navibus, quinquaginta annorum imperium, munitum

that he might, by indulging him, be tainted with the most filthy lusts. For<sup>f</sup> whores were brought to him when but a boy, before he was of age: he was perfectly overwhelmed with wine and good cheer, nor was any time left him to be sober. He could not bear his state of life when changed, to that degree, that, after his father returned into his country, (for keepers were set over him, to reclaim him from his former way of life), he threw himself from the upper part of a house, and so died. But I return to that which I have begun to relate.

CHAP. V. After Dion came to Corinth, and Heraclides, who had been commander of the horse, fled to the same place, being banished by the same Dionysius, they began to levy war by all manner of means; but they advanced but little, because an usurpation of many years continuance was thought to be of great strength; for which reason few were brought to a share of the danger. But Dion, trusting not so much to his troops, as the hatred of the tyrant, going with the greatest courage, in two ships of burden only, to attack a government of fifty years duration, defended by five hundred

<sup>f</sup> The tyrant seems to have been of opinion, that to debauch him was the greatest mischief he could do him; and so far he was undoubtedly right, because it is better, to be sure, to be hanged, or to be dispatched any way at once, than to lead a life of lewdness and debauchery. But what a comfortable opinion must the brute have had of himself in the mean time, who was as lewd as any body?



quingentis longis navibus, decem equitum, centum peditum millibus, profectus oppugnatum: quod omnibus gentibus admirabile est visum, adeò facile perculit, ut post diem tertium, quàm Siciliam attigerat, Syracusas introierit. Ex quo intelligi potest, nullum esse imperium tutum, nisi benevolentiam munitum. Eo tempore aberat Dionysius, et in Italia classem opperiebatur, adversariorum intus periculum sine magnis copiis ad se venturum; quæ res eum fefellit: nam Dionysius iis iptis, qui sub adversarii fuerant potestate, regiones spiritus repressit, totiusque ejus partis Siciliæ potitus est, quæ sub Dionysii potestate fuerat: parique modo urbis Syracusarum, præter arcem, et insulam adjunctam oppido; eoque rem perduxit, ut talibus conditionibus pacem tyrannus facere vellet: Siciliam Dionysius obtineret, Italiam Dionysius, Syracusas Apollocrates, cui maximam fidem uni habebat Dion.

CAP. VI. Has tam prosperas, tamque inopinatas

*men of war, ten thousand horse, and a hundred thousand foot: what appeared wonderful to all nations, he so easily overthrew it, that he entered Syracuse the third day after he had reached Sicily. From which it may be understood, that no government is safe, unless secured by the affection of the subjects. At that time Dionysius was absent, and waiting for his fleet in Italy, supposing that none of his enemies would come against him without a great force: which thing deceived him: for Dionysius curbed the tyrant's pride with those very men that had been under the dominion of his adversary, and carried all that part of Sicily, which had been under the government of Dionysius: and in like manner the city of <sup>g</sup> Syracuse, except the citadel, and the island joining upon the town; and brought the matter to that, that the tyrant was willing to make peace upon these terms: That Dion should have Sicily, Dionysius Italy, and <sup>h</sup> Apollocrates Syracuse, in whom alone Dion had the greatest confidence.*

CHAP. VI. A sudden change followed this mighty and unex-

<sup>g</sup> [This city was formerly made up of four towns, viz. 1. *Insula*, (and to this day it stands upon a little peninsula). 2. *Acradina*. 3. *Tyche*, (from the temple of Fortune). 4. *Neapolis*, or *Newtown*.]

<sup>h</sup> [This was the eldest son of the tyrant Dionysius; he held the citadel of Syracuse in his father's absence; but Dion took it from him; yet upon making up the peace, and their becoming friends, Dion gave him up the whole city.]

res consecuta est subita commutatio; quod fortuna suâ mobilitate, quem paulò antè extulerat, demergere est adorta. Primùm in filium, de quo commemoravi supra, sævitiam suam exercuit. Nam quum uxorem reduxisset, quæ alii fuerat tradita, filiumque vellet revocare ad virtutem à perdita luxuria, accepit gravissimum parens vulnus morte filii: deinde orta dissensio est inter eum et Heraclidem; qui quidem Dionii principatum non concedens, factionem comparavit: neque is minùs valebat apud optimates, quorum consensu præerat classi, cum Dion exercitum pedestrem teneret. Non tulit hoc animo æquo Dion, et versum illum Homeri retulit ex secunda rhapsodia, in quo hæc sententia est: *Non poss: benè geri rempublicam multorum imperiis.* Quod dictum magna invidia consecuta est: namque aperuisse videbatur, se omnia in sua potestate esse velle. Hanc ille non lenire obse-

ssed success; because fortune attempted by her fickleness to sink him, whom she had raised a little before. She first of all used her cruelty upon his son, of whom I have made mention above. For, after he had taken his wife again, which had been given to another, and was desirous to recover his son to virtue, from a state of desperate luxury, he received as a father a grievous affliction in the death of his son. After that a difference arose betwixt him and Heracledes; who forsooth not yielding the superiority to Dion, formed a party; nor was he less powerful amongst the equality, whose consent he commanded the fleet, while Dion had the land-army. Dion could not bear this with a patient mind, and repeated that <sup>k</sup> verse of Homer out of the second rhapsody, in which is this sentence: That a commonwealth could not be well managed by the government of many. Which saying a mighty odium followed; for he seemed to have discovered, that he intended, that all things should be under his authority. This he did not endeavour to allay by

i In the commonwealths of Greece, and so of Sicily, which was peopled from Greece, there were commonly two factions; one of those that were for an absolute democracy, and the other of such as were for a sort of an aristocracy, or for taking the power out of the hands of the vulgar. Of the former party were the common people, the peasants, artisans, and tradesmen chiefly: in the latter were generally the gentry, and people of better fashion, which were therefore called *optimates*.

<sup>k</sup> It is plain by this, and what follows, that Dion had no intention of restoring the Syracusans to their liberty, but only that they should change their master.

quo, sed acerbitate opprimere studuit; Heraclidemque, cum Syracusas venisset, interficiendum curavit.

CAP. VII. Quod factum omnibus maximum timorem iniecit; nemo enim, illo interfecto, se tutum putabat. Ille autem, adversario remoto, licentius eorum bona, quos sciebat adversus se sensisse, militibus dispertivit. Quibus divisis, cum quotidiani maximi fierent sumtus, celeriter pecunia deesse coepit: neque, quod manus porrigeret, suppetebat, nisi amicorum possessiones. Ad hujusmodi erat, ut, cum milites reconciliasset, amitteret optimates. Quarum rerum curâ frangebatur; et infuetus malè audiendi, non æquo animo ferebat, de se ab iis malè existimari, quorum paulò antè in cælum fuerat elatus laudibus. Vulgus autem, offensâ in eum militum voluntate, liberiùs loquebatur, et tyrannum non ferendum dictitabat.

CAP. VIII. Hæc ille inuens, cum, quemadmodum sedaret, nesciret, et quorsum evaderent, timeret; Callicrates quidam, civis Atheniensis, qui simul cum eo ex Peloponneso in Siciliam venerat, homo et callidus, et ad

compliance, but to suppress by severity, and took care to have Heraclides slain, when he came to Syracuse.

CHAP. VII. Which action struck a mighty terror into every body; for nobody thought himself safe, after he was slain. But he, his enemy being taken off, divided to his soldiers over freely the estates of those, whom he knew to have been in their sentiments against him. Which being distributed, as his daily expences were very great, money quickly began to fail him: nor was there any thing to which he could reach his hand, but the possessions of his friends. That was such, that, whilst he gained the soldiery, he lost the better party. With the care of which things he was dispirited; and being unaccustomed to hear himself ill spoke of, he bore it not with an easy mind, that he should be ill thought of by those, by whose praises he had been exalted to heaven a little before. But the common people, the minds of the soldiers being offended at him, spoke more freely, and frequently said, that the tyrant was not to be endured.

CHAP. VIII. He seeing these things, as he knew not how to put a stop to them, and was afraid what end they would come to; one Callicrates, a citizen of Athens, who had come together with him from Peloponnesus into Sicily, both a subtle fellow, and acute enough for the management

fraudem

fraudem acutus, sine ulla religione ac fide, adit ad Dionem, et ait, eum in magno periculo esse, propter offensionem populi, et odium militum; quod nullo modo evitare posset, nisi alicui suorum negotium daret, qui se simularet illi inimicum: quem si invenisset idoneum, facile omnium animos cogniturum, adversariosque sublaturum, quod inimici ejus dissidenti suos sensus aperturi forent. Tali consilio probato, excipit has partes ipse Callicrates, et se armat imprudentiâ Dionis: ad eum interficiendum socios conquirat, adversarios ejus convenit, conjurationem confirmat. Res, multis conficiis, quæ gereretur, elata, refertur ad Aristomachen sororem Dionis, uxoremque Areten. Illæ timore perterritæ conveniunt, cujus de periculo timebant. At ille negat à Callicrate fieri sibi insidias; sed illa, quæ agerentur, fieri præcepto suo. Mulieres nihilo secius Callicratem in ædem Proserpinæ deducunt, ac jurare cogunt, nihil ab illo periculi fore Dioni. Ille hæc religione non modò ab incepto non deterritus, sed ad maturandum concitatus est; verens, ne prius consilium suum aperiretur, quàm conata perfecisset.

of any fraudulent design, without any religion and honour, goes to Dion, and tells him, that he was in great danger, because of the disaffection of the people, and the hatred of the soldiers, which he could no way avoid, unless he gave a commission to some of his friends to pretend himself an enemy to him: if he could but find one proper to his purpose, he might easily know the minds of them all, and take off his adversaries, because his enemies would discover their sentiments to one disaffected to him. This counsel being approved of, Callicrates himself undertakes this business, and arms himself by the imprudence of Dion: he seeks up accomplices to kill him; he gives a meeting to his enemies, and completely forms the conspiracy against him. The matter which was carrying on, many being privy to it, being blabbed, is carried to Aristomache the sister of Dion, and his wife Arete. They being alarmed with fear, go to him, for whose danger they were concerned. But he denies that any plot was formed against him by Callicrates, but that those things, which were a-doing, were done by his order. The women notwithstanding bring Callicrates into the temple of Proserpine, and oblige him to swear, that there should be no danger to Dion from him. He not only was not deterred from his undertaking by this sacred obligation, but was pushed on to hasten the execution, fearing lest his design should be discovered, before he could accomplish what he attempted.



CAP. IX. Hâc mente, proximo die festo, cum à conventu se remotum Dion domi teneret, atque in conclavi edito recubisset; consiliis loca munitiora oppidi tradit; domum custodibus sepit; à foribus qui non discedant, certos præficit; navem triremem armatis ornat, Philostratoque fratri suo tradit, eamque in portu agitari jubet, ut si exercere remiges vellet; cogitans, si fortè consiliis obstitisset fortuna, ut haberet, quâ fugeret ad salutem: Suorum autem e numero Zacynthios adoloscences quosdam eligit, cum audacissimos, tum viribus maximis; hisque dat negotium, [ut] ad Dionem eant inermes, sic uti conveniendi ejus gratiâ viderentur venire. Hi, propter notitiam, sunt intromissi. At illi, ut limen ejus intrârunt, foribus obsecatis, in lecto cubantem invadunt, colligant: fit strepitus, adèò ut exaudiri posset foris. Hic, sicut antè dictum est, quàm invisa sit singularis potentia, et miseranda vita, qui se metui, quàm amari malunt, cuivis facile intellectu fuit. Namque illi ipsi custodes, si propitiâ fuissent voluntate, foribus ef-

CHAP. IX. *With this design, the next holy-day, whilst Dion kept himself retired at home, far from the assembly of the people, and was laid down in an upper room, he delivers to some of his accomplices all the strong parts of the town; he surrounds the house with guards; he places trusty men, that should not depart from the door; he mans a ship with three banks of oars, and delivers it to his brother Philostratus, and orders it to be rowed about in the harbour, as if he had a mind to exercise the rowers; intending, if fortune obstructed his design, to have this wherewith to fly for security. He likewise chuses out of the number of his men some <sup>1</sup> Zacynthian youths, both very bold, and of very great strength. And to these he gives orders to go unarmed to Dion, as if they seemed to come upon the account of speaking with him. These, by reason of their acquaintance with him, were let in; but they, as soon as they had got within his threshold, bolting the door, seize him lying on his bed, and bind him. A noise is made, so that it might be heard without doors. Here, as has been said before, it was easy to be understood by any body, how odious arbitrary power is, and how miserable the life of those, who chuse rather to be feared than loved. For those very guards; if they had been men of a favourable disposition to-*

<sup>1</sup> Zacynthus is an island on the western coast of Peloponnesus.

fractis servare eum potuissent, quòd illi inermes telum foris flagitantes, vivum tenebant. Cui cùm succurreret nemo, Lyco, quidam Syracusanus, per fenestras gladium dedit, quo Dion interfectus est.

CAP. X. Confectâ cæde, cùm multitudo visendi gratiâ intrasset, nonnulli ab insciis pro noxiis conciduntur. Nam celeri rumore dilato, Dioni vim allatam, multi concurrant, quibus tale facinus displicebat. Hi, falsâ suspicione ducti, inmerentes ut sceleratos occidunt. Hujus de morte, ut palam factum est, mirabiliter vulgi mutata est voluntas. Nam qui vivum eum tyrannum vocitabant, eundem liberatorem patriæ, tyrannique expulsores prædicabant. Sic subito misericordia odio successerat, ut eum suo sanguine, si possent, ab Acheronte cuperent redimere. Itaque in urbe, celeberrimo loco elatus publicè, sepulchri monumento donatus est. Dion obiit circiter annos quinquaginta quinque natus; quartum post annum, quàm ex Peloponneso in Siciliam redierat.

wards him, by breaking the door, might have saved him, because they being unarmed, held him alive, calling to those without for a weapon; whom whilst no body relieved, one Lyco, a Syracusan gave them a sword through the window, with which Dion was slain.

CHAP. X. After the murder was committed, when the people came in to see him, some are slain by those that were ignorant of the matter, for the guilty. For a speedy report being spread, that violence had been offered to Dion, many had run together, whom this fact displeased. These, moved by a false suspicion, kill the innocent, as if they had been guilty. As soon as public notice had been given of his death, the mind of the common people was wonderfully changed. For they who had ordinarily called him when alive, a tyrant, called the same man the deliverer of his country, and the banisher of a tyrant. Thus suddenly had pity succeeded their hatred, that they desired to redeem him with their own blood from <sup>m</sup> hell, if they could. Wherefore being buried at the public expence in the most frequented part of the city, he was honoured with a monument of a sepulchre. He died about fifty-five years old; the fourth year after he had returned out of Peloponnesus into Sicily.

<sup>m</sup> [Acheron, according to Geographers, is a river in Epirus; but according to the poets, it is a river in hell; and orators, as well as the poets, use it for death or the grave.]

## XI.

IPHICRATES, *Atheniensis.*

## CAP. I.

## XI.

IPHICRATES, *the Athenian.*

## CHAP. I.

**I**Phicrates, Atheniensis, non tam magnitudine rerum gestarum, quam disciplinâ militari nobilitatus est. Fuit enim talis dux, ut non solum ætatis suæ cum primis compararetur, sed ne de maioribus natus quidem quisquam anteponeretur. Multum verò in bello versatus, sæpe exercitibus præfuit: nusquam culpâ suâ malè rem gessit; semper consilio vicit, tantumque eo valuit, ut multa in re militari partim nova attulerit, partim meliora fecerit. Namque ille pedestria arma mutavit: cum, ante illum imperatorem, maximis clypeis, brevibus hastis, minutis gladiis uterentur; ille, è contrario, Peltam pro Parma fecit, à quo postea Peltastæ pedites appellantur; ut ad motus concursusque essent leviores. Hastæ modum duplicavit, gladios longiores fecit. Idem genus loricarum mutavit, et pro ferreis atque æneis linteas dedit. Quo facto expeditiores milites reddidit; nam pondere detracto, quod æquè corpus tegeret, et leve esset, curavit.

**I**Phicrates, the Athenian, was not so famous for the greatness of the things performed by him, as his military discipline. For he was such a general, that he might not only be compared with the greatest of his age, but none of the old generals could indeed be preferred before him. But having been much in war, he oftentimes commanded armies: he never managed his business ill by his own fault; he always excelled in contrivance, and was so able that way, that he partly invented many new things in the military art, partly made things better. For he changed the foot-arms: when, before he was general, they made use of very great shields, short spears, and little swords; he, on the contrary, made the Pelta instead of the Parma, from which the foot are afterwards called Peltastæ, that they might be nimbler for motion and engaging. He doubled the length of the spear, and made the swords longer. The same man changed the kind of their coats of mail, and gave them linen ones instead of iron and brazen ones. By which act he rendered the soldiers more light; for the weight of their coats being lessened, he provided what would equally secure the body, and was light.

CAP. II. Bellum cum Thracibus gessit; Scythien, socium Atheniensem, in regnum restituit. Apud Corinthum tantâ severitate exercitui præfuit, ut nullæ unquam in Græcia neque exercitiores copiæ, neque magis dicto audientes fuerint duci; in eamque consuetudinem adduxit, ut, cum prælii signum ab imperatore esset datum, sine ducis opera sic ordinatæ consisterent, ut singuli à peritissimo imperatore dispositi viderentur. Hoc exercitu Moram Lacedæmoniorum interceptit; quod maxime totâ celebratum est Græciâ. Iterum eodem bello omnes copias eorum fugavit; quo factò, magnam adeptus est gloriam. Cum Artaxerxes Ægyptio regi bellum inferre voluit, Iphicratem ab Atheniensibus petivit ducem, quem præficeret exercitui conductitio, cujus numerus duodecim millium fuit. Quem quidem sic omni disciplinâ militari erudit, ut, quemadmodum quondam Fabi-

CHAP. II. *He carried on a war with the Thracians; restored Scythies, the ally of the Athenians, to his kingdom. He commanded the army at Corinth with so much strictness, that no troops were ever better exercised in Greece, nor more obedient to their general; and he brought them to that custom, that, when the signal of battle was given by the general, they would stand so regularly drawn up without the help of an officer, that they each of them seemed to have been posted by the most skilful commander. With this army he cut off the <sup>a</sup> Mora of the Lacedæmonians; which was mightily celebrated throughout all Greece. He routed all their forces again in the same war; by which action he acquired great glory. When Artaxerxes was resolved to make war upon the king of Egypt, he desired Iphicrates for his general of the Athenians, that he might place him at the head of his army of mercenaries, the number of which was twelve thousand; which indeed he so instructed in all military discipline, that as formerly the Roman soldiers were called <sup>b</sup> Fabi-*

<sup>a</sup> A choice body of men among the Lacedæmonians, concerning the number of which authors are not agreed, some making them to be five hundred, some six, and some eight.

<sup>b</sup> 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 Veientes by themselves, and were cut off 300 of them in one battle, about 475 years before Christ. Or rather, according to others, from Q. Fabius Maximus the dictator, that opposed Hannibal.



ani, milites Romani appellati sunt, sic Iphicratenſes apud Græcos in ſumma laude fuerint. Idem ſubſidio Lacedæmoniis profectus, Epaminondæ retardavit impetus: Nam niſi ejus adventus appropinquâſſet, non priùs Thebani Spartâ abſceſſiſſent, quàm captam incendio delèſſent.

CAP. III. Fuit autem et animo magno, et corpore, imperatoriâque formâ, ut ipſo aſpectu cuius inſiceret admirationem ſui: ſed in labore remiſſus nimis, parumque patiens, ut Theopompus memoriæ prodidit: bonus verò civis, fideque magnâ: quod cùm in aliis rebus declaravit, tum maximè in Amyntæ Macedonis liberis tuendis. Namque Eurydice mater Perdiccæ et Philippi, cum his duobus pueris, Amyntâ mortuo, ad Iphicratem cõfugit, ejusque opibus deſenſa eſt. Vixit ad ſenectutem, placatis in ſe ſuorum civium animis. Cauſam capitis ſemel dixit, bello ſociali, ſimul cum Timotheo, eoquẽ judicio eſt abſolutus. Menelthea filium reliquit, ex Threſſa natum, Coti regis filiâ. Is cùm interrogaretur, u-

ani, ſo the Iphicratenſians amongſt the Greeks were in the higheſt reputation. The ſame man going to the relief of the Lacedæmonians, ſtopped the efforts of Epaminondas: For unleſs his coming had been near at hand, the Thebans would not have departed from Sparta, before they had taken and deſtroyed it by fire.

CHAP. III. He was too a man both of a great mind and body, and the appearance of a general, that by his very aſpect he would have ſtruck any one with an admiration of his perſon: but in application to buſineſs too remiſſe, and little able to endure hardſhip, as Theopompus has left upon record; but a good citizen, and of great honour: Which he ſheewed both in other things, and eſpecially in proteſting the children of Amyntas the Macedonian: for Eurydice the mother of Perdiccas and Philip, with thoſe two boys, after Amyntas was dead, fled to Iphicrates, and was ſecured by his power. He lived to a good old age, with the minds of his countrymen well-aſſected towards him. Once he was tried for his life, in the <sup>c</sup> ſocial war, together with Timothy, and was acquitted in that trial. He left a ſon, by name Meneltheus, born of a Thracian lady, the daughter of king Cotus. He being aſked, Whether

<sup>c</sup> This was carried on by the Byzantians, Coans, Chians, Rhodians, and Maſſolus prince of Caria, againſt the Athenians, about 360 years before Chriſt.

trùm pluris patrem matremne faceret ; matrem, inquit. Id cùm omnibus mirum videretur ; At ille, Meritò, inquit, facio ; nam pater, quantum in se fuit, Thracem me genuit : contrà, mater Atheniensem.

*he valued his father or his mother more ; said, His mother. As that appeared strange to every body ; But, says he, I do it for good reason ; for my father, as much as lay in him, begot me a Thracian ; on the other hand, my mother made me an Athenian, as much as lay in her.*

## XII.

CHABRIAS, *Atheniensis.*

## CAP. I.

**C**Habrias, Atheniensis. Hic quoque in summis habitus est ducibus, resque multas memoriâ dignas gessit. Sed ex his elucet maximè inventum ejus in prælio, quod apud Thebas fecit, cùm Bœotiis subsidio venisset. Namque in eo, victoriâ fidente summo duce Agesilao, fugatis jam ab eo conductitiis catervis, reliquam phalangem loco vetuit cedere ; obnixoque genu scuto, projectâque hastâ, impetum excipere hostium docuit. Id novum Agesilaus contuens, progredi non est ausus, suosque jam

## XII.

CHABRIAS, *the Athenian.*

## CHAP. I.

**C**Habrias, *the Athenian.* He too was reckoned amongst the greatest generals, and performed many things worthy of memory. But of these, his invention in the battle, which he fought at Thebes, when he came to the relief of the Bœotians, is the most famous. For, in that battle, that great commander Agesilaus making himself sure of the victory, the hired troops being now routed by him, he forbade the rest of the <sup>a</sup> phalanx to quit their ground ; and taught them to receive the enemy's attack, with their knee resting against their shield, and their spear held out. Agesilaus observing that new contrivance, durst not advance, and by found

<sup>a</sup> Phalanx properly signifies a body of Macedonian foot, sixteen thousand in number, drawn up in very close order, armed with shield and spear ; but the word at last was used to signify any body of foot in close array, as it is here.

incurrentes tubâ revocavit. Hoc usque eò totâ Græciâ famâ celebratum est, ut illo statu Chabrias sibi statnam fieri voluerit, quæ publicè ei ab Atheniensibus in foro constituta est. Ex quo factum est, ut postea athletæ, cæterique artifices, his statibus in statuis ponendis uterentur, in quibus victoriam essent adepti.

CAP. II. Chabrias autem multa in Europa bella administravit, cum dux Atheniensium esset: in Ægypto suâ sponte gessit: nam Nectanebum adjutum profectus, regnum ei constituit. Fecit idem Cypri; sed publicè ab Atheniensibus Evagoræ adjutor datus: neque prius inde discessit, quam totam insulam bello devinceret: qua ex re Athenienses magnam gloriam sunt adepti. Interim bellum inter Ægyptios et Persas conflatum est. Athenienses cum Artaxerxe societatem habebant; Lacedæmonii cum Ægyptiis, à quibus magnas prædas Agesilaus rex eorum faciebat. Id intuens Chabrias, cum in re nulla Agesilao cederet, suâ sponte eos adjutum profectus, Ægyptiæ classi præfuit, pedestribus copiis Agesilaus.

CAP. III. Tum præfecti

of trumpet called off his men now rushing forward. This was so much celebrated by fame through all Greece, that Chabrias had a fancy to have the statue made for him in that posture, which was erected for him at the public charge by the Athenians in the forum. From whence it was, that afterwards wrestlers, and other artists, in the erecting of their statues, made use of those postures, in which they had got a victory.

CHAP. II. Chabrias likewise carried on many wars in Europe, when he was general of the Athenians: he carried on many in Egypt of his own accord: for going to assist Nectanebus, he secured his kingdom to him. He did the same at Cyprus; but being given by the government of the Athenians as an assistant to Evagoras: nor did he depart from thence, before he had conquered the whole island in the war: from which thing the Athenians reaped a great deal of glory. In the mean time a war was commenced betwixt the Egyptians and the Persians. The Athenians had an alliance with Artaxerxes; the Lacedæmonians with the Egyptians, from whom Agesilaus their king got abundance of plunder. Chabrias seeing that, as he yielded in nothing to Agesilaus, going of his own accord to assist them, he commanded the Egyptian fleet, Agesilaus the land-forces.

CHAP. III. Upon that, the regis

regis Persiæ legatos miserunt Athenas, questum, quòd Chabrias adversum regem bellum gereret cum Ægyptiis. Athenienses diem certam Chabriæ præstituerunt, quam ante, domum nisi redisset, capitis se illum damnaturos denunciarent. Hoc ille nuncio Athenas rediit, neque ibi diutius est moratus, quam fuit necesse. Non enim libenter erat ante oculos civium suorum, quòd et vivebat lautè, et indulgebat sibi liberaliùs, quam ut invidiam vulgi posset effugere. Est enim hoc commune vitium in magnis liberisque civitatibus, ut invidia gloriæ comes sit, et libenter de his detrahant, quos eminere videant altiùs: neque animo æquo pauperes alienam opulentiam intuentur fortunam. Itaque Chabrias, quoad ei licebat, plurimum aberat. Neque verò solus ille aberat Athenis libenter, sed omnes ferè principes fecerunt idem; quòd tantum se ab invidia putabant futuros, quantum à conspectu suorum recessissent. Itaque Conon plurimum Cypri vixit, Iphicrates in Thracia, Timotheus Lesbì, Chares in Sigæo. Dissimilis quidem Chares eorum factis et mo-

king of Persia's commanders sent messengers to Athens, to complain, that Chabrias made war with the Egyptians against the king. The Athenians fixed Chabrias a certain day, before which if he did not return home, they declared they would condemn him to die. Upon this message he returned to Athens, nor did he stay there longer than was necessary. For he was not very willingly under the eyes of his countrymen, because he both lived very handsomely, and indulged himself more freely, than that he could possibly escape the odium of the vulgar. For this is a common fault in great and free states, that popular hatred is the attendant of glory; and they willingly detract from those, whom they see tower above other people; nor do the poor look upon the fortune of the wealthy, that is so far different from their own, with an easy mind. Wherefore Chabrias, as far as was possible for him, was very much away. Nor was he alone gladly absent from Athens, but almost all the great men did the same; because they thought they should be just so far removed from popular hatred, as they retired from the sight of their countrymen. Wherefore Conon lived very much at Cyprus, Iphicrates in Thrace, Timotheus at<sup>b</sup> Lesbòs, Chares in<sup>c</sup> Sigæum. Chares was unlike them indeed, in his actions and manners; but yet he

<sup>b</sup> [An isle in the Ægean sea, and now called Metelin.]

<sup>c</sup> A town of Troas, near the Hellespont.



ribus; sed tamen Athenis et honoratus et potens.

CAP. IV. Chabrias autem periit bello sociali, tali modo. Oppugnabant Athenienses Chium: erat in classe Chabrias privatus, sed omnes, qui in magistraturæ erant, auctoritate antebat; eumque magis milites, quam qui præerant, aspiciant. Quæ res ei maturavit mortem: nam dum primus studet portum intrare, et gubernatorem jubet eò dirigere navem, ipse sibi perniciosi fuit: cum enim eò penetrasset, cæteræ non sunt secutæ. Quo facto circumfusis hostium concursu, cum fortissimè pugnaret, navis, rostro percussa, cepit sidere. Hinc refuge-re cum posset, si se in mare deiecisset; quòd suberat classis Atheniensium, quæ exciperet natantem; perire maluit, quàm, armis abjectis, navem relinquere, in qua fuerat vectus. Id cæteri facere noluerunt, qui nando in tutum pervenerunt. At ille, præstare honestam mortem existimans turpi vitæ, cominus pug-nans telis hostium interfectus est.

was both honoured and powerful at Athens.

CHAP. IV. Now Chabrias lost his life in the social war, in this manner. The Athenians were assailing d Chius: Chabrias was on board the fleet without any command, but he exceeded in authority all those that were in commission; and the soldiers more regarded him, than those that commanded them. Which thing hastened his death for him: for whilst he endeavours to enter the harbour first, and orders the master to steer the ship thither, he was his own ruin; for after he had made his way unto it, the rest did not follow. Upon which, being surrounded by a concourse of the enemy, whilst he fought very bravely, his ship, being struck with a<sup>c</sup> rostrum, begun to sink. Tho' he might have escaped from thence, if he would have thrown himself into the sea, because the fleet of the Athenians was at hand, to have taken him up as he swam; he chose rather to perish, than, throwing away his arms, to quit the ship, in which he had sailed. The rest would not do that, who came off by swimming. But he, thinking an honourable death better than a scandalous life, was slain with the enemy's weapons, fighting hand to hand with them.

d An island in the Ægean sea, on the coast of Ionia; it is now called Scio.

c I have used the Latin word, because we have none in our language proper for that purpose. It is here put for a strong sharp iron spike, with which the prows of their *longæ naves*, or men of war, were armed, in order to sink one another in sea-fights.

## XIII.

TIMOTHEUS, Cononis filius, Atheniensis.

## CAP. I.

**T**imotheus, Cononis filius, Atheniensis. Hic à patre acceptam gloriam multis auxit virtutibus. Fuit enim disertus, impiger, laboriosus, rei militaris peritus, neque minùs civitatis regendæ. Multa hujus sunt præclare facta, sed hæc maximè illustria; Olynthios et Byzantios bello subegit: Samum cepit, in qua oppugnanda, superiore bello, Athenienses mille et ducenta talenta consumserant. Id ille sine ulla publica impensa populo restituit. Adversus Cotym bella gessit, ab eoque mille et ducenta talenta prædæ in publicum detulit. Cyzicum obsidione liberavit. Ariobarzani simul cum Agesilao auxilio profectus est: à quo, cum Laco pecuniam numeratam accepisset, ille cives suos agro atque urbibus augeri maluit, quàm id sumere, cujus partem

## XIII.

TIMOTHEUS, the son of Conon, the Athenian.

## CHAP. I.

**T**imotheus was the son of Conon, the Athenian. He increased the glory received from his father, by his many excellent qualities; for he was eloquent, active, laborious, skilled in military affairs, and no less in the government of the state. There are a great many famous actions of his upon record, but these the most illustrious; he subdued the <sup>a</sup> Olynthians and Byzantians in war; and took Samus, in the assaulting of which, the Athenians, in the former war, had spent a thousand and two hundred talents<sup>b</sup>. This he restored to the people without any public charge. He carried on a war against <sup>c</sup> Cotys, and brought from him a thousand two hundred talents of plunder into the public treasury. He delivered <sup>d</sup> Cyzicus from a siege. He went along with Agesilaus to the assistance of <sup>e</sup> Ariobarzanes: from whom, whilst the Lacedæmonian received ready cash, he chose rather to have his countrymen enriched with lands and cities,

<sup>a</sup> Olynthus was a city of Macedonia, not far from the Toronæan bay.

<sup>b</sup> [Viz. the sum of the talents, which Timotheus made up for the people by way of plunder from Cotys, as in the following sentence.]

<sup>c</sup> Cotys was a king of Thrace.

<sup>d</sup> Cyzicus was a town of Asia Minor upon the Propontis.

<sup>e</sup> One of the king of Persia's viceroys in Asia Minor.

domum suam ferre posset. Itaque accepit Crithoten et Sestum.

CAP. II. Idem classi præfectus <sup>g</sup> circumvehens Peloponnesum, Laconicam populatus, classem eorum fugavit. Corcyram sub imperium Atheniensem redegit; sociosque idem adjunxit Epirotas, Athamanas, Chaonas, omnesque eas gentes, quæ mare illud adjacent. Quo facto, Lacedæmonii de diutina contentione destiterunt, et suâ sponte Atheniensibus imperii maritimi principatus concesserunt; pacemque his legibus constituerunt; ut Athenienses mari duces essent. Quæ victoria tantæ fuit Atticis lætitiæ, ut tum primum aræ PACI publicè sint factæ, eique deæ pulvinar sit institutum. Cujus laudis ut memoria maneret, Timotheo publicè statuam in foro posuerunt:

than take that, part of which he might carry to his own home: and accordingly he received Crithote and <sup>f</sup> Sestus.

CHAP. II. The same man being admiral of the fleet, and sailing round Peloponnesus, having laid waste <sup>h</sup> Laconica, defeated their fleet. He reduced Corcyra under the dominion of the Athenians; and the same man joined with them as allies, the <sup>i</sup> Epirotians, the <sup>k</sup> Athamanians, the <sup>l</sup> Chaonians, and all those nations which lie upon that sea. After doing which, the Lacedæmonians desisted from their long dispute, and, of their own accord, yielded up the command at sea to the Athenians, and made a peace upon these terms: that the Athenians should be commanders at sea. Which victory was the cause of so much joy to the Athenians, that then first of all altars were erected to PEACE at the public charge, and a <sup>m</sup> bed ordered for that goddess. And that the memory of this glorious action might remain, they erected a statue to Timothy in the forum at the public charge. Which

<sup>f</sup> A town of the Thracian Chersonese upon the Hellespont; so was Crithote.

<sup>g</sup> [For *circumvefus*, viz. *classe*. Lambinus prefers *circumiens* here, but Salmasius maintains *circumvehens*.]

<sup>h</sup> The territory of Sparta, in the south parts of Peloponnesus.

<sup>i</sup> [The Epirotians, or Epirots, were the inhabitants of Epirus, a country between Macedonia, Achaia, and the Ionian sea; it is now called *Canina*.]

<sup>k</sup> People of Ætolia, joining upon Epire.

<sup>l</sup> The Chaonians were a people of Epire.

<sup>m</sup> It was usual with the Greeks and Romans to have rich beds set up in the temples of their gods, upon which their images were placed in their festivals.

qui honos huic uni ante hoc tempus contigit; ut, cum patri populus statuum posuisset, filio quoque daret. Sic juxta posita recens filii, veterem patris renovavit memoriam.

CAP. III. Hic cum esset magno natu, et magistratus gerere desisset, bello Athenienses undique premi sunt coepti. Defecerat Samus; defecerat Hellepontus; Philippus jam tum valens [Macedo] multa moliebatur: cui oppositus Chares cum esset, non satis in eo presidii putabatur; sit Menestheus praetor, filius Iphicratis, gener Timothei, et ut ad bellum proficiscatur, decernitur. Huic in consilium dantur duo, usu et sapientia praestantes, <sup>o</sup> quorum consilio uteretur, pater et socer: quod in his tanta erat auctoritas, ut magna spes esset, per eos amissa posse recuperari. Hi cum Samum profecti essent, et eodem Chares, eorum adventu cognito, cum suis copiis proficisceretur, ne quid, absente se, ge-

honour happened to him a'one till that time; that after the people had erected a statue to the father, they should give one to the son too. Thus the fresh statue of the son placed nigh the other's, revived the old memory of the father.

CHAP. III. When he was now old, and had given over bearing offices, the Athenians began to be distressed in war on all hands. Samus had revolted; the Hellepont had left them; Philip [the Macedonian] being then strong, attempted many things: against whom as Chares was employed, and it was thought there was not security enough in <sup>n</sup> him; Menestheus is made commander, the son of Iphicrates, son-in-law of Timothy, and a decree is passed, that he should go to the war. Two, excelling in experience and wisdom, are given him to advise with, his father, and his father-in-law: because there was so great authority in them, that there were great hopes, that what had been lost might be recovered by them. After these were come to Samus, and Chares, having known of their coming, was going to the same place with his forces, lest any thing should seem to be done in his absence; it happened, as

<sup>n</sup> [He was imprudent, sottish, haughty, headstrong, and every way unfit for this post, which the humour of a faction at Athens had procured for him.]

<sup>o</sup> The words *quorum consilio uteretur*, seem to have been put in the margin by some body, as a gloss upon the words in *consilium*; and at last, by some careless transcriber of books, taken into the text; for they are wholly needless.



stum videretur; accidit, cum ad insulam appropinquarent, ut magna tempestas oriretur; quam evitare duo veteres imperatores utile arbitrati, suam classem suppresserunt. At ille, temerariam usus ratione, non cessit majorum natum auctoritati; et, ut in sua navi esset fortuna, quod contenderat, pervenit, eodemque ut sequerentur, ad Timotheum et Iphicratem nuntium misit. Hinc male re gesta, compluribus amissis navibus, eodem, unde erat profectus, se recepit, literasque Athenas publice misit, sibi proclive fuisse Samum capere, nisi a Timotheo et Iphicrate desertus esset. Ob eam rem in crimen vocabantur. Populus acer, suspicax, mobilis, adversarius, invidus etiam potentiae, domum revocat: accusantur proditi-  
onis. Hoc judicio damnatur Timotheus, lisque ejus aestimatur centum talentis. Ille odio ingratae civitatis coactus, Chalcidem se contulit.

CAP. IV. Hujus post mortem, cum populum judicii sui poeniteret, multa novem partes detraxit, et decem talenta Cononem filium ejus, ad murum quandam partem reficiendam, jussit

*they were approaching the island, that a great storm arose; which the two old commanders thinking it convenient to avoid, stopped their fleet. But he, taking a rash course, did not yield to the authority of his elders; and, as if fortune had been in his ship, he came to the place he had steered for, and sent a messenger to Timothy and Iphicrates to follow him to the same place. Upon this, his business being ill managed, and several ships being lost, he betook himself to the same place from whence he had come, and sent letters to Athens to the government; that it had been an easy matter for him to take Samus, if he had not been deserted by Timothy and Iphicrates. They were called to an account for that matter. The people being violent, suspicious, fickle, all against them, envious also of their power, send for them home: they are impeached of treason; Timothy is condemned in this trial, and his fine set at an hundred talents. He, forced by the hatred of the ungrateful city, betook himself to <sup>P</sup> Chalcis.*

CHAP. IV. *After his death, the people being sorry for their sentence on him, took off nine parts of the fine, and ordered his son Conon to give ten talents, to repair a certain part of the wall. In which the incon-*

<sup>P</sup> [A city of Eubœa, near to Euripus, or the channel of Negropont.]

dare. In quo fortunæ varietas est animadversa : nam quos avus Conon muros ex hostium præda patriæ restituerat, eosdem nepos, cum summa ignominia familiæ, ex sua rei familiari reficere coactus est. Timothei autem moderatæ, sapientisque vitæ, cum complura possumus proferre testimonia, uno erimus contenti, quod ex eo facile conjici poterit, quàm carus suis fuerit. Cum Athenis adolescentulus causam diceret, non solum amici privatique hospites ad eum defendendum convenerunt, sed etiam in eis Jason tyrannus, qui illo tempore fuit omnium potentissimus. Hic, cum in patria sine satellitibus se tutum non arbitraretur, Athenas sine ullo præsidio venit ; tantique hospitum fecit, ut mallet se capitis periculum adire, quàm Timotheo, de fama dimicanti, deesse. Hunc adversus tamen Timotheus postea, populi jussu, bellum gessit : patriæque sanctiora jura, quàm hospitii, esse duxit. Hæc extrema fuit ætas imperatorum Atheniensium ; Iphicratis, Chabriæ, Timothei : neque post illorum obitum quisquam dux in illa urbe fuit dignus memoriâ.

*stancy of fortune was observed : for the grandson was obliged, with great disgrace to his family, out of his own estate, to repair the same walls, which his grandfather Conon had rebuilt for his country out of the plunder of its enemies. Now, tho' we could produce a great many proofs of the moderate and wise life of Timothy, we will be content with one, because it may be easily conjectured from thence, how dear he was to his countrymen. When, in his youth, he was, upon a certain occasion, brought upon his trial at Athens, not only his friends and private hosts met to defend him, but likewise amongst them, Jason a prince of Thesfaly, who at that time was the most powerful of all others. He, tho' he thought himself not safe in his own country without guards, came to Athens without any guard ; and valued his friend so much, that he chose rather to run the hazard of his life, than be wanting to Timothy, now struggling for his honour. Yet Timothy carried on a war against him afterwards, by the order of the people : and he reckoned the rights of his country more sacred than those of friendship. This was the last age of the Athenian generals ; i. e. the age of Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Timothy : neither was there any general in that city worth mentioning in history after their death.*



## XIV.

## XIV.

## DATAMES.

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## CAP. I.

## CHAP. I.

**V**enio nunc ad fortissimum virum, maxime consilii, omnium barbarorum; exceptis duobus Carthaginiensibus, Hamilcare et Hannibale: de quo hoc plura referemus; quod et obscuriora sunt ejus gesta pleraque, et ea, quæ prosperè ei cesserunt, non magnitudine copiarum, sed consilii, quo tantum non omnes superabat, acciderunt; quorum nisi ratio explicata fuerit, res apparere non poterunt. DATAMES patre Camissare, natione Care, matre Scythiisâ natus, primum militum numero fuit apud Artaxerxem, eorum, qui regiam tuebantur. Patere ejus Camissares, quod et manu fortis, et bello strenuus, et regi multis locis fidelis erat repertus, habuit provinciam partem Ciliciæ juxta Cappadociam, quam incolunt Leucosyri. Datames militare munus fungens, primum qualis esset aperuit, in bello, quod rex

**I** Come now to the bravest man, and a man of the greatest conduct, of all the barbarians; except the two Carthaginians, Hamilcar and Hannibal: concerning whom I shall say so much the more, because most of his actions are somewhat obscure, and those things that succeeded well with him, were brought about, not by the greatness of force, but conduct, in which he exceeded almost all men; the manner of which unless it be declared, the things themselves cannot appear. DATAMES was come of a father, by name Camissares, and by nation a Carian, of a mother that was a Scythian. He was first of all one of those soldiers under <sup>a</sup> Artaxerxes, who defended the palace. His father Camissares, because he had been found both brave and active in war, and faithful to the king upon many occasions, had for his province a part of Cilicia, near Cappadocia, which the <sup>b</sup> Leucosyrians inhabit. Datames following the business of a soldier, first discovered what he was, in the war which the king carried on against

<sup>a</sup> [This was Artaxerxes Mnemon: and consequently the same with Ahasuerus in the book of *Esther*, according to Dr Prideaux and the Reverend Mr Millar of Paisley.]

<sup>b</sup> [The Leucosyri (*i. e.* white Syrians. afterward Cappadocians) were so called, to distinguish themselves from the tawny Syrians.]

adversus Cadusios gessit : namque hic, multis millibus regionum interfectis, magni fuit ejus opera ; quo factum est, ut, cum in eo bello cecidisset Camissares, paterna ei traderetur provincia.

CAP. II. Pari se virtute postea præbuit, cum Autophradates jussu regis bello persequeretur eos, qui defecerant : namque ejus operâ hostes, cum castra jam intrâssent, profligati sunt, exercitusque reliquus conservatus regis est : qua ex re majoribus rebus præesse cœpit. Erat eo tempore Thyus dynastes Paphlagoniæ, antiquo genere natus à Pylæmene illo, quem Homerus Troico bello à Patroclo interfectum ait. Is regi dicto audiens non erat ; quam ob causam bello eum persequi constituit, eique rei præfecit Datamem, propinquum Paphlagonis ; namque ex fratre et sorore erant nati ; quam ob causam Datames omnia primùm experiri voluit, ut sine armis propinquum ad officium reduceret. Ad quem cum venisset sine

*the<sup>c</sup> Cadusians : for here, after a great many thousands of the king's men were slain, his service was of great account ; for which reason it was, that, Camissares having fallen in that war, his father's province was given him.*

CHAP. II. He afterwards behaved himself with the like gallantry, when Autophradates, by the king's order, fell upon those by war, who had revolted : for by his means the enemies, after they had now entered the camp, were routed, and the rest of the king's army was saved : after which thing he began to command in greater affairs. Thyus at that time was prince of <sup>d</sup> Paphlagonia, of an ancient family, descended from that Pylæmenes, who, Homer says, was slain by <sup>e</sup> Patroclus in the Trojan war. He was not obedient to the king ; for which reason he resolved to fall upon him in a war, and placed Datames over that affair, a relation of the Paphlagonian ; for they were brother and sister's children ; for which reason Datames had a mind to try all things first, to bring back his relation to his duty, without arms. To whom when he was come without any guard, because he feared

<sup>c</sup> [The Cadusians were a people of Media, between the Caspian sea and the country of Pontus.]

<sup>d</sup> Paphlagonia was a country in Asia Minor, bordering upon the Euxine sea.

<sup>e</sup> [The author seems to be mistaken here, *et aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus* : Pylæmenes was slain by Menelaus, according to Homer, *Iliad. lib. v. vet. 576.*]



præsidio, quòd ab amico nullas vereretur insidias, penè interiit. Nam Thyus eum clam interficere voluit. Erat mater cum Datame, amita Paphlagonis; ea, quid ageretur, rescit, filiumque monuit. Ille fugâ periculum evitavit, bellumque indixit Thyo. In quo cum ab Ariobarzane, præfecto Lydiæ et Ioniæ, totiusque Phrygiæ, desertus esset, nihilo segnius perseveravit, vivumque Thyum cepit, cum uxore et liberis.

CAP. III. Cujus facti ne prius fama ad regem, quam ipse, perveniret, dedit operam. Itaque omnibus insciis, eò, ubi erat rex, venit; posteroque die Thyum, hominem maximi corporis, terribilique facie, (quòd et niger, et capillo longo, barbâque erat promissâ), optimâ veste textit, quam satrapæ regii gerere consueverant. Ornavitque etiam torque, et armillis aureis, cæteroque regio cultu: ipse agresti duplici amiculo circumdatus, hirtâque tunicâ, gerens in capite galeam venatoriam, dextrâ manu clavam, sinistrâ copulam, quâ vinctum ante se Thyum agebat, ut si feram bestiam captam duceret. Quem cum omnes prospicerent, propter novitatem ornatûs, ignotamque formam, ob eamque

no treachery from a friend, he had like to have lost his life. For Thyus designed to have killed him privately. His mother was with Datames, the aunt of the Paphlagonian; she understood what was a-doing, and warned her son of it. He avoided the danger by flight, and proclaimed war against Thyus. In which, though he was deserted by Ariobarzanes, the governor of Lydia, and Ionia, and all Phrygia, he persisted nevertheless vigorously, and took Thyus alive, with his wife and children.

CHAP. III. The fame of which fact, he did his endeavour, should not come to the king, before himself. Wherefore he came to the place where the king was, whilst all people were ignorant of it; and the day after clothed Thyus, a man of a huge body, and a terrible countenance, (because he was both black, and had long hair, and a long beard), in a fine robe, which the king's viceroy used to wear. He dressed him up likewise in a collar and bracelets of gold, and other royal apparel: he being clad in a rustic coat double, with a coarse tunic, wearing a hunter's cap upon his head, and having in his right hand a club, in his left a chain, in which he drove Thyus bound before him, as if he was bringing a wild beast, which he had taken. Whom whilst all people gazed at, because of the oddness of the dress and unknown shape; and for that rea-

rem

rem magnus esset concursus ; fuit non nemo, qui agnosceret Thyum, regique nunciaret. Primò non accreditit : itaque Pharnabazum misit exploratum ; à quo ut rem gestam comperit, statim admitti iussit, magnopere delectatus cum facto, tum ornatu : in primis, quòd nobilis rex in potestatem inopinanti venerat. Itaque magnificè Datamem donatum ad exercitum misit, qui tum contrahebatur duce Pharnabazo et Tithrauste ad bellum Ægyptium, parique eum, atque illos, imperio esse, iussit. Postea verò, quàm Pharnabazum rex revocavit, illi & summa imperii tradita est.

CAP. IV. Hic cum maximo studio compararet exercitum, Ægyptumque proficisci pararet ; subito à rege literæ sunt ei missæ, ut Aspis aggredere, qui Cataoniam tenebat ; quæ gens jacet supra Ciliciam, confinis Cappadociæ. Namque Aspis saltuosam regionem, castellisque munitam incolens, non solum imperio regis non parebat ; sed etiam finitimas regiones vexabat, et quæ regi portarentur, abripiebat. Data-

son a great crowd was gathered about him ; there was some body, who knew Thyus, and told the king. At first he did not believe it : wherefore he sent Pharnabazus to inquire ; from whom as soon as he understood the thing done, he ordered him immediately to be admitted, and was mightily pleased both with the fact, and the dress ; especially, that a noble king was come into his possession, whilst he was unaware of it. Wherefore he sent Datames nobly presented to the army, which was then a-raising under the generals Pharnabazus and Tithraustes, for the Egyptian war, and ordered him to be in the same command as they. But after the king recalled Pharnabazus, the chief direction of the war was delivered to him.

CHAP. IV. Whilst he was raising an army with the utmost application, and was preparing to march for Egypt ; a letter was suddenly sent him from the king, to attack Aspis, who he-l & Cataonia ; which nation lies above Cilicia, bordering upon Cappadocia. For Aspis inhabiting a woody country, and fortified with castles, did not only disobey the king's authority ; but likewise harassed the neighbouring countries, and intercepted what was carried that way for the king. Datames, though he was a great

† [Summa imperii, the chief command.]

& Cataonia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, are all provinces in the east parts of Asia Minor.

mes, etsi longè aberat ab his regionibus, et à majore re abstraheretur; tamen regis voluntati morem gerendum putavit. Itaque cum paucis, sed viris fortibus, navem conscendit; existimans, id quod accidit, faciliùs se imprudentem parvâ manu oppressurum, quàm paratum, quamvis magno exercitu. Hæc delatus in Ciliciam, egressus inde, dies noctesque iter faciens, Taurum transiit, eoque, quò studuerat, venit. Quærit, quibus locis sit Aspis: cognoscit, haud longè abesse, profectumque eum venatum: Quem dum speculatur, adventus ejus causa cognoscitur. Pisidas, cum iis, quos secum habebat, ad resistendum Aspis comparat. Id Datames ubi audivit, arma sumit, suosque sequi jubet: ipse, equo concitato, ad hostem vehitur; quem procul Aspis conspiciens ad se ferentem, pertimescit; atque à conatu resistendi deterritus, sese dedit. Hunc Datames victum ad regem ducendum tradit Mithridati.

CAP. V. Hæc dum geruntur, Artaxerxes reminiscens, à quanto bello, ad quam parvam rem principem ducem misisset, se ipse

away from those parts, and was taken from a greater matter, yet thought it necessary to pay obedience to the king's pleasure. Wherefore he goes aboard a ship with a few, but stout men, thinking, that which fell out, that he might more easily master him, unaware of him, with a small force, than prepared for him, with an army how great soever. Arriving in this ship in Cilicia, and landing, making his march night and day, he passed Taurus, and came to the place which he had intended for. He inquires in what parts Aspis was: he understands he was not far off, and was gone a-hunting: whom whilst he lies in wait for, the reason of his coming is known. Aspis prepares the <sup>h</sup> Pisidians, and those he had with him, for a resistance. When Datames heard that, he takes arms, and orders his men to follow him: he, putting on his horse, rides towards the enemy; whom Aspis seeing at a distance coming towards him, is affrighted, and being deterred from his attempt of resisting, surrenders himself. Datames delivers him bound to Mithridates, to be led to the king.

CHAP. V. Whilst these things are a-doing, Artaxerxes considering, from how great a war, to what an inconsiderable business, he had sent the greatest of his

<sup>h</sup> Pisidia is a country of Asia Minor: beyond Caria, bordering upon Lycia and Pamphylia.

reprehendit, et nuncium ad exercitum Acen misit, quòd nondum Datamem profectum putabat, qui diccret, ne ab exercitu discederet. Hic priusquam perveniret, quòd erat profectus, in itinere convenit, qui Aspis dacebant. Quà celeritate cum magnam benevolentiam regis Datames consequutus esset, non minorem invidiam aulicorum excepit, qui illum unum pluris, quam se omnes, fieri videbant: quo facto, cuncti ad eum opprimendum consenserunt. Hæc Pandates, gazæ custos regiæ, amicus Datami, per scripta ei mittit: in quibus docet, eum magno fore periculo, si quid, illo impetrante, in Ægypto adversi accidisset. Namque eam esse consuetudinem régiam, ut casus adversos hominibus tribuant, secundos fortunæ suæ: quo fieri, ut facile impellantur ad eorum perniciem, quorum ductus res malè gestæ nuncientur. Illum hoc majore fore in discrimine, quòd quibus rex maximè obediat, eos habeat inimicissimos. Talibus ille literis cognitis, cum jam ad exercitum Acen venisset, quòd non ignorabat ea verè scripta, desciscere à rege constituit: neque tamen quicquam fecit, quod

generals, blamed himself for it, and dispatches away a messenger to the army to <sup>i</sup> Ace, because he thought Datames was not yet gone, to tell him, that he should not depart from the army. He, before he came whither he was going, met those on the road, that were carrying Aspis. With which expedition whilst Datames gained the great good-will of the king, he met with no less envy from the courtiers, who saw, that he alone was more valued than they all: upon which they all agreed together to ruin him. Pandates, the keeper of the king's treasure, a friend to Datames, sends him these things written at large: in which he informs him, that he would be in great danger, if any ill success happened in Egypt, whilst he commanded there. For that was the custom of kings, to impute all unfortunate events to men, but lucky ones to their own fortune: from whence it came about, that they were easily persuaded to the ruin of those, under whose conduct matters were said to be ill managed. He would be in so much the greater danger, because he had those his bitter enemies, whom the king chiefly hearkened to. He having read this letter, after he was now come to the army to Ace, because he was not ignorant, that those things were truly writ, resolves to revolt from the king: nei-

<sup>i</sup> Ace, a city of Phœnicia, afterwards called Ptolemais.



fide suâ esset indignum: nam Mandroclum Magne-tem exercitui præfecit: ipse cum suis in Cappadociam discedit; conjunctamque huic Paphlagoniam occupat, celans quâ voluntate esset in regem; clam cum Ariobarzane facit amicitiam, manum comparat, urbes munitas suis tuendas tradit.

CAP. VI. Sed hæc propter hiemale tempus minus prosperè procedebant. Audit, Pisidas quasdam copias adversus se parare: filium eò Arsidaem cum exercitu mittit; cadit in prælio adolescens: proficiscitur eò pater, non ita cum magna manu, celans quantum vulnus acceperat; quòd prius ad hostem pervenire cupiebat, quàm de re malè gesta fama ad suos perveniret; ne, cognitâ filii morte, animi debilitarentur militum. Quò contenderat, pervenit, hisque locis castra ponit, ut neque circumiri multitudinem adversariorum posset, neque impediri, quo minus ad dimicandum manum haberet expeditam. Erat cum eo Mithrobarzanes, socer ejus, præfectus equitum: is, desperatis generi rebus, ad hostes transfugit. Id Datames ut audivit, sensit, si in turbam exisset, ab homine tam

ther yet did he do any thing that was unworthy of his honour: for he placed Mandrocles the Magne-sian over the army. He departs with his men into Cappadocia, and seizes upon Paphlagonia, joining upon it, concealing how he was affected towards the king; he privately makes an alliance with Ariobarzanes, raises an army, and delivers the fortified towns to his friends to maintain for him.

CHAP. VI. But these things, by reason of the winter-season, went on less successfully. He hears the Pisidians were raising some troops against him: he sends his son Arsidaes thither with an army; the young man falls in battle: the father marches thither with no very great force, concealing how great a loss he had received, because he was desirous to come up to the enemy, before the news of this ill-managed affair should reach his men; lest, upon knowing the death of his son, the minds of his soldiers should be discouraged. He came whither he intended, and pitches his camp in those places, that he could neither be surrounded by the numbers of his enemies, nor hindered from having his army always at liberty to fight. Mithrobarzanes was with him, his father-in-law, commander of the horse: he, despairing of the condition of his son-in-law, deserts to the enemy. When Datames heard that, he was sensible, if it should get abroad in the army, that he was forsaken by a man so near to him, it would come to pass, that  
necessario

necessario se relictum, futurum, ut cæteri consilium sequerentur; in vulgus edit, suo jussu Mithrobarzanem profectum pro perfuga, quò facilius receptus interficeret hostes. Quare relinqui eum non par esse, sed omnes confestim sequi: quod si animo strenuo fecissent, futurum, ut adversarii non possent resistere, cum et intra vallum, et foris cæderentur. Hac re probatâ, exercitum educit, Mithrobarzanem persequitur; qui tantum quod ad hostes pervenerat, Datames signa inferri jubet. Pisidæ, novâ re commoti, in opinionem adducuntur, perfugas malâ fide, compositoque fecisse, ut, recepti, essent majori calamitati: primum eos adoriuntur. Illi, cum quid ageretur, aut quare fieret, ignorarent, coacti sunt cum eis pugnare, ad quos transierant; ab hisque stare, quos reliquerant: Quibus cum neutri parcerent, celeriter sunt concisi. Reliquos Pisidas resistentes Datames invadit; primo impetu pellit, fugientes persequitur, multos interficit, castra hostium capit. Tali consilio uno tempore et proditores perculit, et hostes profligavit; et quod ad perniciem fuerat cogitatum, id ad salutem convertit.

*the rest would follow his course. He spreads a report amongst the common soldiers, that Mithrobarzanes was gone over a deserter by his order, that he might the more easily, by being received as such, kill their enemies. Wherefore it was not fit that he should be left, but that they all ought immediately to follow: which if they did with a resolute mind, the consequence would be, that their enemies would not be able to resist, since they would be cut off both within their ramparts, and without. This thing being approved of, he draws out his army, pursues Mithrobarzanes, who whilst he scarcely got up to the enemy, Datames orders the standards to advance. The Pisidians, surprised at this odd thing, are brought to a persuasion, that the deserters acted with an ill intention, and by compact with their other friends, that, being received into the camp, they might do them the more mischief: they fall upon them in the first place. They, as they knew not what was a-doing, nor why it was done, were forced to fight with those to whom they were gone over, and to stand by them whom they had deserted: which whilst neither side spared, they were quickly cut to pieces. Datames invades the rest of the Pisidians resisting: he repels them at the first attack, pursues them flying, kills many, and takes the enemy's camp. By this management he at once both ruined the traitors, and defeated his enemies; and turned what had been contrived for his*

Quo neque acutius ullius imperatoris cogitatum, neque celerius factum usquam legimus.

CAP. VII. Ab hac tamen viro Scismas maximo natu filius descit, ad regemque transit, et de defectione patris detulit. Quo nuncio Artaxerxes commotus, quod intelligebat sibi cum viro forti ac strenuo negotium esse, qui, cum cogitasset, facere auderet, et prius cogitare, quam conari, consueisset; Autophradatem in Cappadociam mittit. Hic ne intrare posset saltum, in quo Ciliciæ portæ sunt sitæ, Datames præoccupare studuit. Sed tam subito copias contrahere non potuit: à qua re depulsus, cum ea manu, quam contraxerat, locum delegit talem, ut neque circueretur ab hostibus, neque præteriret adversarius, quin ancipitibus locis premeretur; et, si dimicare cum eo vellet, non multum obesse multitudo hostium suæ paucitati posset.

CAP. VIII. Hæc etsi Autophradates videbat, tamen statuit congregari, quam cum tantis copiis refugere,

destruction, to his preservation. Than which we do not read of any invention of a general, more acute, nor any action more expeditious.

CHAP. VII. Yet his eldest son, Scismas, revolted from this man, and went over to the king, and informed him of his father's revolt. At which news Artaxerxes being shocked, because he understood he had to do with a brave and active man, who, when he had considered of a thing, durst execute it, and was used to consider, before he attempted any thing; he sends Autophradates into Cappadocia. That he might not enter the wood in which the <sup>k</sup> Cilician gates are situated, Datames endeavoured to seize it before him. But he could not so suddenly draw his forces together: from which thing being obliged to recede, with that army which he had got together, he chose such a place, that he neither could be surrounded by the enemy, nor his adversary pass, but he would be distressed in difficult places; and, if he had a mind to fight with him, the number of the enemy could not much hurt his handful of men.

CHAP. VIII. Although Autophradates was sensible of these things, yet he resolved to fight, rather than fly with so great an

<sup>k</sup> A narrow pass in mount Taurus, and now called the *freights of Scanderoon*.

<sup>l</sup> [*Potius, rather, is omitted here by ellipsis, which frequently happens, according to Vossius.*]

aut tam diu uno loco sedere. Habebat barbarorum equitum viginti, peditum centum millia, quos illi Cardacas appellant; ejusdemque generis tria funditorum. Præterea Cappadocum octo, Armeniorum decem, Paphlagonum quinque, Phrygum decem, Lydorum quinque, Aspendiorum et Pisidarum circiter tria, Cilicum duo, <sup>p</sup> Captianorum totidem, ex Græcia conductorum tria [millia]; levis armaturæ maximum numerum. Has ad versus copias, spes omnis consistebat Datani in se, locique naturâ; namque hujus partem non habebat vicesimam militum: quibus fretus confligit, adversariorumque multa millia concidit; cum de ipsius exercitu non amplius hominum mille cecidisset. Quam

*army, or to continue so long in one place. He had of barbarian horse twenty thousand, of foot an hundred thousand, which they call <sup>m</sup> Cardaces; and three thousand slingers of the same kind. Besides he had eight thousand Cappadocians, ten thousand <sup>n</sup> Armenians, five thousand Paphlagonians, ten thousand Phrygians, five thousand Lydians, about three thousand <sup>o</sup> Aspendians and Pisidians, two thousand Cilicians, as many Captains, three [thousand men] hired out of Greece; a vast number of <sup>q</sup> light-armed men. All Datames's hopes against these troops consisted in himself, and the nature of the place; for he had not the twentieth part of his soldiers: depending upon which, he engaged, and cut off many thousands of his enemies; whereas not above a thousand men of his own army fell. For which reason, the day after he erected a <sup>r</sup> trophy in the*

<sup>m</sup> [The Cardaces were a people of the Lesser Asia. The word signifies also *thieves, robbers.*]

<sup>n</sup> Armenia is a country beyond Asia Minor.

<sup>o</sup> The Aspendians were a people in that part of Asia Minor, called Pamphylia.

<sup>p</sup> [The *Captiani*, it is thought, were a people of Asia, unknown to geographers; but the learned Schottus thinks it should be *Caspianorum* instead of *Captianorum*; and Staveren seems to be of the same opinion. The *Caspiani* were a people about the Caspian sea, or that great lake of Asia, that lieth between Persia, Muscovy, Great Tartary, and Georgia.]

<sup>q</sup> Men armed with bows or slings only, were called *leviter armati* or *levis armatura*.

<sup>r</sup> A trophy was the trunk of a tree, or a post, hung about with arms, or other spoils taken from an enemy: these were common with the Greeks, they scarce ever got a victory but they erected a trophy; yet not on metal or stone, but on wood, to intimate that enmity ought not to be immortal.



ob causam, postero die tropæum posuit, quo loco pridie pugnatum erat. Hinc cum castra movisset, semperque inferior copiis, superior omnibus præliis discederet; quod nunquam manum confereret, nisi cum adversarios locorum angustiis clausisset: quod perito regionum, callidèque cogitanti, sæpè accidebat: Autophradates, cum bellum duci majore regis calamitate, quàm adversariorum, videret, ad pacem amicitiamque hortatus est, ut cum rege in gratiam rediret. Quam ille, etsi fidam non fore putabat, tamen conditionem accepit, seque ad Artaxerxem legatos missurum dixit. Sic bellum, quod rex adversus Datamem susceperat, sedatum: Autophradates in Phrygiam se recepit.

CAP. IX. At rex, quod implacabile odium in Datamem susceperat, postquam bello eum opprimi non posse animadvertit, insidiis interficere studuit; quas ille pleræque vitavit. Sicut, cum nunciatum esset, quosdam sibi insidiari, qui in amicorum erant numero; de quibus, quod inimici detulerant, neque credendum, neque negligendum putavit; experiri voluit, verum falsumne esset relatum. Itaque eo profe-

place where they had fought the day before. After he removed his camp from thence, and though he was always inferior in forces, he came off superior in all his battles; because he never engaged, but when he had inclosed his enemies within some narrow place; which often happened to the man, being very well acquainted with the country, and contriving subtilly: when Autophradates found that the war was continued with greater loss to the king, than his enemies, he advised him to peace and friendship, and that he would return to a good understanding with the king. Which though he perceived it would not be faithfully kept, yet he accepted the offer, and said, that he would send ambassadors to Artaxerxes. Thus the war, which the king had undertaken against Datames, was ended; Autophradates withdrew himself into Phrygia.

CHAP. IX. But the king, because he had taken up an implacable hatred against Datames, after he found that he could not be mastered in war, endeavoured to take him off by underhand contrivances; most of which he avoided. As, when it was told him, that some were plotting against him, who were in the number of his friends; of whom because their enemies had given the information, he thought the thing was neither entirely to be believed, nor slighted; he had a mind to try whether it was true or false,

Ælus

ctus est, quo itinere futuras insidias dixerant. Sed elegit corpore et staturâ simillimum sui, eique vestitum suum dedit, atque eo loco ire, quo ipse consueverat, iussit : ipse autem, ornatu [vestituque] militari, inter corporis custodes iter facere cœpit. At insidiatores, postquam in eum locum agmen pervenit, decepti ordine atque vestitu, in eum faciunt impetum, qui suppositus erat. Prædixerat autem his Datames, cum quibus iter faciebat, ut parati essent facere, quod ipsum vidissent. Ipse, ut concurrentes insidiatores animadvertit, tela in eos conjecit ; hoc idem cum universi fecissent, priusquam pervenirent ad eum, quem aggredi volebant, confixi ceciderunt.

CAP. X. Hictamentam callidus vir extremo tempore captus est Mithridatis, Ariobarzanis filii, dolo : namque is pollicitus est regi, se eum interfectorum, si ei rex permetteret, ut, quodcunque vellet, liceret impunè facere ; fidemque de ea re, more Persarum, dextrâ dedisset. Hanc ut accepit, simulat se suscepisse cum rege inimicitias ; copias parat, et absens, amicitiam cum Datame facit : regis

that had been told him. Wherefore he went that way in which they told him the ambush was to be laid for him ; but he chose out one that was very like himself in person and stature, and gave him his own attire, and ordered him to go in that part of the company in which he used to do : but he himself, in a common military dress [and habit], begun to march amongst the guards of his person. But the plotters, after the company were got into that place, being deceived by the order and the dress, make an attack upon him, who had been put in Datames's place. But Datames had beforehand ordered them with whom he marched, to be ready to do what they should see him do. He, as soon as he saw the plotters coming on in a body, discharged his weapons at them ; and as all the rest did the very same, they fell down slain, before they could come up with him, whom they intended to assault.

CHAP. X. Yet this man, as cunning as he was, at last was trepanned by the contrivance of Mithridates, the son of Ariobarzanes : for he promised the king, that he would kill him, if the king would allow him to do with impunity, whatsoever he would, and grant him his promise as to that affair, by giving him his right hand, according to the custom of the Persians. As soon as he had received this, he pretends that he had engaged in a quarrel with the king. He raises troops, and, tho' absent, makes an alliance with  
provincias

provincias vexat, castella expugnat, magnas prædas capit; quarum partem suis dispertit, partem ad Datamem mittit: pari modo, complura castella ei tradit. Hæc diu faciendo, persuasit homini, se infinitum adversus regem suscepisse bellum; cum nihilo magis, ne quam suspicionem illi præberet insidiarum, neque colloquium ejus petivit, neque in conspectum venire studuit. Sic, absens, amicitiam gerebat; ut non beneficiis mutuis, sed odio communi, quod erga regem susceperant, contineri viderentur.

CAP. XI. Id cum satis se confirmasse arbitratus est, certiores facit Datamem, tempus esse majores exercitus parari, bellum cum ipso rege suscipi: de qua re, si ei videretur, quo loco vellet, in colloquium veniret. Probatâ re, colloquendi tempus sumitur, locusque quo conveniretur. Huc Mithridates cum uno, cui maximam habebat fidem, ante aliquot dies venit, compluribusque locis separatim gladios obruit, eaque loca diligenter notat. Ipso autem colloquendi die, utrique, locum qui explorarent, atque ipsos scrutarentur, mittunt; deinde ipsi sunt congressi.

*Datames, harasses the king's provinces, takes his castles, gets abundance of plunder; part of which he divided amongst his men, part he sends to Datames: in like manner, he delivers him many castles. By doing this a long time, he persuaded the man that he had undertaken an endless war against the king; whilst notwithstanding, that he might not give him any suspicion of treachery in the case, he neither desired a conference with him, nor endeavoured to come in his sight. Thus, tho' absent, he maintained a friendship with him; that they seemed not to be engaged to one another by mutual kindnesses, but by the common hatred, which they had both conceived against the king.*

CHAP. XI. After he thought he had sufficiently confirmed that, he makes Datames acquainted, that it was time that greater armies should be raised, and the war undertaken with the king himself: concerning which matter, if it seemed to him proper, he might come to a conference with him, in what place he pleased. The thing being approved of, a time for conferring together is pitched upon, and a place too, where they should meet. Hither Mithridates came with one, in whom he had the greatest confidence, some days before, and buries swords apart in several places, and marks those places carefully. And upon the day of the conference, each of them send men to examine the place, and search themselves; and

Hic

Hic cum aliquamdiu in colloquio fuissent, et diversi discessissent, jamque procul Datames abesset; Mitbridates, priusquam ad suos perveniret, ne quam suspicionem pareret, in eundem locum revertitur, atque ibi, ubi telum erat impositum, resedit, ut si à lassitudine cuperet acquiescere; Datamemque revocavit, simulans, se quiddam in colloquio esse oblitum. Interim telum, quod latebat, protulit; nudatumque vaginâ, veste texit, ac Datami venienti ait, digredientem se animadvertisse locum, quendam, qui erat in conspectu, ad castra ponenda esse idoneum. Quem cum digito monstraret, et ille conspiceret, aversum ferro transfixit: priusque quam quisquam posset succurre, interfecit. Ita ille vir, qui multos consilio, neminem perfidiâ, ceperat, simulatâ captus est amicitia.

*then they met. After they had been here some time in conference, and had parted different ways, and now Datames was a great way off; Mitbridates, before he came to his men, that he might not create any suspicion in him, returns into the same place, and sat down there where a sword had been laid, as if he had a mind to rest himself after his weariness; and recalled Datames, pretending that he had forgot something in the conference. In the mean time he took out the sword that lay hid; and being drawn out of the sheath, covered it under his coat; and says to Datames, as he was coming, that he had, at parting, observed a certain place, which was in view, to be proper for the pitching of a camp. Which whilst he was pointing to with his finger, and the other was looking at, he run him through, having his back turned towards him, with the sword: and before any one could succour him, killed him. Thus that man, who had taken many by his good conduct, none by treachery, was caught himself by a pretended friendship.*

## XV.

EPAMINONDAS, Polymni filius, Thebanus.

## CAP. I.

**E** Paminondas, Polymni filius, Thebanus. De

## XV.

EPAMINONDAS, the son of Polymnus, the Theban.

## CHAP. I.

**E** Paminondas was the son of Polymnus, the Theban. *Be-*  
hec



hoc priusquàm scribamus, hæc præcipienda videntur lectoribus; ne alienos mores ad suos referant; neve ea, quæ ipsis leviora sunt, pari modo apud cæteros fuisse arbitrentur. Scimus enim musicen nostris moribus abesse à principis persona; saltare verò etiam in vitiis poni: quæ omnia apud Græcos et grata, et laudedignaducuntur. Cùm autem exprimere imaginem consuetudinis atque vitæ velimus Epaminondæ, nihil videmur debere præternittere, quod pertineat ad eam declarandam. Quare dicemus primum de genere ejus: deinde quibus disciplinis, et à quibus sit eruditus: tum de moribus ingeniique facultatibus; et si qua alia digna memoriâ erunt: postremò de rebus gestis, quæ à plurimis omnium anteponuntur virtutibus.

CAP. II. Natus igitur patre, quo diximus, honesto genere; pauper jam à majoribus relictus: eruditus autem sic, ut nemo Thebanus magis: nam et citharizare, et cantare ad chordarum sonum doctus est à Dionysio, qui non minore fuit in musicis gloriâ, quàm Damon, aut Lamprus; quorum pervul-

*fore we write of him, these cautions seem proper to be given to our readers; that they would not examine other people's fashions by those of their own country; nor think those things, which are trivial with them, to have been in like manner so with others. For we know, that, according to our usages, music is far from being suitable to the character of a prince: and that dancing is reckoned even amongst vices: all which, amongst the Greeks, are reckoned both agreeable, and worthy of commendation. But as we design to draw the picture of Epaminondas's way and manner of life, we seem obliged to pass by nothing that may be proper to the setting it forth. Wherefore we will speak first of his extraction: then in what parts of literature, and by whom he was instructed: then of his manners, and abilities of mind, and if there be any other things worthy to be remembered: and finally concerning his great actions, which by many are preferred before all virtues whatever.*

CHAP. II. He was come of the father we spoke of, of an honourable family; left now poor by his forefathers: but so well educated, that no Theban was better: for he was taught both to play upon the harp, and to sing to the sound of the strings, by Dionysius, who was in no less fame amongst the musicians, than Damon or Lamprus, whose names are vulgarly celebrated: he was

gata

gata sunt nomina : [carmina] cantare tibiis ab Olympiodoro ; saltare à Caliphron. At philosophiæ præceptorem habuit Lyfim Tarentinum, Pythagoreum ; cui quidem sic fuit deditus, ut adolescens tristem et severum senem omnibus æqualibus suis in familiaritate anteposuerit ; neque prius eum à se dimiserit, quàm in doctrinis tantò antecesserit condiscipulos, ut facillè intelligi posset, parimodo superaturum omnes in cæteris artibus. Atque hæc ad nostram consuetudinem sunt levia, et potiùs contemnenda : at in Græcia utique olim magnæ laudi erant. Postquam ephæbus factus est, et palæstræ dare operam cœpit ; non tam magnitudini virium servivit, quàm velocitati : illam enim ad athletarum usum ; hanc, ad belli existimabat utilitatem pertinere.

*taught to play upon <sup>a</sup> flutes by Olympiodorus, and to dance by Caliphron. But he had for his master in philosophy, Lyfis the Tarentine, a <sup>b</sup> Pythagorean ; to whom indeed he was so devoted, that, young as he was, he preferred that grave and rigid old gentleman, before all those of the same age with himself, in his familiarity. Nor did he part with him from him, before he so much excelled his fellow-scholars in learning, that it might be easily perceived, that he would in like manner excel them all in other arts. And these things, with respect to our usage, are trifling, and rather to be despised ; but in Greece however, they were formerly a mighty commendation. After he became a man, and begun to apply to his <sup>c</sup> exercise, he did not mind so much the improvement of his strength as swiftness ; for that he thought conduced much to the use of wrestlers ; but this, to the convenience of war. Wherefore he was exercised very much in running and wrestling, <sup>d</sup> to this end,*  
Itaque

<sup>a</sup> As the Latin word is plural, I have translated it by the plural, because it was no unusual thing among the ancients for one to play upon two flutes at once, which piece of art is, I suppose, now entirely lost. *Tibia*, a flute or large pipe ; *canere tibia*, to play upon a pipe ; *canere ad tibiam*, to sing to a pipe.

<sup>b</sup> [That is, one who adhered to the philosophy of Pythagoras, who was a philosopher of Samos in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, as Cicero, or Servius Tullius, as others say ; and was the author of *Metempsychosis*, or the passing of the soul into other bodies.]

<sup>c</sup> The youth of Greece and Rome used to spend much of their time in manly exercises, to fit them for the wars, unacquainted with the softness of balls, masquerades, &c. For this purpose their cities were provided with fine stately buildings, called *Gymnasia* and *Palæstræ*.

<sup>d</sup> The Latin text here is very much blundered ; [yet every body does not so very well see the great blunder here, possibly because they may

Itaque exercēbatur plurimum currendo et luctando, ad eum finem, quoad stans complecti posset, atque contendere. In armis plurimum studii consumebat.

CAP. III. Ad hanc corporis firmitatem plurima etiam animi bona accesserant. Erat enim modestus, prudens, gravis, temporibus sapienter utens, peritus belli, fortis manu, animo maximo; adeò veritatis diligens, ut ne joco quidem mentiretur. Idem continens, clemens, patiensque admirandum in modum; non solum populi, sed etiam amicorum ferens injurias: in primisque commissa celans; quod interdum non minus prodest, quam disertè dicere. Studiosus audiendi; ex hoc enim facillimè disci arbitrabatur. Itaque cum in circulum venisset, in quo aut de repu-

*that as much as possible he might be able in a standing posture to grapple and contend with his adversary. He employed much of his application in the exercise of arms.*

CHAP. III. *To this strength of body, a great many good qualities of the mind were likewise added. For he was modest, prudent, steady, wisely using the times, skilled in war, brave in action, and of a great mind; such a lover of truth, that he would not indeed tell a lie in jest. The same man was moderate, merciful, and patient to a wonderful degree, not only bearing with the injuries of the people, but his friends too: especially a concealer of secrets; which sometimes does no less service, than to speak eloquently. Very fond of hearing others discourse; for by this he thought a man might learn in the most easy manner. Wherefore, when he came into a company, in which*  
blica

be somewhat short-sighted, or unwilling to see so many blunders as some allege to be in this elegant author, though no doubt he may have been much injured by coming through so many hands, some whereof may perhaps have used too much freedom with him: However, it may be observed here, that among the Greeks the exercise of wrestling consisted of two sorts, viz. one called Ορθοπάλη, *lucta erecta*, because here the combatants wrestled in an erect or standing posture, and endeavoured to throw each other down; the other was called Ανακλινοπάλη, *lucta jaccens*; because in this the combatants used voluntarily to throw themselves down, and continue the fight upon the ground, by pinching, biting, scratching, &c. See Dr Potter's *antiquities of Greece*, vol. I. p. 411.]

<sup>c</sup> It was not the custom formerly, as now, for men to club and tipple away their time in taverns; that was scandalous amongst the Heathens

blica disputaretur, aut de philosophia sermo haberetur, nunquam inde prius discessit, quam ad finem sermo esset adductus. Paupertatem adeò facìle perpessus est, ut de republica nihil præter gloriam ceperit. Amicorum infestando caruit facultatibus; fide ad alios sublevandos sæpe sic usus est, ut possit judicari, omnia ei cum amicis fuisse communia. Nam cum aut civium suorum aliquis ab hostibus esset captus, aut virgo amici nubilis propter paupertatem collocari non posset, amicorum concilium habebat, et quantum quisque daret, pro cuiusque facultatibus imperabat: eamque summam cum faceret, priusquam acciperet pecuniam, adducebat eum, qui quærebat, ad eos, qui conferebant: eique ut ipsi numerarent, faciebat; ut ille, ad quem ea res perveniebat, sciret, quantum cuique deberet.

CAP. IV. Tentata autem ejus est <sup>f</sup> abstinentia à Diomedonte Cyziceno:

*there was either a dispute about the government, or any discourse held upon a point of philosophy, he never departed thence, till the discourse was brought to a conclusion. He bore his poverty so easily, that he got nothing by the government, but glory. He did not make use of the estates of his friends in maintaining himself; he often so used his credit to relieve others, that it may be judged by that, that he had all things in common with his friends: for when either any of his countrymen were taken by the enemies, or a marriageable daughter of a friend could not be disposed of, by reason of his poverty; he held a council of his friends, and ordered how much every man should give, according to his estate: and when he made up the sum, before he received the money, he brought the man who wanted it, to those who contributed; and made them pay it to himself; that he, to whom that benefit came, might know how much he was indebted to every one.*

CHAP. IV. But his justice was tried by Diomedon of Cyzicus: for he, at the request of

themselves: their usual place of resort for conversation in the day-time was the forum, and the public buildings about it, as courts and piazzas, where, as they used to stand in rings or circles, for the better convenience of hearing one another, *circulus* came to be peculiarly used for such a knot of company.

<sup>f</sup> [*Abstinentia* (from *abstineo*, to abstain from, forbear) is taken by many to signify, abstinence, honesty, integrity, moderation, aversion to covetousness; but they do not reckon it justice to render it by *justice* every where through the author.]



namque is, rogatu Artaxerxis, Epaminondas pecuniâ corrumpendum suscepit. Hic magnocum pondere auri Thebas venit; et Micythum adolescentulum quinque talentis ad suam perduxit voluntatem; quem tum Epaminondas plurimum diligebat. Micythus Epaminondas convenit, et causam adventûs Diomedontis ostendit: at ille, Diomedonte coram, nihil, inquit, opus pecuniâ est: nam si ea rex vult, quæ Thebanis sint utilia, gratis facere sum paratus: sin autem contraria, non habet auri atque argenti satis; namque orbis terrarum divitias accipere nolo, pro patriæ caritate. Te, qui me incognitum tentasti, tuique similem existimasti, non miror; tibi que ignosco: sed egredere properè, ne alios corrumpas, cum me non potueris. Tu, Micythe, argentum huic redde: nisi id confessim facis, ego te tradam magistratui. Hunc Diomedon cum rogaret, ut tutò exire, suaque, quæ attulisset, liceret efferre: istud, inquit, faciam; neque tuâ causâ, sed meâ: ne, si tibi sit pecunia adempta, aliquis dicat, id ad me ereptum pervenisse, quod delatum accipere noluissem. A quo cum quæsisset, quò se deduci vellet, et ille, Athenas, dixisset; præsidium

*Artaxerxes, had undertaken to bribe Epaminondas. He came to Thebes with a vast quantity of gold, and brought over Micythus, a young man, by five talents, to his lure, whom at that time Epaminondas loved very much. Micythus went to Epaminondas, and tells him the occasion of Diomedon's coming: but he, in the presence of Diomedon, said, there is no need of money in the case: for if the king desires those things, which may be expedient for the Thebans, I am ready to do them for nothing: but if the contrary, he has not silver and gold enough; for I would not take the riches of the whole world for the love of my country. I do not wonder at you, who have attempted me unknown to you, and thought me like yourself; and I forgive you: but get you gone quickly, lest you corrupt others, though you have not been able to corrupt me. Do you, Micythus, give him his silver again: unless you do it immediately, I will deliver you to the magistrate. When Diomedon asked him, that he might be suffered to go off safe, and carry away what he had brought with him: that, says he, I shall do; not for your cause, but my own; lest, if your money should be taken from you, any one should say, that that was taken from you, and come to me, which I would not accept of when offered. Of whom when he had inquired, whither he had a mind to be conducted, and he said, to Athens, he gave dedit,*

dedit, ut eò tutò perveniret : neque verò id satis habuit, sed etiam ut inviolatus in navem ascenderet, per Chabriam Atheniensem, (de quo suprà mentionem fecimus), effecit. Abstinentiæ erit hoc satis testimonium. Plurima quidem proferre possemus, sed modus adhibendus est ; quoniam uno hoc volumine *vitæ excellentiam virorum* concludere constituimus ; quorum separatim multis millibus versuum complures scriptores ante nos explicarunt.

CAP. V. Fuit et disertus, ut nemo Thebanus ei par esset eloquentiâ ; neque minus concinnus in brevitate respondendi, quàm in perpetua oratione ornatus. Habuit obrectatorem Meneclidem quendam, indidem Thebis, et adversarium in administranda republica, satis exercitatum in dicendo, ut Thebanum, scilicet : namque illi genti plus inest virium, quàm ingenii. Is, quòd in re militari florere Epaminondam videbat, hortari solebat Thebanos, ut pacem bello anteferrent, ne illius imperatoris opera desideraretur. Huic ille, Fallis, inquit, verbo cives tuos, quòd hos à bello avocas : otii enim nomine servitutem concilias ; nam paritur pax bello. Ita-

*him a guard, that he might come safe thither : nor indeed did he reckon that sufficient, but he likewise took care, that he should go on board a ship uninjured, by Chabrias the Athenian, (of whom we have made mention above). This will be a sufficient testimony of his justice. We could indeed produce a great many, but moderation is to be used ; because we have designed to comprise, in this single volume, the lives of excellent men ; whose lives several writers before us have given an account of separately in many thousands of lines.*

CHAP. V. *He was likewise eloquent, that no Theban was equal to him for eloquence, and no less dexterous in the shortness of his replies, than florid in a continued harangue. He had one Meneclides there at Thebes as a detractor, and enemy to him in managing the government, sufficiently exercised in speaking, for a Theban, that is : for that nation has more of bodily strength, than wit. He, because he saw Epaminondas make a figure in military affairs, used to advise the Thebans to prefer peace before war, that the service of that general might not be wanted. Upon which he says to him, You deceive your countrymen with that word, in dissuading them from war : for you recommend slavery to them under the name of peace ; for peace is procured by war. Wherefore they that*

que qui eâ diutinâ volunt frui, bello exercitati esse debent. Quare, si principes Græciæ esse vultis, castris est vobis utendum, non palæstrâ. Idem ille Meneclides cûm huic objiceret, quòd liberos non haberet, neque uxorem duxisset; maximèque insolentiam, quòd sibi Agamemnonis belli gloriam videretur consequutus: at ille, Desine, inquit, Meneclide, de uxore mihi exprobrare: nam nullius in ista re minùs <sup>h</sup> uti consilio volo. (i Habebat enim Meneclides suspicionem adulterii). Quòd autem me Agamemnonem æmulari putas, falleris; namque ille, cum universa Græcia, vix decem annis unam cepit urbem: Ego, contrâ, ex una urbe nostra, dieque uno, totam Græciam, Lacedæmoniis fugatis, liberavi.

CAP. VI. Idem cûm in conventum venisset Arcadum, petens, ut societatem cum Thebanis et Argivis

will enjoy it long, ought to be exercised in war. Wherefore, if you have a mind to be the leaders of Greece, you must use the camp, and not the place of exercise. When the very same Meneclides objected to him, & that he had no children, nor had married a wife; and especially objected against him his insolence, because he seemed to himself to have acquired the glory of Agamemnon in war: but, says he, give over, Meneclides, to upbraid me about a wife: for I would take no body's advice in that matter less than yours. (For Meneclides went under the suspicion of making too free with other men's wives.) And whereas you think I rival Agamemnon, you are mistaken; for he, with all Greece, with difficulty, took <sup>k</sup> one city in ten years: I, on the other hand, from this one city of ours, and in one day, delivered all Greece, by routing the Lacedæmonians.

CHAP. VI. When the same person was come into the assembly of the Arcadians, desiring that they would make an alliance

<sup>g</sup> As the strength of any government consists much in the numbers of people, matrimony was so encouraged amongst the Greeks and Romans, that to live a single life was almost criminal amongst them; nay, was indeed so at last amongst the Romans, and punished pretty severely; and, in my opinion, is not to be excused, unless where a man, in a single state, may be more serviceable to his country, than if he was to marry.

<sup>h</sup> [Some copies have here *quàm tuo*.]

<sup>i</sup> [Stubelius, in his notes here, makes the meaning of this place to be, that Meneclides entertained a jealousy of his own wife's being guilty of adultery.]

<sup>k</sup> [Viz. Troy.]

facere.

facerent ; contràque, Callistratus Atheniensium legatus, qui eloquentiâ omnes eo præstabat tempore, postularet; ut potius amicitiam sequerentur Atticorum, et in oratione sua multa invectus esset in Thebanos et Argivos, in eisque hoc posuisset ; animadvertere debere Arcades, quales utraque civitas cives procreâisset, ex quibus de cæteris possent judicare : Argivos enim fuisse Orestem et Alcmaeonem, matricidas : Thebis OEdipum natum ; qui, cum patrem suum interfecisset, ex matre liberos<sup>m</sup> procreâisset. Hic in respondendo Epaminondas, cum de cæteris perorâisset, postquam ad illa duo opprobria pervenit ; admirari se dixit stultitiam rhetoris Attici, qui non animadverterit ; innocentes illos natos ; domi scelere admissio, cum patriâ essent expulsi, receptos esse ab Atheniensibus. Sed maximè ejus eloquentia eluxit Spartæ, [legati ante pugnam Leuctricam] ; quò cum omnium sociorum convenissent legati, coram frequentissimo legationum conventu, sic

*with the Thebans and the Argives ; and on the other hand, Callistratus, ambassador of the Athenians, who excelled all in eloquence at that time, desired that they would rather follow the alliance of the Athenians, and inveighed much in his speech against the Thebans and the Argives, and put this in amongst other things ; that the Arcadians ought to observe what sort of citizens each city had produced, by which they might judge of the rest ; for Orestes and Alcmaeon, murderers of their mothers, were Argives, and OEdipus was born at Thebes ; who, after he had killed his father, had children by his mother. Here Epaminondas, in his answer, after he had spoke to other points, when he was come to those two reproaches, he said, that he admired the folly of the Athenian rhetorician, who did not consider that they were born innocent ; and having committed their wickedness at home, after they were banished their country, were entertained by the Athenians. But his eloquence shined the most at Sparta, [when he was ambassador before the battle of<sup>n</sup> Leuctra] ; where when the ambassadors of all the allies had met, before a full assembly of the embassies, he did so make appear the tyranny*

<sup>l</sup> [The Argives were a people of Greece, whose principal city was the renowned Argos in the Morea, but now almost in ruins.]

<sup>m</sup> [Some read *procreâsse*.]

<sup>n</sup> [A town of Bœotia in Greece ; but does not appear to have been that Leuctre, supposed by Bohun to be the same with Maina or Maines.]



Lacedæmoniorum tyrannidem coarguit, ut non minùs illâ oratione opes eorum concusserit, quàm Leuctricâ pugnâ. Tum enim perfecit, quod pòst apparuit, ut auxilio sociorum Lacedæmonii privarentur.

CAP. VII. Fuisse patientem, suorumque injurias ferentem civium, quòd se patriæ irascei nefas esse duceret, hæc sunt testimonia. Cùm eum propter invidiam cives præficere exercitui noluisent, duxque esset delectus belli imperitus, cujus errore cò esset deducta illa multitudo militum, ut omnes de salute pertimescerent; quòd, locorum angustiis clausi, ab hostibus obsidebantur: desiderari cœpta est Epaminondæ diligentia; erat enim ibi privatus numero militis: à quo cùm peterent opem, nullam adhibuit memoriam contumeliæ, et exercitum, obsidione liberatum, domum reduxit incolumem. Neque verò hoc semel fecit, sed sæpiùs. Maximè autem fuit illustre, cùm in Peloponnesum exercitum duxisset adversus Lacedæmonios, haberetque collegas duos, quorum alter erat Pelopidas, vir fortis ac strenuus. Hic, cùm criminibus adversariorum omnes in invidiam venissent, ob eamque rem

of the Lacedæmonians, that he shook their power no less by that speech, than by the battle of Leuctra. For then he effected what afterwards appear'd, that the Lacedæmonians were deprived of the assistance of their allies.

CHAP. VII. That he was patient, and bore with the injuries of his countrymen, because he thought it a crime to be angry with his country, there are these proofs. When his countrymen, out of ill-nature to him, would not place him at the head of their army, and a general was chosen that was unskilled in war, by whose mistake that numerous army was brought to such a pass, that all were much concerned about their safety, because that being inclosed within a narrow place, they were besieged by the enemy: the diligence of Epaminondas begun to be missed; for he was there as a private man in the rank of a soldier: from whom when they desired help, he had no regard to the affront put upon him, and carried the army, delivered out of this strait, safe home. Nor indeed did he do this once only, but often. But that was the most remarkable, when he led an army into Peloponnesus against the Lacedæmonians, and had two joined in commission with him, one of which was Pelopidas, a gallant and an active man. Here, when they were all come under the odium of their countrymen, by the accusations of their enemies

imperium his esset abrogatum, atque in eorum locum alii prætores successissent; Epaminondas populiscito non paruit; idemque ut facerent, persuasit collegis, et bellum, quod susceperat, gessit. Namque animadvertibat, nisi id fecisset, totum exercitum propter prætorum imprudentiam, inscientiamque belli, perituum. Lex erat Thebis, quæ morte multabat, si quis imperium diutiùs retinuisset, quàm lege præfinitum foret. Hanc Epaminondas cum reipublicæ conservandæ causâ latam videret, ad perniciem civitatis conferre noluit; et quatuor mensibus diutiùs, quàm populus jusserat, gessit imperium.

CAP. VIII. Postquam domum reditum est, collegæ ejus hunc crimine accusabantur: quibus ille permisit, ut omnem causam in se transferrent, suâque operâ factum contenderent, ut legi non obedirent. Quâ defensione illis periculo liberatis, nemo Epaminondam responsurum putabat; quòd quid diceret, non haberet. At ille in judicium venit, nihil eorum negavit, quæ adversarii crimini dabant, omniaque, quæ collegæ dixerant, confessus est; neque recusavit, quò minus legis pœnam subi-

mies, and for that reason their commission was taken from them, and other commanders succeeded in their place: Epaminondas did not obey the order of the commons, and persuaded his colleagues to do the same, and carried on the war, which he had undertaken. For he was sensible, unless he did so, that the whole army would be lost, by reason of the unskilfulness of the generals, and their ignorance in war. There was a law at Thebes, which punished with death, if any one kept his commission longer than was prescribed by law. As Epaminondas saw that this was made upon account of preserving the state, he would not turn it to the ruin of his country; and kept his command four months longer than the people had ordered.

CHAP. VIII. After they were returned home, his fellow-commissioners were impeached for this crime; to whom he gave leave to lay all the blame upon him, and stand to it that it was occasioned by his means, that they did not obey the law. By which defence, they being delivered from danger, no body thought Epaminondas would make any answer for himself; because he could not have any thing to say. But he came to his trial, denied none of these things, which his enemies laid to his charge, and confessed all things, that his colleagues had said; nor did he refuse to undergo the punishment of the law: but  
ret:

ret : sed unum ab iis peti-  
vit, ut in <sup>o</sup> periculo suo in-  
scriberent : *Epaminondas*  
*à Thebanis morte multatus*  
*est, quòd eos còegit apud*  
*Leuctra superare Lacedæ-*  
*monios ; quos ante se im-*  
*peratorem, nemo Bæotio-*  
*rum ausus fuit adspicere in*  
*acie : quòdque uno pralio*  
*non solùm Thebas ab inter-*  
*itu retraxit, sed etiam univer-*  
*sam Græciam in liberta-*  
*tem vindicavit ; eòque res*  
*utrorumque perduxit, ut*  
*Thebani Spartam oppugna-*  
*rent, Lacedæmonii satis ba-*  
*berent, si salvi esse possent :*  
*neque priùs bellare desistit,*  
*quàm, Messenâ constitutâ,*  
*urbem eorum obsidione clau-*  
*sit. Hæc cùm dixisset, ri-*  
*sus omnium cum hilaritate*  
*coortus est ; neque quis-*  
*quam iudex ausus est de*  
*eo ferre suffragium. Sic*  
*à iudicio capitis maximâ*  
*discessit gloriâ.*

CAP. IX. Hic, extremo  
tempore, imperator apud  
Mantineam, cùm acie in-  
structâ audaciùs instaret  
hostibus, cognitus à Lacedæ-  
moniiis, quòd in unius  
perniciæ ejus, patriæ sitam

one thing he requested of them  
that they would write upon his  
tomb : Epaminondas was put to  
death by the Thebans, because  
he forced them to beat the Lacedæ-  
monians at Leuctra ; whom,  
before he was general, none of  
the Bæotians durst look at in the  
field ; and because he not only  
delivered Thebes from destruc-  
tion by one battle, but likewise  
restored all Greece to their li-  
berty, and brought the affairs of  
both people to that pass, that  
the Thebans attacked Sparta, and  
the Lacedæmonians were con-  
tent, if they could be secure ;  
nor did he cease to make war  
upon them, before, the state of  
<sup>P</sup> Messena being settled, he pinned  
up their city by a close siege.  
After he had said this, there  
burst out a laughter of all pre-  
sent, with a deal of merriment ;  
nor durst any judge pass sen-  
tence upon him. Thus he came  
off from this trial for life with  
the greatest glory.

CHAP. IX. He, at the latter  
end of his time, being general  
at <sup>q</sup> Mantinea, when he pressed  
very boldly upon the enemies with  
his army in battalia, being  
known by the Lacedæmonians, be-  
cause they thought the saving of

<sup>o</sup> 'Tho' some pretend to defend the vulgar reading here, *periculo*, yet I cannot forbear thinking it to be a mistake for *sepulchro*, or some other word of like imprt. [*Periculum*, a libel, an inscription on a tomb.]

<sup>P</sup> A country of Peloponnesus, bordering upon Laconia to the west-ward. There was likewise a noble city of that name there, which the Lacedæmonians demolished.

<sup>q</sup> A city of Arcadia in Peloponnesus.

putabant salutem, universi in unum impetum fecerunt; neque prius abscesserunt, quam, magnâ cæde factâ, multisque occisis, fortissimè ipsum Epaminondam pugnantes, sparo eminus percussum, concidere viderunt. Hujus casu aliquantùm retardati sunt Bœotii; neque tamen prius pugnâ excesserunt, quam repugnantes prosligârunt. At Epaminondas, cum animadverteret, mortiferum se vulnus accepisse, simulque, si ferrum, quod ex hastili in corpore remanserat, extraxisset, animam statim amissurum; usque eò retinuit, quoad renunciatum est; Vicisse Bœotios. Id postquam audivit, Satis, inquit, vixi; invictus enim morior. Tum ferro extracto, confestim exanimatus est.

CAP. X. Hic uxorem nunquam duxit; in quo cum reprehenderetur à Pelopida, qui filium habebat infamem; malèque eum in eo patriæ consulere diceret, quod liberos non relinqueret: vide, inquit, ne tu pejus consulas, qui talem ex te natum relicturus sis. Neque verò stirps mihi potest deesse; namque ex me natam relinquo pugnam Leu-

their country depended upon the destruction of him alone, they all made an attack upon him only; nor did they depart, till, having made a great slaughter, and killed many, they saw Epaminondas himself, fighting very valiantly, fall, wounded with a lance at a distance. The Bœotians were a little retarded by his fall; neither yet did they quit the fight, before they routed those that opposed them. But Epaminondas, after he perceived he had received a mortal wound, and likewise, that if he drew out the head of the spear, which remained in his body, he should immediately lose his life; he kept it in so long, till it was told him, that the Bœotians had conquered. After he heard that, I have lived, says he, long enough; for I die unconquered. Then the iron head being drawn out, he immediately died.

CHAP. X. He never married a wife; for which, when he was blamed by Pelopidas, who had an infamous son; and said, that he did but ill consult the interest of his country, in that he left no children: Consider, says he, whether you do not worse consult the interest of your country, who are like to leave such a son. But neither can I want issue; for I leave a daughter, the battle of Leuctra, which must

\* [Ferrum is here put for *spiculum*, the head of a dart or javelin.]



Ætriam, quæ non modò mihi superstes, sed etiam immortalis sit, necesse est. Quo tempore, duce Pelopidâ, exules Thebas occupârunt, et præsidium Lacedæmoniorum ex arce expulerunt; Epaminondas, quamdiu facta est cædes civium, domo se tenuit; quòd neque malos defendere volebat, neque impugnare, ne manus suorum sanguine cruentaret: Namque omnem civilem victoriam funestam putabat. Idem, postquam apud Cadmeam pugnari cum Lacedæmoniis cœpit, in primis stetit. Hujus de virtutibus, vitæque satis erit dictum, si hoc unum adjunxero, quod nemo eat <sup>c</sup> inficias: Thebas, et ante Epaminondam natum, et post ejus interitum, perpetuò alieno paruisse imperio: contra ea, quamdiu ille præfuerit reipublicæ, caput fuisse totius Græciæ. Ex quo intelligi potest, unum hominem pluris, quàm civitatem fuisse.

*needs not only survive me, but be immortal too. At the time, when the banished Thebans seized Thebes, with Pelopidas their commander, and drove the garrison of the Lacedæmonians out of the citadel; Epaminondas, so long as the slaughter was made amongst the citizens, kept himself within doors, because he neither had a mind to defend the bad party, nor attack them, that he might not inbrue his hands in the blood of his countrymen: for he thought all victory gained over fellow-citizens very dismal. The same man, after they began to engage at Cadmea with the Lacedæmonians, stood amongst the foremost. Enough will be said of his virtues and life, if I add this one thing, which nobody can deny: That Thebes, both before Epaminondas was born, and after his death, was always subject to a foreign power: on the other hand, so long as he governed the commonwealth, it was the head of all Greece. From whence it may be understood, that one man alone was more worth than the whole city besides.*

<sup>f</sup> [This was the citadel of Thebes, and built by Cadmus, who likewise built the city itself, which from him was at first called Cadmea.]

<sup>c</sup> [Inficias (ab in privativo et facio, quasi negatio facti) a denial. It is used only in the accusative plural, and joined commonly with the verb eo, the preposition ad being understood, according to Vossius.]

## XVI.

## XVI.

PELOPIDAS, *Thebanus.*PELOPIDAS, *the Theban.*

## CAP. I.

## CHAP. I.

**P**elopidas Thebanus, magis historicis, quàm vulgo, notus. Cujus de virtutibus dubito quemadmodum exponam: quòd vereor, ne, si res explicare incipiam, non vitam ejus enarrare, sed historiam videar scribere; si tantummodo summas attigerò, ne rudibus literarum Græcarum minùs lucidè appareat, quantus fuerit ille vir. Itaque utrique rei occurram, quantum poterò; et medebor cùm satietati, tum ignorantiae, lectorum. Phæbidas Lacedæmonius cùm exercitum Olynthum duceret, iterque per Thebas faceret, arcem oppidi, quæ Cadmea nominatur, occupavit, impulsu perpaucorum Thebanorum; qui, adversariæ factioni quò faciliùs resisterent, Laconum rebus studebant; idque suo privato, non publico, fecit consilio. Quo factò, eum Lacedæmonii ab exercitu removerunt, pecuniâque multârunt; neque

**P**elopidas the Theban is better known to historians, than to the vulgar. Concerning whose excellencies I am in a doubt how I should write; because I am afraid, lest, if I should begin to unravel his actions, I should seem not to recount his life, but to write a history; if I only touch upon the most considerable, I fear, lest it should less plainly appear to those that are ignorant of the Greek tongue, how great a man he was. Wherefore I will provide against both things, as much as I can, and prevent both the glut and ignorance of my readers. When Phæbidas the Lacedæmonian was leading an <sup>a</sup> army to Olynthus, and made his march by Thebes, he seized the citadel of the town, which is called Cadmea, at the instigation of a very few Thebans; who, that they might the more easily resist the opposite faction, favoured the interest of the Lacedæmonians: and that he did upon his own private, and not on any public resolution of the Spartans. Upon which fact, the Lacedæmonians removed him from his post in the army, and fined him a sum of money: nor did they for all that restore the citadel to the Thebans,

<sup>a</sup> [To assist Amyntas king of Macedonia, who was going to assault this Olynthus, a city in Thrace.]

eo magis arcem Thebanis reddiderunt, quòd, susceptis inimiciis, satius ducebant eos obsideri, quàm liberari. Nam post Peloponnesium bellum, Athenasque devictas; cum Thebanis sibi rem esse existimabant; et eos esse solos, qui adversus resistere auderent. Hac mente, amicis suis summas potestates dederant; alteriusque factionis principes partim interfecerant, alios in exilium ejecerant: in quibus Pelopidas hic, de quo scribere exorsi sumus, pulsus, patriam carebat.

CAP. II. Hi omnes ferè Athenas se contulerant, non quò sequerentur otium, sed, ut quemque ex proximo locum fors obtulisset, eo patriam recuperare niterentur. Itaque, cum tempus est visum rei gerendæ, communiter cum his, qui Thebis idem sentiebant, diem delegerunt, ad inimicos opprimendos, ci-

because, a quarrel being now begun, they thought it better, that they should be under a check than at liberty. For after the Peloponnesian war, and the conquest of Athens, they supposed they must have to do with the Thebans; and that they were the only people, who durst make opposition against them. With these sentiments, they had delivered the highest posts to their friends, and the leading men of the other faction, they had partly killed and partly turned out into banishment: amongst whom this Pelopidas, of whom we have undertaken to write, <sup>b</sup> was banished his country.

CHAP. II. Almost all these had betaken themselves to Athens, not that they might lead an idle life, but that, whatsoever <sup>c</sup> place in the neighbourhood fortune offered them, they might endeavour from thence to recover their country. Wherefore, when it now seemed time to enter upon the business, they pitched upon a day jointly with those, who at Thebes had the same sentiments,

<sup>b</sup> [Or, (somewhat more literally), being banished, was deprived of the comfort of his country. Thus Terence, *carens patria ob meas injurias*.]

<sup>c</sup> [Or, first opportunity fortune should offer them, they might endeavour thereby to recover their country. Thus it is according to Courtin, Stubelius, and Essenius, *ex proximo*, sciz. tempore, or statim, or primum, sciz. locum; for locus signifies not only a place, but also, an occasion, time, opportunity. And Athens (about forty miles from Thebes) is the place expressly mentioned here, which the exiles chose as most convenient for watching their opportunity; but if they had inclined to a more neighbouring place, they could have ventured themselves, and (very probably) safely too, in some city nearer to Thebes; for Boeotia, whereof that city was the capital, was full of great towns in those days.]

vitatemque liberandam, eum, quo maximi magistratus simul consueverant epulari. Magnæ speres non ita magnis copiis sunt gestæ: sed profectò nunquam ab tam tenui initio tantæ opes sunt profligatæ. Nam duodecim adolescentuli cœserunt ex his, qui exilio erant multati, cum omnino non essent amplius centum, qui tanto se offerrent periculo; quâ paucitate perculsa est Lacedæmoniorum potentia. Hi enim non magis adversariorum factioni, quam Spartanis, eo tempore bellum intulerunt, qui principes erant totius Græciæ: quorum imperii majestas, neque ita multò post Leuctricâ pugnâ, ab hoc initio perculsa, concidit. Illi igitur duodecim, quorum erat dux Pelopidas, cum Athenis interdiu exissent, ut vesperscente cœlo Thebas possent pervenire, cum canibus venaticis exierunt, retia ferentes, vestitu agresti, quò minore suspitione facerent iter. Qui cum tempore ipso, quo studuerant, pervenissent, domum Charonis devenerunt, à quo et d tempus et dies erat datus.

*to fall upon their enemies, and free the city, the very day, upon which the chief magistrates were used to feast together. Great things have been oftentimes performed by no very great forces: but indeed never so great a power was defeated from so small a beginning. For twelve young men of those, who had been punished with banishment, agreed, when they were not above an hundred, that offered themselves to so great a danger; with which small number the power of the Lacedæmonians was overthrown. For these made war, not more upon the faction of their adversaries, than upon the Spartans at that time, who were the lords of all Greece: the grandeur of whose empire, shocked from this beginning, fell not long after in the battle of Leuctra. Wherefore these twelve, whose leader was Pelopidas, having gone out of Athens in the day-time, that they might reach Thebes when the heavens grew dark, they went out with hounds, carrying nets, in a country dress, that they might make their journey with the less suspicion. Who having come thither at the very time, which they had intended, they went to Charon's house, by whom both the time and the day had been fixed.*

CAP.

d The text seems to be faulty here; there can, I think, be no occasion for *tempus* and *dies* both. [The day, concerted on by Charon and the exiles, was to be that on which the Theban magistrates, (under the Lacedæmonians), at their anniversary election, were to be engaged in feasting; the *time* (*viz.* for the exiles to reach Thebes) was



CAP. III. Hôc loco li-  
bet interponere, etſi ſe-  
junctum ab re <sup>e</sup> propoſita  
eſt, Nimia fiducia quantæ  
calamitati ſoleat eſſe: nam  
magiſtratuum Thebano-  
rum ſtatim ad aures per-  
venit, exules in urbem  
devenſiſſe: id illi, vino e-  
pulisque dediti, uſque eò  
deſpexerunt, ut ne quæ-  
rere quidem de tanta re  
laborârint. Acceſſit etiam,  
quod magis aperiret eo-  
rum dementiam: allata eſt  
enim epiſtola Athenis, ab  
Archia hierophante, Ar-  
chiæ, qui tum maximum  
magiſtratuum Thebis obti-  
nebat; in qua omnia de  
proſeſſione exulium per-  
ſcripta erant: quæ cùm  
jam accubanti in convivio  
eſſet data, ſicut erat, ſi-  
gnata, ſub pulvinum ſub-  
jiciens; in craſtinum, in-

CHAP. III. *In this place I  
have a fancy to inſert a remark,  
altho' it be foreign to our ſubject;  
how great a miſchief an exceſſive  
aſſurance uſes to bring: for it im-  
mediate'y came to the ears of the  
Theban magiſtrates, that ſome  
of the exiles were come to town:  
that they, intent upon their wine  
and good cheer, ſo far deſpiſed,  
that they did not truly trouble  
themſelves to inquire about ſo im-  
portant a matter. There was an-  
other thing too, which diſcovered  
their madneſs ſtill the more: for  
a letter was brought from A-  
thens, from Archias, an <sup>e</sup> hiero-  
phantes, to Archias, who then had  
the chief poſt of authority at The-  
bes; in which all things had been  
written at large concerning the de-  
parture of the exiles from thence:  
which being given to him as he  
now <sup>e</sup> ſat at the feaſt, putting it,  
juſt as it was, ſealed, under his  
pillow; I put off, ſays he, all ſeri-*

to be towards the cloſe of the evening of that ſame day; and the  
time of action was to be that ſame night, when pretty far advan-  
ced. Theſe things ſeem to be plain from the ſecond and third chap-  
ters of Pelopidas's life; and if ſo, it is humbly thought there is no  
juſt ground for finding fault with the text here.]

<sup>c</sup> [Some read *poſita, laid down, propoſed.*]

<sup>e</sup> Hierophantes is explained by ſome to be a keeper of the holy  
trinkets belonging to the gods. [Hierophantes, among the Atheni-  
ans, was the prieſt of Ceres the goddeſs of corn and tillage. Dr  
Potter, in his antiquities of Greece, vol. I. p. 356. explains the word  
to be a revealer of holy things; and ſays, that this perſon was al-  
ways a citizen of Athens, held his office during life, was obliged to  
devote himſelf wholly to divine ſervice, and to live a chaſte and ſingle  
life; and he is ſaid to have been a type of the great Creator of all  
things.]

<sup>g</sup> The Latin word properly ſignifies *lying at*, or *by*, which was the  
poſture uſed by the ancients at tables, about which they commonly  
had three beds placed, on the ſides of which they lay, with their backs  
ſupported by pillows.

quit,

quit, differo res severas. At illi omnes, cùm jam nox processisset, vinolenti, ab exulibus, ducē Pelopidā, sunt interfecti. Quibus rebus confectis, vulgo ad arma libertatemque vocato, non solùm qui in urbe crant, sed etiam undique ex agris concurrerunt; præsidium Lacedæmoniorum ex arce pepulerunt; patriam obsidio libera-verunt. Auctores Cadmeæ occupandæ partim occiderunt, partim in exilium e-jecerunt.

CAP. IV. Hòc tam turbido tempore, (sicut supra docuimus), Epaminondas, quæd cum civibus dimicatum est, domi quietus fuit: itaque hæc liberandarum Thebarum propria laus est Pelopidæ: cæteræ ferè omnes communes cum Epaminonda. Namque in Leuctrica pugna, imperatore Epaminondā, hic fuit dux delectæ manûs, quæ prima phalangem prostravit Læconum. Omnibus præterea periculis affuit: sicut, Spartam cùm oppugnavit, alterum tenuit cornu: quòque Messena celerius restitueretur, legatus in Persas est profectus. Denique hæc fuit altera persona Thebis, sed tamen secunda, ita ut proxima esset Epaminondæ.

ous affairs till to-morrow. But they all, when now the night was pretty far advanced, being drunk, were slain by the exiles, under their leader Pelopidas. Which things being done, and the common people invited to arms and liberty, not only those, who were in the town, but likewise others from all parts out of the country, flocked in to them; drove the garrison of the Lacedæmonians out of the citadel; and delivered their country from that bridle. They partly put to death the advisers of seizing the Cadmea, and partly drove them out into banishment.

CHAP. IV. During this turbulent time, (as we have told you before), Epaminondas, so long as they were engaged with their fellow-citizens, was quiet at home: wherefore the glory of delivering Thebes is proper to Pelopidas: almost all his other glorious actions were common to him with Epaminondas. For in the battle of Leuctra, where Epaminondas was general, he was the commander of a select body of troops, which first of all broke the phalanx of the Lacedæmonians. Besides, he was present with him in all his dangers: as, when he attacked Sparta, he commanded one wing: and that Messena might be more expeditiously restored, he went ambassador amongst the Persians. Finally, this was another considerable action at Thebes, but yet a second, so that he was next to Epaminondas.

CAP. V. Conflictatus autem est cum adversa fortuna; nam et initio (sicut ostendimus) exul patriâ caruit; et cum Thessaliam in potestatem Thebanorum cuperet redigere, legationisque jure satis tectum se arbitraretur, quod apud omnes gentes sanctum esse consuisset; à tyranno Alexandro Pheræo, simul cum Ismenia, comprehensus, in vincula coniectus est. Hunc Epaminondas recuperavit, bello persequens Alexandrum. Post id factum, nunquam is animo placari potuit in eum, à quo erat violatus: itaque persuasit Thebanis, ut subsidio Thessaliæ proficiscerentur, tyrannosque ejus expellerent. Cujus belli cum ei summa esset data, eoque cum exercitu profectus esset, non dubitavit, simul ac conspexit hostem, confluere. In quo prælio, Alexandrum ut animadvertit, incensus irâ, equum in eum concitavit, proculque digressus à suis, coniectu telorum confossus concidit. Atque hoc secundâ victoriâ accidit: nam jam inclinatæ erant tyrannorum co-

CHAP. V. Yet he had to struggle with cross fortune; for he was early banished, (as we have shewn); and being desirous to reduce <sup>h</sup> Thessaly under the power of the Thebans, and, thinking himself sufficiently secured by the right of an embassy, which used to be sacred amongst all nations; he was seized, together with Ismenias, by Alexander, the tyrant of <sup>i</sup> Pheræ, and thrown in chains. Epaminondas recovered him, falling upon Alexander in war. After that fact, he could never be reconciled in his mind to him, by whom he had been injured: wherefore he persuaded the Thebans to go to the relief of Thessaly, and drive out the tyrants thereof. When the chief command in that war had been given to him, and he was come thither with his army, he did not delay to engage, as soon as he saw the enemy. In which battle, when he spied Alexander, being fired with rage, he spurred on his horse against him, and being gone a good way from his men, he fell down killed with the discharge of weapons at him. And this happened when victory was favourable to him: for the tyrant's troops were now giving way. After which, all the ci-

<sup>h</sup> [A very considerable country of Greece, encompassed with mountains, except to the east, where it has the Archipelago; on the west they separate it from Epirus, north from Macedonia, properly so called, and south from Livadia. It is now called *Janna*.]

<sup>i</sup> A city in that part of Thessaly called Pelasgiotis.

piæ. Quo factò, omnes Theſſaliæ civitates interfectum Pelopidam coronis aureis, et ſtatuis æneis, liberofque ejus multo agro donârunt.

*ties of Theſſaly<sup>k</sup> honoured the ſlain Pelopidas with golden crowns, and brazen ſtatues, and preſented his children with a great deal of land.*

## XVII.

AGESILAUS, *Lacedæmonius.*

## CAP. I.

**A**gesilaus Lacedæmonius, cùm à cæteris ſcriptoribus, tum eximiè à Xenophonte Socratico collaudatus eſt; eo enim uſus eſt familiariffimè. Hic primum de regno cum Leoty-chide, fratris filio, habuit contentionem. Mos eſt enim à majoribus Lacedæmoniis traditus, ut duos haberent ſemper reges, nomine magis quàm imperio, ex duabus familiis Proclis et Euryſthenis, qui, principes ex progenie Herculis, Spartæ reges fuerunt. Harum ex altera in alterius familiæ

## XVII.

AGESILAUS, *the Lacedæmonian.*

## CHAP. I.

**A**gesilaus the Lacedæmonian, has been commended, as well by other writers, as by <sup>a</sup> Xenophon the Socratic philoſopher extraordinarily; for he was very intimate with him. He firſt of all had a diſpute with Leoty-chides, his brother's ſon, for the kingdom. For it is a cuſtom delivered to the Lacedæmonians by their forefathers, to have always two kings, in name rather than authority, of the two families of Procles and Euryſthenes, who, firſt of all the progeny of Hercules, were kings of Sparta. It was not lawful for a king to be made out of one of theſe, in the

<sup>k</sup> [Some think there is no need for borrowing the word *honoured*; but as the verb *dono* (to beſtow, to preſent) ſerves the whole ſentence in the Latin text, ſo it may do in the tranſlation, thus: *All the cities of Theſſaly beſtowed golden crowns and brazen ſtatues upon the ſlain Pelopidas, and preſented his children, &c.*]

<sup>a</sup> [Xenophon was an Athenian, and flouriſhed about 400 years before the birth of Chriſt; he was the ſcholar of Socrates, and maſter that inſtructed Agesilaus, and was eminent for religion, juſtice, and all moral and civil virtues.]



locum fieri non licebat : itaque utraque suum retinebat ordinem. Primum, ratio habebatur, qui maximus natus esset ex liberis ejus, qui regnans decessisset : si is virilem sexum non reliquisset, tum deligebatur, qui proximus esset propinquitate. Mortuus erat Agis rex, frater Agesilai : filium reliquerat Leotychidem, quem ille natum non agnoscit ; eundem, moriens, suum esse dixerat. Is de honore regni cum Agesilao suo patre contendit ; neque id quod petivit, consequutus est ; nam Lysandro suffragante, homine, ut ostendimus supra, factioso, et his temporibus potente, Agesilaus antelatus est.

CAP. II. Hic, simulatque imperii potitus est, persuasit Lacedæmoniis, ut exercitum emitterent in Asiam, bellumque regi facerent ; docens, fatius esse in Asia, quam in Europa dimicari ; namque fama exierat, Artaxerxem comparare classis, pedestrisque exercitus, quos in Græciam mitteret. Data potestate, tantâ celeritate usus est, ut prius in Asiam cum copiis perveniret, quam regii satrapæ eum scirent profectum ; quo factum est, ut omnes impa-

room of the other family : wherefore each kept its rank. First, regard was had to him that was the eldest of the sons of him who died king : but if he left no male issue, then he was chosen that was the next akin. King Agis, the brother of Agesilaus, was dead : he had left a son, Leotychides by name, whom he had not owned for his son : but when a-dying, he had said that he was his. He contended for the honour of the kingdom with his uncle Agesilaus ; nor did he get what he sought for ; for Agesilaus was preferred before him ; Lysander, a factious man, (as we have shewn above), and powerful at that time, making interest for Agesilaus.

CHAP. II. He, as soon as he got the kingdom, persuaded the Lacedæmonians, that they should send an army into Asia, and make war upon the king, telling them, it was better to be fighting in Asia, than Europe ; for a rumour was got abroad, that <sup>b</sup> Artaxerxes was sitting out fleets, and raising land-forces to send into Greece. Leave being granted him, he made use of so much expedition, that he came into Asia with his troops, before the king's viceroys knew that he was set forward ; from whence it was, that he found them all

<sup>b</sup> [This was Artaxerxes Mnemon, the son of Darius Nothus, and monarch of Persia.]

ratos imprudentesque offenderet. Id ut cognovit Tissaphernes, qui summum imperium tum inter præfectos habebat regios, inducias à Lacone petivit, simulans, se dare operam, ut Lacedæmoniis cum rege conveniret; re autem verâ, ad copias comparandas; easque impetravit trimestres. Juravit autem uterque, se sine dolo inducias conservaturum: in qua pactione, summâ fide mansit Agésilæus. Contra ea, Tissaphernes nihil aliud, quàm bellum comparavit. Id etsi sentiebat Laco, tamen iusjurandum servabat, multumque in eo se consequi dicebat, quòd Tissaphernes perjurio suo, et homines suis rebus abalienaret, et Deos sibi iratos redderet: se autem, servatâ religione, confirmare exercitum, cum animadverteret, Deorum numen facere secum, hominesque sibi conciliari amiciores, quòd his studere consuissent, quos conservare fidem viderent.

CAP. III. Postquam induciarum præterit dies, barbarus non dubitans, quòd ipsius erant plurima domicilia in Caria, et ea regio his temporibus multò putabatur locupletissima,

unprovid'd, and unaware of him. As soon as Tissaphernes understood it, who had then the greatest power amongst the king's governors, he desired a truce of the <sup>c</sup> Lacedæmonian, pretending, that he would do his endeavour, that the Lacedæmonians should agree with the king; but in reality, to raise troops: and he obtained it for three months. Now each of them swore, that he would observe the truce without fraud: in which agreement Agésilæus continued with the greatest punctualness. On the other hand, Tissaphernes did nothing else but levy war. Although the Lacedæmonian perceived that, yet he kept his oath, and said, that he got much by it, because Tissaphernes both alienated men from his interest, and made the Gods angry with him by his perjury: but that he, by keeping his oath, encouraged his army, since they observed, that the power of the Gods was for them; and men made more friends to them, because they were accustomed to favour those, whom they observed to keep their faith.

CHAP. III. After the time of the truce was expired, the <sup>d</sup> barbarian, not doubting, because he had a great many seats in Caria, and that country was thought to be far the richest at that time, that the enemies

<sup>c</sup> [That is, Agésilæus.]

<sup>d</sup> [That is, Tissaphernes.]

eò potissimum hostes im-  
 petum facturos, omnes suas  
 copias eò contraxerat. At  
 Agesilaus in Phrygiam se  
 convertit, eamque prius de-  
 populatus est, quàm Tissa-  
 phernes usquam se move-  
 ret. Magnâ prædâ militibus  
 locupletatis, Ephesum hie-  
 matum exercitum reduxit;  
 atque ibi, officinis armo-  
 rum institutis, magnâ indu-  
 striâ bellum apparavit. Et  
 quò studiosius armarentur,  
 insigniisque ornarentur,  
 præmia proposuit, quibus  
 donarentur, quorum egre-  
 gia in ea re fuisset industria.  
 Fecit idem in exercitatio-  
 num generibus, ut, qui cæ-  
 teris præstitissent, eos ma-  
 gnis afficeret muneribus.  
 His igitur rebus effecit, ut  
 et ornatissimum et exerci-  
 tatissimum haberet exerci-  
 tum. Huic cùm tempus ef-  
 fet visum copias extrahere  
 ex hibernaculis; vidit, si,  
 quò esset iter facturus, pa-  
 lam pronunciasset, hostes  
 non credituros, aliasque re-  
 giones præsidii occupatu-  
 ros, nec dubitatuuros, aliud  
 esse facturum ac pronunti-  
 asset: itaque, cùm ille Sar-  
 deis se iturum dixisset, Tis-  
 saphernes eandem Cariam  
 defendendam putavit. In  
 quo cùm eum opinio fefel-  
 lisset, victumque se vidisset  
 consilio, serò suis præsidio  
 profectus est. Nam, cùm il-  
 lō venisset, jam Agesilaus,  
 multis locis expugnatis,

would make their inroads there  
 chiefly, he had drawn all his  
 troops thither. But Agesilaus  
 turns into Phrygia, and wasted  
 that, before Tissaphernes could stir  
 any whither. Having enriched  
 his soldiers with abundance of  
 plunder, he drew back his army  
 to Ephesus to winter; and there,  
 having set up forges for arms,  
 he prepared for war with great  
 industry. And that his troops  
 might be the more carefully arm-  
 ed, and more finely adorned, he  
 proposed rewards, with which  
 they should be presented, whose  
 industry was extraordinary in  
 that matter. He did the same in  
 all sorts of exercises, that they  
 who excelled the rest, he honour-  
 ed with great presents. By these  
 means therefore he effected, that  
 he had his army both very well  
 furnished with all things, and  
 very well disciplined. As soon as  
 it appeared to him time to draw  
 his troops out of their winter-  
 quarters, he saw, that if he de-  
 clared openly whither he was a-  
 going to march, the enemies would  
 not believe it, and would take up  
 other countries with garrisons,  
 and would not doubt that he would  
 do quite another thing than what  
 he gave out: wherefore, when  
 he had declared, that he would  
 march for Sardis, Tissaphernes  
 thought that the same country  
 of Caria ought to be defended  
 by him. In which matter, when  
 his opinion had deceived him,  
 and he saw himself outwitted,  
 he came too late for the protec-  
 tion of his subjects. For when he  
 magnâ

magnâ erat prædâ potitus. Laco autem, cùm videret hostes equitatu superare, nunquam in campo sui fecit potestatem, et his locis manum conferuit, quibus plûs pedestres copiæ valerent. Pepulit ergo, quotiescunque congressus est, multò majores adversariorum copias; et sic in Asia versatus est, ut omnium opinione victor duceretur.

CAP. IV. Hic cùm jam animo meditaretur proficisci in Persas, et ipsum regem adoriri; nuncius ei domo venit ephorum missu, bellum Athenienses et Bæotios indixisse Lacedæmoniis: quare venire non dubitaret. In hoc, non minùs ejus pietas suspicienda est, quam virtus bellica: qui, cùm victori præesset exercitui, maximamque haberet fiduciam regni Persarum potiundi; tantâ modestiâ dicto audiens fuit jussis absentium magistratum, ut si privatis in<sup>e</sup> comitio esset Spartæ. Cujus exemplum utinam imperatores nostri sequi voluissent! Sed il-

*was come thither, Agesilaus having already taken many places, had got abundance of plunder. But the Lacedæmonian, seeing the enemy exceeded him in horse, never gave them an opportunity of fighting him in the plain, and engaged in those places, in which foot would be of most service. Wherefore he routed a much bigger army of the enemies, as oft as he fought them; and behaved so in Asia, that he was reckoned the conqueror in the opinion of all people.*

CHAP. IV. Whilst he was now proposing in his own mind to march into the country of the Persians, and attack the king himself; a messenger came to him from home, by way of dispatch from the Ephori, to tell him, that the Athenians and the Bæotians had proclaimed war against the Lacedæmonians; for which reason he should not delay to come home. In this, his regard to his country is no less to be admired, than his warlike bravery; who, though he commanded a victorious army, and had a very great assurance of mastering the kingdom of the Persians, he was, with so much modestly, obedient to the orders of the absent magistrates, as if he had been a private commoner in the senate-house of Sparta. Whose ex-

<sup>e</sup> [Comitium properly signifies any assembly, and particularly of people met for making laws, &c. but more frequently the place where the assembly met; a parliament house, the court, or town hall, the state-house, senate house. And Cicero distinguishes it from the forum, when he says, *forum, comitium, curiam, armatis occupare*, Cæc. pro Sext. 35.]



luc redeamus. Agesilaus opulentissimo regno præposuit bonam existimationem, multoque gloriosius duxit, si institutis patriæ paruisset, quam si bello superasset Asiam. Hac igitur mente Hellespontum copias trajecit, tantæque usus est celeritate, ut, quod iter Xerxes anno vertente confecerat, hic transierit triginta diebus. Cùm jam haud ita longè abesset à Peloponneso, obsistere ei conati sunt Athenienses et Bœotii, cæterique eorum focii, apud Coroneam; quos omnes gravi prælio vicit. Hujus victoriæ vel maxima fuit laus, quòd cùm plerique ex fuga se in templum Minervæ conjecissent, quærereturque ab eo, quid his fieri vellet? etsi aliquot vulnera acceperat eo prælio, et iratus videbatur omnibus, qui adversus arma tulerant; tamen antetulit iræ religionem, et eos vetuit violari. Neque verò hoc solum in Græcia fecit, ut templa Deorum sancta haberet; sed etiam, apud

*ample & I wish our generals would have followed! But let us return to the business. Agesilaus preferred a good name before the most wealthy kingdom, and thought it much more glorious, if he obeyed the laws of his country, than if he conquered Asia in war. With this mind therefore he drew his forces over the Hellespont, and used so much expedition, that he made in thirty days a march, that Xerxes was a whole year about. When he was now not very far from Peloponnesus, the Athenians and Bœotians, and the rest of their<sup>e</sup> allies, endeavoured to oppose him at<sup>d</sup> Coronea; all which he conquered in a great battle. It was the most commendable thing in this victory, that when a great many after the rout had thrown themselves into the<sup>i</sup> temple of Minerva, and it was asked him, what he would have done with them? altho' he had received some wounds in that battle, and seemed angry with them all, who had bore arms against him, yet he preferred his religion before the gratifying his resentment, and forbid them to be hurt. Nor did he do this only in Greece, that is, treat the temples of the Gods as sacred; but likewise preserved, even amongst*

<sup>f</sup> In these words our author had a respect to Julius Cæsar chiefly, who refused to disband his army at the command of the senate, which was the occasion of the civil war, that ended in the ruin of the liberty and the glory of Rome together.

<sup>g</sup> [Viz. the Argives, Corinthians, Eubœans, and Locrians, according to Xenophon.]

<sup>h</sup> A city of Bœotia. [It is now only a village on the lake of Thebes, near the river Cephisso.]

<sup>i</sup> [Which was at Itonia or Iton, a city in Thessaly.]

barbaros,

barbaros, summâ religione, omnia simulacra arasque conservavit. Itaque prædicabat, mirari se, non sacrilegorum numero haberi, qui supplicibus eorum nocuissent; aut non gravioribus pœnis affici, qui religionem <sup>k</sup> minuerent, quàm qui fana spoliarent.

CAP. V. Post hoc prælium, collatum est omne bellum circa Corinthum, ideoque Corinthium est appellatum. Hic, cum unâ pugnâ decem millia hostium, Agesilao duce, cecidissent, eoque facto opes adversariorum debilitatæ viderentur; tantum abfuit ab insolentia gloriæ, ut commiseratus sit fortunam Græciæ, quod tam multi à se victi, vitio adversariorum, concidissent: namque illâ multitudine, si sana mens esset, Græciæ supplicium Persas dare potuisse. Idem, cum adversarios intra mœnia compulisset, et ut Corinthum oppugnaret, multi hortarentur, negavit id suæ virtuti convenire: se enim eum esse dixit, qui ad officium peccantes redire cogeret; non qui urbes nobilissimas expugnaret Græciæ.

*the barbarians, all the images of the Gods, and altars, with the highest veneration. Wherefore he said, he wondered that those were not accounted in the number of sacrilegious villains, who hurt their suppliants; or that they were not punished with more heavy punishments, who prejudiced religion, than those who robbed temples.*

CHAP. V. After this battle, the whole of the war was drawn together about Corinth, and therefore was called the Corinthian war. Here, when ten thousand of the enemy had been slain in one battle, wherein Agesilao was general, and the strength of the enemy seemed broken by that action; he was so far from the insolence of boasting, that he lamented the fortune of Greece, that so many, by the fault of the enemies, had been conquered by him, and fallen: for with that number of men, the Persians might have been punished by Greece, if they had but a right mind. The same man, after he had forced the enemies within their walls, and many advised him to attack Corinth, he denied that was agreeable to his conduct: for he said, he was one who would force offenders to return to their duty; not take the noblest cities of Greece. For if,

<sup>k</sup> If these words of our author are capable of any good consistent sense, I confess, for my part, I understand them not. [Some think that *asyti* or *fani* (a sanctuary, or some consecrated place) might be supplied after *religionem*, and the author's meaning to be, of those that violated that religion or regard that was thought due to a sanctuary.]

Nam si (inquit) cos exstinguere voluerimus, qui nobiscum adversus barbaros steterunt, nosmetipsi nos expugnaverimus, illis quiescentibus; quo facto, sine negotio, cum voluerint, nos opprimunt.

CAP. VI. Interim accidit illa calamitas apud Leuctra Lacedæmoniis; quò ne profisceretur, cum à plerisque ad exeundum premeretur, ut si de exitu divinaret, exire noluit. Idem, cum Epaminondas Spartam oppugneret, essetque sine muris oppidum, talem se imperatorem præbuit, ut eo tempore omnibus apparuerit, nisi ille fuisset, Spartam futuram non fuisse. In quo quidem discrimine, celeritas ejus consilii saluti fuit universis. Nam cum quidam adolescentium, hosti-

says he, we have a mind to ruin those, who have sided with us against the barbarians, we shall conquer ourselves, whilst they are quiet; after which, they will, without difficulty, subdue us when they please.

CHAP. VI. In the mean time that calamity at Leuctra beset the Lacedæmonians; whither, tho' he was pressed by a great many to go, as if he had had a divine foresight of the event, he would not go. The same man, when Epaminondas attacked Sparta, and the town was <sup>m</sup> without walls, shewed himself such a general, that at that time it was visible to all people, that unless he had been there, Sparta would not have been any more. In which danger indeed the quickness of his contrivance was the preservation of them all. For when certain young men, affrighted with the approach of the enemy, intend-

<sup>1</sup> Courtin, in his edition for the use of the Dauphin, reads *quò ne profiscerentur* (sciz. *Lacedæmonii*), and in his *interpretatio* turns the sentence thus: *Quem in locum* (sciz. *Leuctra*) *ne pergerent, quasi eventum presentiret; pluribus ad profisciscendum illum urgentibus, profiscisci recusavit.*

<sup>m</sup> [Sparta or Lacedæmon anciently had no walls, because the valour of its inhabitants was reckoned its best security against the enemy; but in after ages, when its inhabitants began to degenerate from the bravery of their forefathers, they were obliged to inclose it with walls. And there was an ancient people in Great Britain, called the *Scots*, who seem to have followed the example of the Lacedæmonians pretty much in not walling their towns, as the learned Buchanan celebrates them in his elegant poem, called *Epithalamium Francisci Valefii et Mariæ Stuartæ, regum Franciæ et Scotiæ* :

*Illis pharetratis est propria gloria Scotis,  
Cingere venatu saltus, superare natando  
Flumina, ferre famem, contemnere frigora et æstus;  
Nec fossa et muris patriam, sed Marte, tueri.*

um adventu perterriti, ad Thebanos transfugere vel-  
lent, et locum extra urbem  
editum cepissent; Age-  
filaus, qui perniciosissimum  
fore videret, si animad-  
versum esset, quenquam  
ad hostes transfugere co-  
nari, cum suis eo venit,  
atque, ut si bono animo  
fecissent, laudavit consili-  
um eorum, quòd eum lo-  
cum occupassent; et se id  
quoque fieri debere ani-  
madvertisse. Sic adole-  
scentulos simulatâ lauda-  
tione recuperavit; et ad-  
junctis de suis comitibus, lo-  
cum tutum reliquit: nam-  
que illi, <sup>a</sup> aucto numero  
eorum, qui expertes erant  
consilii, commovere se  
non sunt ausi; eoque li-  
bentiùs, quòd latere arbi-  
trabantur, quæ cogitarent.

CAP. VII. Sine dubio,  
post Leuctricam pugnam,  
Lacedæmonii se nunquam  
refecerunt, neque pristinum  
imperium recuperârunt;  
cùm interim Agesilaus non  
destitit, quibuscunque re-  
bus posset, patriam juvare.  
Nam cùm præcipuè Lace-  
dæmonii indigerent pecu-

*ed to run over to the Thebans,  
and had seized a high place with-  
out the city; Agesilaus, who saw  
that that would be of the most per-  
nicious consequence, if it should  
be observed that any one endea-  
voured to fly over to the enemy,  
came with some of his men thi-  
ther; and, as if they had done it  
with a good intention, commended  
their thought, in that they had  
seized that place; and that he had  
also observed, that that ought to  
be done. Thus he recovered the  
young fellows by a pretended com-  
mendation of them; and having  
joined some of his attendants with  
them, he left the place safe; for  
they, their number being increa-  
sed with those, who were unac-  
quainted with the design, durst  
not stir; and they staid the more  
willingly, because they thought  
that what they had intended was  
not known.*

CHAP. VII. Without doubt,  
after the battle of Leuctra, the  
Lacedæmonians never recovered  
themselves, nor regained their for-  
mer power; whilst, in the mean  
time, Agesilaus did not cease to  
help his country by whatsoever  
means he could. For when the  
Lacedæmonians very much want-  
ed money, he was the security

<sup>a</sup> Our author has expressed himself here improperly; for it is visible he intended what I have expressed in my translation: but it is as visible to any attentive reader, that his words will not bear that sense, nor indeed any good sense at all. [*Auctus* signifies *increased, multiplied, or made more in number*, as in Ovid, *Sylvæ feraribus aucta*; and if we read *aucti*, (as some think it should be) instead of *aucto*; where would the nonsense be?]



niâ, ille omnibus, qui à rege defecerant, præsidio fuit; à quibus magnâ donatus pecuniâ, patriam sublevavit. Atque in hoc illud imprimis fuit admirabile; cum maxima munera ei ab regibus, et dynastis, civitatibusque conferrentur, nihil unquam [in] domum suam contulit, nihil de victu, nihil de vestitu Laconum mutavit: domo eâdem fuit contentus, quâ Eurysthene, progenitor majorum suorum, fuerat usus; quam qui iutrârat, nullum signum libidinis, nullum luxuriæ videre poterat: contra ea, plurima patientiæ atque abstinentiæ. Sic enim erat instructa, ut nulla in re differret <sup>q</sup> à cuiusvis inopis atque privati.

CAP. VIII. Atque hic tantus vir, ut naturam fautricem habuerat in tribuendis animi virtutibus, sic maleficam nactus est in corpore fingendo. Nam et staturâ fuit humili, et corpore exiguo, et claudus altero pede. Que res etiam nonnullam afferebat deformitatem: atque ignoti, faciem ejus cum intuerentur, contemnebant: qui autem virtutes noverant, non po-

of <sup>o</sup> all those, that had revolted from the <sup>p</sup> king; by whom being presented with a great sum of money, he relieved his country. And in this man this was above all other things to be admired; when very great presents were made him by kings, and princes, and states, he brought nothing ever to his own home, changed nothing of the diet and dress of the Lacedæmonians: he was content with the same house, which Eurysthene, the progenitor of his forefathers, had used; which he that entered, could see no sign of lust, no sign of luxury; but, on the other hand, many of hardiness and moderation. For it was so furnished, that it differed in nothing from the house of any poor and private person.

CHAP. VIII. And yet this so great a man, as he had had nature a favourer of him, in bestowing the endowments of mind on him, so he found her mischievous in framing his body. For he was both of a low stature, and slender body, and lame of one foot. Which thing occasioned likewise some deformity; and strangers, when they beheld his person, despised him; but they who knew his abilities, could not admire him sufficiently. Which

<sup>o</sup> [Such as Thacus king of Egypt, and Mausolus king of Caria.]

<sup>p</sup> [Viz. of Persia.]

<sup>q</sup> [Some read cuiusvis inopis atque privati; others, à cuiusvis, &c. differret cuiusvis, sciz. domui, ut apud Horatium, differt sermoni sermo, &c.]

terant admirari satis. Quod ei usu venit, cum annorum octoginta subsidio Thaco in Ægyptum ivisset, et in acta cum suis accubisset, sine ullo tecto; stratumque haberet tale, ut terra tecta esset stramentis, neque huc amplius, quam pellis esset injecta; eodemque comites omnes accubuissent, vestitu humili, atque obsoleto, ut eorum ornatus non modò in his regem neminem significaret; sed hominis non beatissimi suspicionem præberet. Hujusde adventu fama cum ad regios esset perlata, celeriter munera eorumque generis sunt allata. Hisquerentibus Agesi- laum, vix fides facta est, unum esse ex his, qui tum accubabant. Qui cum regis verbis, quæ attulerant, dedissent, ille præter vitulina, et hujusmodi genera obsonii, quæ præsens tempus desiderabat, nihil accepit; <sup>r</sup> unguenta, coronas,

*Which happened to him when he went, at fourscore years of age, into Egypt, to the relief of Thacus, and was laid upon the shore with his men, without any covering, and had such a convenience for lying on, that the earth was but covered with straw, and nothing more than a skin was thrown upon it; and all his attendants likewise lay upon the same, in mean and thread-bare clothes, that their dress did not only set forth, that none amongst them was a king; but gave a suspicion of a person there not very rich. When the news of his coming was brought to the courtiers, presents were quickly brought him of every kind. <sup>r</sup> Scarce was a persuasion wrought in them, upon inquiring for Agesi- laus, that he was one of those that then lay there. Who when they had given him in the king's name what they had brought, he took nothing but veal, and such sorts of victuals, which the present occasion required; he divided the sweet ointments, crowns, secundamque*

<sup>r</sup> This is, to my thinking, as pretty a picture as is any where to be met with in all antiquity, and enough to give a man a distaste for the vanities and fopperies that human life is so much cumbered and crowded with. Methinks I see a parcel of empty, gay, fluttering fops, that had no relish for any thing truly great and good, expressing, by their sneers and scornful air, a contempt for the greatest endowments of a human mind, because not set off with what alone they were capable of admiring; whilst the glorious man, with a sedateness suitable to his grandeur, and a perfect sense of the folly of the sorry animals about him, and as hearty a contempt for their opinion of him, satisfies the necessities of nature in the most proper manner, and leaves them to sneer on.

<sup>f</sup> [The ancients, at their entertainments, frequently made use of sweet ointments, or perfumes, (*unguenta*), as also garlands that were made

<sup>†</sup> secundamque mensam  
 servis dispertiit; cætera re-  
 ferri iussit. Quo facto eum  
 barbari magis etiam con-  
 temserunt, quòd eum igno-  
 rantia bonarum rerum illa  
 potissimum sumsisse arbi-  
 trabantur. Hic cùm ex  
 Ægypto reverteretur, do-  
 natus à rege Nectanebe  
 ducentis viginti talentis,  
 quæ ille muneri populo suo  
 daret, venissetque in por-  
 tum, qui Menelai vocatur,  
 jacens inter Cyrenas et Æ-  
 gyptum; in morbum im-  
 plicitus decessit. Ibi eum  
 amici, quò Spartam faci-  
 lius perferre possent, quòd  
 mel non habebant, cerâ  
 circumfuderunt, atque ita  
 domum retulerunt.

and sweetmeats amongst the  
 slaves, and commanded the rest  
 to be carried back. Upon which  
 the barbarians despised him still  
 the more, because they thought  
 he had made choice of those things  
 out of ignorance of what was  
 good. When he returned from  
 Egypt, being presented by king  
 Nectanebes with two hundred  
 and twenty talents, to give as  
 a present to his people, and was  
 come into the harbour, which is  
 called <sup>u</sup> Menelaus's, lying be-  
 twixt <sup>x</sup> Cyrene and Egypt; fal-  
 ling into a distemper, he <sup>y</sup> died.  
 There his friends, that they  
 might the more conveniently car-  
 ry him to Sparta, because they  
 had no <sup>z</sup> honey, wrapped him  
 in wax, and so brought him  
 home.

made up of roses, and whatever other flowers were in season, or of the  
 leaves of spikenard richly perfumed, which they did not only wear  
 on their heads, but sometimes too about their necks and arms; and  
 these perhaps may be meant by the coronas here, and seem to be the  
 same that Horace dislikes, *lib. I. ode 38.*

*Persicos odi, puer, apparatus:*

*Displicent nexæ philyræ coronæ:*

*Mitte sectari, rosa quo tocarum*

*Sera moretur.]*

<sup>†</sup> By *secunda mensa*, the second table, or second service, may be meant  
 the *bellaria*, *deserts*, which consisted of sweetmeats, fruits, &c. and  
 which were served up to the guests, after abundance of good cheer, for  
 digestion, or begetting appetites anew in them.

<sup>u</sup> [So called from Menelaus the Grecian king of Sparta.]

<sup>x</sup> [A city of Lybia in Africa, upon the Mediterranean, west from  
 Egypt. This city is now called *Cairoan*, and from it the whole  
 country was formerly called *Cyrenaica*, now *Cyrenaique*.]

<sup>y</sup> [He lived 84 years, and reigned 41. *Plut.*]

<sup>z</sup> The Spartans made use of honey in embalming dead bodies.

## XVIII.

## XVIII.

EUMENES, *Cardianus*.EUMENES, *the Cardian*.

## CAP. I.

## CHAP. I.

**E**Umenes Cardianus. Hujus si virtuti par data esset fortuna, non ille quidem major, sed multò illustrior, atque etiam honoratior: quòd magnos homines virtute metimur, non fortunâ. Nam cùm ætas ejus cecidisset in ea tempora, quibus Macedones florent, multum ei detraxit, inter hos viventi, quòd alienæ erat civitatis: <sup>b</sup> neque aliud huic defuit, quàm ge-

**E**Umenes the <sup>a</sup> Cardian. If fortune had been allotted him equal to his great abilities, he would not indeed have been a greater man, but much more illustrious, and likewise more honourable; because we measure great men by their great qualities, and not by their fortune. For his life having fallen in those times, in which the Macedonians flourished, it took from him very much, as he lived amongst them, that he was of a foreign nation:

<sup>a</sup> [That is, a man of Cardia, which was a city of Thrace, and which Philip king of Macedonia freed from paying tribute, for the good-will he had to this Eumenes.]

<sup>b</sup> [There seems to be some difficulty here in reconciling two branches of this sentence; for how can it be said, *defuit illi stirps generosa, si ille domestico summo genere erat?* Courtin (*in usum Delphini*) takes the author's meaning to be, that Eumenes was indeed descended of noble parents, and of the highest rank; but such as were not very heroic, or remarkable for warlike exploits. Dr Essenius explains *generosa stirps* by *nobiles parentes Macedonici*, i. e. noble parents of Macedonia. Stubelius says here, that one Duris a Samian, an old historian, relates, that Eumenes's father earned his living by driving a cart, coach, or chariot. And the author of *Mellificium historicum* says, part I. p. 398. *Fuerat Eumenes exiguæ fortunæ parentibus natus, liberaliter tamen in literis institutus*, i. e. Eumenes was descended from parents of a small estate, yet was he genteelly educated. Now for these reasons some do think that these words, *etsi enim ille domestico summo genere erat*, may be thus Englished, *for though he himself was the chief of the family he sprung from*. And it would seem that Eumenes was really, as to extract, such another gentleman as Phocion, who is said to have been a spoonmaker's son, or, as Iphicrates, a shoemaker's son, who, when one Harmodius upbraided him with his mean birth, replied thus: *Meu a me incipit genus, tuum autem in te desinit*; i. e. *The grandeur of my family begins with myself; but yours ends with you*. However, the extraordinary natural abilities of those gentlemen, together with the polite education their parents had bestowed upon them, raised them far above many of their neighbours.]

nerosa



nerosa stirps : etsi enim ille domestico summo genere erat, tamen Macedones eum sibi aliquando anteponi indignè ferebant ; neque tamen non patiebantur : vincebat enim omnes curâ, vigilantîâ, patientîâ, calliditate, et celeritate ingenii. Hic, peradolescens, ad amicitiam accessit Philippi, Amyntæ filii, brevique tempore in intimam pervenit familiaritatem ; fulgebat enim jam in adolescentulo indoles virtutis. Itaque eum habuit ad manum, scribæ loco ; quod multò apud Graios honorificentius est, quàm apud Romanos : nam apud nos reverà, sicut sunt, mercenarii scribæ existimantur : at apud illos, contrariò, nemo ad id officium admittitur, nisi honesto loco, et fide, et industriâ cognitâ ; quòd necesse est omnium consiliorum eum esse participem. Hunc locum tenuit amicitiae apud Philippum annos septem. Illo interfecto, eodem gradu fuit apud Alexandrum annos tredecim. Novissimo tempore prae fuit etiam alteri equitum alæ, quæ <sup>d</sup> *Hetærice*

*nor was any thing else wanting to him, but a noble descent : for tho' he was of the highest quality at home, yet the Macedonians took it heinously, that he was sometimes preferred before them ;*<sup>c</sup> *and yet they did bear with it : for he excelled them all in care, vigilance, hardiness, subtilty, and quickness of parts. He, when a very young man, was admitted to the friendship of Philip, the son of Amyntas, and in a short time came to an intimate familiarity with him : for even then there appeared in him, tho' very young, an able genius. Wherefore he kept him with him in the place of a secretary ; which is much more honourable amongst the Greeks, than amongst the Romans : for with us, secretaries are accounted in reality, as they are, hirelings ; but with them, on the contrary, no body is admitted to that office, unless of a good family, and of known integrity and industry ; because it is necessary for him to be a sharer in all counsels. He held this post of friendship under Philip seven years. After he was slain, he was in the same place under Alexander thirteen years. At last likewise he commanded one wing of horse, which was called Hetærice*

<sup>c</sup> [Two negatives, they say, make an affirmative ; and it looks like better sense to render them by way of affirmative here, than to retain these two negatives (*neque*, neither, *non*, not,) in the English. The author's meaning seems to be, that the Macedonians were obliged to bear with this, which they took so heinously ill, whether they would or not.]

<sup>d</sup> *Ala* is used for the wing of an army consisting of horse, whether more

*rice* appellabatur. Utrique autem in <sup>c</sup> consilio semper affuit, et omnium rerum habitus est particeps.

CAP. II. Alexandro Babylone mortuo, cum regna singulis familiaribus dispartirentur, et summa rerum tradita esset tuenda eidem, cui Alexander moriens annulum suum dederat, Perdiccæ: ex quo omnes conjecerant, eum regnum ei commendasse, quoad liberi ejus in suam tutelam pervenissent: aberant enim Craterus et Antipater, qui antecedere hunc videbantur: mortuus erat Hephæstio, quem unum Alexander, quod facile intelligi posset, plurimi fecerat; hoc tempore data est Eumeni Cappadocia, sive potius dicta; nam tum in hostium erat potestate. Hunc sibi Perdiccas adjunxerat magno studio, quod in homine fidem et industriam magnam videbat; non dubitans, si eum pellexisset, magno ufui fore sibi in his re-

*Hetærice. Besides, he was with both of them always one in the privy council, and was treated as an associate in all affairs.*

CHAP. II. Alexander dying at <sup>f</sup> Babylon, when kingdoms were distributed to each of his friends, and the chief management of affairs was delivered to him to take care of, to whom Alexander, when a-dying, had given his ring, to Perdiccas: from whence all had conjectured, that he had recommended his kingdom to him, till his children should come to be in their own tuition. For Craterus and Antipater were absent, who seemed to be before him: Hephæstio was dead, whom above the rest Alexander, as might easily be understood, had valued very highly; at this time Cappadocia was given to Eumenes, or rather named for him: for then it was in the power of the enemies. Him Perdiccas had engaged to him with great earnestness, because he saw in the man great integrity and industry; not doubting, if he could but wheedle him over that he would be of great service

more or less; but here it is put for a certain standing body of horse called *Hetærice*, [some call it *the social wing*], because it was made up of gentlemen that were associates, or companions of the king.

<sup>c</sup> [ *Consilium* (à *consultendo*) signifies deliberation, counsel, a design, advice, &c. also the Roman senate, the privy council, &c.—*Concilium* (à *con* & *calo*, i. e. *voco*) signifies a council, or assembly of counsellors, a company or multitude, a place of meeting.]

<sup>f</sup> [This was one of the most famous cities of the ancient world, in Asia, some time the capital of Assyria, or rather Chaldea, seated upon the river Euphrates, but now all in ruins and utterly extinct, about ten leagues from Bagdat, which through mistake is sometimes called Babylon.]

bus,

bus, quas apparabat. Cogitabat enim (quod ferè omnes in magnis imperiis concupiscunt) omnium partes corripere atque complecti. Neque verò hoc solus fecit, sed cæteri quoque omnes, qui Alexandri fuerant amici. Primus, Leonnatus Macedoniam præoccupare destinaverat: is multis magnis pollicitationibus persuadere Eumeni studuit, ut Perdiccam desereret, ac secum faceret societatem. Cùm perducere eum non posset, interficere conatus est: et fecisset, nisi ille clam noctu ex præidiis ejus effugisset.

CAP. III. Interim conflata sunt illa bella, quæ ad internecionem, post Alexandri mortem, gesta sunt; omnesque concurrerunt ad Perdiccam opprimendum: quem etsi infirmum videbat, quòd unus omnibus resistere cogeatur, tamen amicum non deseruit; neque salutis, quàm fidei, fuit cupidior. Præfecerat eum Perdiccas ei parti Asiæ, quæ inter Taurum montem jacet atque Hellespontum; et illum unum opposuerat Europæis adversariis: ipse Ægyptum oppugnatum adversus Ptolemæum erat

*to him in those things, which he had in agitation. For he intended (what commonly all in great empires covet) to seize and take in the shares of all the rest. Nor indeed did he alone do this, but likewise all the rest, who had been Alexander's friends. First, Leonnatus had intended to seize upon <sup>§</sup> Macedonia; he endeavoured to persuade Eumenes, by many and great promises, to forsake Perdiccas, and to make an alliance with him. When he could not bring him over to his side, he attempted to kill him: and had done it, unless he had privately escaped in the night-time out of his garrisons.*

CAP. III. *In the mean time those wars broke out, which, after the death of Alexander, were carried on to the utter ruin of the parties; and all agreed together to ruin Perdiccas: whom tho' he saw but weak, because he alone was forced to stand against them all, yet he did not forsake his friend; nor was he more desirous of his own security, than of preserving his honour. Perdiccas had set him over that part of Asia, which lies betwixt Mount Taurus and the Hellespont; and had posted him alone against all his European adversaries: he himself had marched against Ptolemy,*

§ [An ancient famous kingdom of Greece, now a province thereof, inclosed in a half-circle of mountains, and subject to the Turks.]

profectus. Eumenes, cum neque magnas copias, neque firmas haberet, quod inexercitatae, et non multo ante erant contractae; adventare autem dicerentur, Hellepontumque transiisse Antipater et Craterus, magno cum exercitu Macedonum, viri cum claritate, tum usu belli praestantes: (Macedones vero milites ea tunc erant fama, quam nunc Romani feruntur: etenim semper habiti sunt fortissimi, qui summam imperii potirentur). Eumenes<sup>k</sup> intelligebat, si copiae suae cognoscerent, adversus quos ducerentur, non modo non ituras, sed simul cum nuncio dilapsuras: itaque hoc ejus fuit prudentissimum consilium, ut deviis itineribus milites duceret, in quibus vera audire non possent; et his persuaderet, se contra quosdam barbaros proficisci. Itaque tenuit hoc propositum, et prius in aciem exercitum eduxit, praeliumque commisit, quam milites sui scirent, cum quibus arma conferrent. Effecit etiam illud lo-

to invade <sup>h</sup> Egypt. Eumenes, though he had neither a great army, nor a strong one, because it was unexercised, and raised not long before, and Antipater and Craterus were said to be coming, and to have passed the Hellespont with a great army of Macedonians, men excelling both in fame and experience in war: (for the Macedonian soldiers were then in that repute, in which the Romans now are reckoned; for they have been always accounted the most valiant, who held the chief sway in the world). Eumenes was sensible, if his troops understood against whom they were led, that they would not only not march, but would slip away immediately with the news of it. Wherefore this contrivance of his was very prudent, to lead his soldiers by out-of-the-way marches, in which they could not hear the truth; and to persuade them, that he was marching against some barbarians. And accordingly he carried this point, and drew his army out into the field, and joined battle, before his soldiers knew with whom they were engaged. He likewise gained that point, by his timely seizing of places, that

<sup>h</sup> [The most fruitful, most ancient, and most celebrated kingdom of all Africa, of old famous for wealth and learning, but now lies groaning under Turkish slavery; yet the people still affect a sort of divining.]

<sup>i</sup> [Other authors, beside Nepos here, have *potior* (which commonly governs the ablative, and sometimes the genitive) with the accusative; as Tacitus, *An. II. 10. 8.* Just. 6. 4. 8.]

<sup>k</sup> [Some, after Eumenes, add *igitur*, i. e. *inquam*, according to Lambinus.]



eorum præoccupatione, ut equitatu potius dimicaret, quo plus valebat, quàm pediatu, quo erat deterior.

CAP. IV. Quorumacer-  
rimo concursu cùm ma-  
gnam partem diei esset pu-  
gnatum, cadit Craterus  
dux, et Neoptolemus, qui  
secundum locum imperii  
tenebat. Cum hoc con-  
currit ipse Eumenes; qui,  
cùm inter se complexi, in  
terram ex equis decidif-  
sent, ut facîle intelligi pos-  
set inimicâ mente conten-  
disse, animoque magis e-  
tiam pugnâsse, quàm cor-  
pore; non prius distracti  
sunt, quàm alterum anima  
reliquerit. Ab hoc aliquot  
plagis Eumenes vulnera-  
tur: neque eò magis ex  
prælio excessit, sed acrius  
hostibus institit. Hic, equi-  
tibus profligatis, interfecto  
duce Cratero, multis præ-  
terea, et maximè nobili-  
bus, captis; pedester exer-  
citus, quòd in ea loca erat  
deductus, ut invito Eumene  
elabi non posset, pacem ab  
eo petiit; quam cùm impe-  
trâisset, in fide non mansit,  
et se, simul ac potuit, ad  
Antipatrum recepit. Eu-  
menes Craterum, ex acie  
fervivum elatum, recreare  
studuit: cùm id non posset,  
pro hominis dignitate, pro-  
que pristina amicitia (nam-  
que illo usus erat, Alex-  
andro vivo, familiariter)

*he fought more with his horse,  
in which he was stronger, than  
with his foot, in which he was  
but weak.*

CHAP. IV. *After they had  
fought in a very desperate en-  
gagement a great part of the  
day, Craterus the general falls,  
and Neoptolemus too, who had  
the second post of command. With  
him Eumenes himself engages;  
who, when grappling one another,  
they had fallen upon the ground  
from their horses, that it might  
easily be understood, that they had  
engaged with a pernicious inten-  
tion, and fought even more with  
mind than body, they were not  
separated, before life left one of  
them. Eumenes is wounded by him  
with some strokes; nor did he for-  
that go out of the battle, but press-  
ed more briskly upon the enemy.  
Here, the horse being routed, their  
general Craterus slain, many be-  
sides, and especially noblemen, be-  
ing taken; the infantry, because  
they were got into those places,  
from whence they could not escape  
without Eumenes's leave, begged  
peace of him; which when they  
had obtained, they did not con-  
tinue in their engagement, and  
withdrew themselves, as soon as  
they could, to Antipater. Eumenes  
endeavoured to recover Craterus,  
being carried half alive out of the  
field: when he could not do that,  
he buried him with a noble fune-  
ral, according to the dignity of  
the man, and their former friend-  
ship, (for he had been very fami-  
liar with him, whilst Alexander  
ampl*

amplo funere extulit, ossaque in Macedoniam uxori ejus ac liberis remisit.

CAP. V. Hæc dum apud Hellespontum geruntur, Perdiccas apud flumen Nilum interficitur à Seleuco et Antigono; rerumque summa ad Antipatrum deferretur. Hic, qui deseruerant, exercitu suffragium ferente, capitis absentes damnantur: in his Eumenes. Hæc ille percussus plagâ, non succubuit, neque eo seciùs bellum administravit. Sed exiles res animi magnitudinem, etsi non frangebant, tamen imminebant. Hunc persequens Antigonus, cum omni genere copiarum abundaret, sæpe in itineribus vexabatur; neque unquam ad manum accedere licebat, nisi his locis, quibus pauci possent multis resistere. Sed extremo tempore, cum consilio capi non posset, multitudine circumventus est: hinc tamen, multis suis amissis, se expedivit; et in castellum Phrygiæ, quod Nora appellatur, confugit: in quo, cum circumfederetur, et vereretur, ne, uno

was living); and sent his bones into Macedonia to his wife and children.

CHAP. V. Whilst these things are done at the Hellespont, Perdiccas is slain at the river Nile, by Seleucus and Antigonus; and the chief direction of affairs is conferred upon Antipater. Here, they who had forsaken them, the army giving their votes, are condemned in their absence to the loss of life: amongst these was Eumenes. He being shocked with this stroke, yet did not sink under it, nor ever a whit the less go on with the war. But little things, though they did not break the greatness of his mind, yet they lessened it. Antigonus pursuing him, though he abounded in all sorts of troops, was often sadly plagued by him in his marches; nor could he ever come to strokes, but in those places, in which a few might resist many. But at last, when he could not be taken by conduct, he was surrounded by their vast number: yet he got clear from hence too, many of his men being lost, and fled into a castle of Phrygia, which is called Nora: in which, when he was besieged, and afraid, lest, by staying in one place, he should

<sup>1</sup> [The Nile is a famous river in Africa, arising from a mountain of the kingdom of Goyama in Abyssinia; it crosses the countries of the Abyssines, Nubia, and Egypt, and discharges itself into the Mediterranean sea at seven mouths. The fertility of Egypt is owing to the overflowing of this river once a year, which supplies their want of rain.]

loco manens, equos militares perderet, quò spatium non esset agitandi; callidum fuit ejus inventum, quemadmodum stans jumentum calefieri exerceri-que posset, quò libentiùs et cibo uteretur, et à corporis motu non removeretur. Substringebat caput loro altius, quàm ut prioribus pedibus planè terram posset attingere; deinde post verberibus cogebat exultare, et calces remittere: qui motus non minùs sudorem excutiebat, quàm si in <sup>m</sup> spatio decurreret. Quo factum est, quod omnibus mirabile est visum, ut jumenta æquè nitida ex castello educeret, cùm complures menses in obsidione fuisset, ac si in campestribus ea locis habuisset. In hac conclusione, quotiescunque voluit, apparatus et munitiones Antigoni alias incendit, alias disjecit. Tenuit autem se uno loco, quamdiu fuit hiems: quòd castrum subsidia habere non poterat, et ver appropinquabat, simulatâ deditione, dum de conditionibus tractat, præfectis Antigoni imposuit; seque ac suos omnes extraxit incolumes.

CAP. VI. Ad hunc O-

*spoil his war-horses, because there was no room to exercise them; his invention was cunning, how a horse might be warmed and exercised standing, that he might both eat his provender more freely, and not be kept from bodily motion. He tied up his head with a leathern strap, higher than that he could quite touch the ground with his fore-feet; then he forced him, with lashing behind, to bounce, and throw back his heels: which motion fetched the sweat no less, than if he had run in the open field. By which was effected that which seemed wonderful to all, that he drew his horses as neat out of the castle, though he had been several months under a siege, as if he had had them in the open fields. In that siege, as often as he had a mind, he set on fire the works and some of the fortifications of Antigonus, and tore others a-pieces. But he kept himself in one place, as long as it was winter: yet in regard the castle could have no succour, and <sup>n</sup> spring approached, pretending to surrender, whilst he treats upon the terms, he imposed upon the commanders of Antigonus, and drew off himself and all his men safe.*

CHAP. VI. When Olympias,

<sup>m</sup> [Spatium, a space of ground or time; a stage, or bound in racing.]

<sup>n</sup> [Eumenes expected a closer siege in the spring than what had been in the winter-season.]

lympias,

lympias, mater quæ fuerat Alexandri, cum literas et nuncios misisset in Asiam, consultum, utrum repetitum Macedoniam veniret, (nam tum in Epiro habitabat), et eas res occuparet: huic ille primum suavit, ne se moveret, et expectaret, quoad Alexandri filius regnum adipisceretur: sin aliquâ cupiditate raperetur in Macedoniam, omnium injuriarum oblivisceretur, et in neminem acerbiorē uteretur imperio. Horum nihil ea fecit: nam et in Macedoniam profecta est, et ibi crudelissimè se gessit. Petivit autem ab Eumene absente, ne pateretur Philippi domus et familiæ inimicissimos stirpem quoque interimere; ferretque opem liberis Alexandri: quam veniam si sibi daret, quam primum exercitus pararet, quos sibi subsidio adduceret: id quod facilius faceret, se omnibus præfectis, qui in officio manebant, misisse literas, ut ei parerent, ejusque consiliis uterentur. His verbis Eumenes permotus, satius duxit, si ita tulisset fortuna, perire benè meritis referentem gratiam, quàm ingratum vivere.

CAP. VII. Itaque copias contraxit, bellum adversus

*who had been the mother of Alexander, had sent letters and messengers into Asia to him, to consult him, whether she should come to recover Macedonia, (for she then <sup>o</sup> lived in Epiro), and seize the government there; he first of all advised her not to stir, and to stay till the son of Alexander should get the kingdom; but if she was carried by any strong desire for Macedonia, to forget all injuries, and to use a rigid government towards no body. She did nothing of this: for she both went into Macedonia, and there behaved herself most cruelly. She begged too of Eumenes, though absent, that he would not suffer the bitter enemies of Philip's house and family to cut off his race too, and bring assistance to the children of Alexander: which favour if he would do her, he might raise armies as soon as possible, to bring to their relief: that he might do that the more easily, she had writ to all the governors of provinces, that continued in their duty, to obey him, and take his advice. Eumenes being moved with these <sup>p</sup> words of hers, thought it better, if fortune would have it so, to perish in making a return to those that had deserved well from him, than to live ungrateful.*

CHAP. VII. Wherefore he got together troops, and prepared for

<sup>o</sup> [She was the daughter of Neoptolemus king of Epiro.]

<sup>p</sup> [Some have *rebus* instead of *verbis* in the Latin text.]



Antigonum comparavit. Quòd unà erant Macedones complures nobiles, in his Peucestes, qui corporis custos fuerat Alexandri, tum autem obtinebat Persidem; et Antigenes, ejus sub imperio phalanx erat Macedonum; invidiam verens, (quam tamen effugerè non potuit), si potius ipse alienigena summi imperii potiretur, quàm alii Macedonum, quorum ibi erat multitudo; in principiis nomine Alexandri statuit tabernaculum, in eoque sellam auream, cum sceptro ac diademate, jussit poni; eoque omnes quotidie convenire, ut ibi de summis rebus consilia caperentur; credens minore se invidia fore, si specie imperii, nominisque simulatione Alexandri, bellum videretur administrare: quod et fecit. Nam cum non ad Eumenis principia, sed ad regia conveniretur, atque ibi de rebus deliberaretur, quodammodo latebat: cum tamen per eum unum gererentur omnia.

CAP. VIII. Hic in Pa-

a war against Antigonus. Because there were with him a great many noble Macedonians, and amongst them Peucestes, who had been a lifeguard-man of Alexander's, and at that time held Persia; and Antigenes, under whose command the phalanx of the Macedonians was; fearing envy, (which yet he could not escape), if he a stranger should rather have the chief command, than others of the Macedonians, of which there was a great number there; he erects a tent in the <sup>1</sup> principia, in the name of Alexander, and ordered a gold chair, with a sceptre and a diadem, to be placed in it; and all to repair thither every day, that there counsel might be taken about important matters; thinking that he should be under less envy, if he appeared to manage the war, under shew of the command, and under pretence of the name of Alexander: which he likewise did. For as they did not meet at the principia of Eumenes, but at the king's, and there debated about their affairs, he in a manner was concealed: though notwithstanding all things were done by him alone.

CHAP. VIII. He engaged in the

<sup>1</sup> The *principia* was that place in the camp where the general's tent was, where the standards were stuck in the earth during the encampment: there likewise courts for the cognizance of misdemeanors, and councils of war, were held. [It is called by some the head-quarters, also the centre of an army, the place of safety; hence, *post principia*, in the rearguard, *à principiis*, in the vanguard.]

rætacis cum Antigono confligit, non acie instructâ, sed in itinere; cumque malè acceptum in Mediam hiematum coëget redire. Ipse in finitimâ regione Persidis hiematum copias divisit; non ut voluit, sed ut militum cogebat voluntas. Namque illa phalanx Alexandri Magni, quæ Asiam peragrârat, deviceratque Persas, inveteratâ cum gloriâ, tum etiam licentiâ, non parere se ducibus, sed imperare postulabat, ut nunc veterani faciunt nostri. Itaque periculum est, ne faciant, quod illi fecerunt suâ intemperantiâ, nimiamque licentiâ, ut omnia perdant; neque minus eos, cum quibus steterint, quam adversus quos fecerint. Quod si quis illorum veteranorum legat facta, paria horum cognoscat; neque rem ullam, nisi tempus, interesse judicet. Sed ad illos revertar. Hierna sumserant, non ad usum belli, sed ad ipsorum luxuriam; longèque inter se discesserant. Hoc Antigonus cum comperisset, intelligeretque se parem non esse paratis adversariis, statuit a-

country of the <sup>r</sup> *Parætaci*, with *Antigonus*, not with his army regularly drawn up, but upon his march; and forced him, being ill handled, to return into <sup>r</sup> *Media*, to winter. He distributed his troops into winter-quarters, in the neighbouring country of *Persia*, not as he had a mind, but as the pleasure of the soldiers obliged him. For that phalanx of *Alexander the Great*, which had overrun all *Asia*, and overcome the *Persians*, being grown old both in glory and licentiousness too, expected not to obey their generals, but to command them, as our veterans now do. Wherefore there is some danger, lest they should do what those did, by their disorderly behaviour, and extravagant licentiousness, ruin all, no less those with whom they have sided, than those against whom they fought. And if any one reads the actions of those veterans, he will find the actions of these of ours like them; nor will he judge there is any thing of difference betwixt them, but that of time. But I shall return to them. They had taken up their winter-quarters, not for the convenience of war, but for their own luxury; and had separated at a great distance from one another. When *Antigonus* had found this, and was sen-

<sup>r</sup> [The *Parætaci* are reckoned by some authors to have been a people in the south parts of *Media*; by others, to have been rather between *Persia* and *Media*.]

<sup>r</sup> [*Media*, an ancient kingdom of *Asia*, is now part of *New Persia*, viz. all *Schirwan*, *Aderbeitzan*, *Kilan*, and part of *Yerack Agemi*; and *Ecbatana*, that was the capital, is now called *Tauris*. It is subject now partly to the *Turks*, and partly to the *Persians*.]

liquid sibi consilii novi esse capiendum. Duæ erant viæ, quæ ex Medis, ubi ille hibernabat, ad adversariorum hibernacula posset perveniri: quarum brevior per loca deserta, quæ nemo incolebat, propter aquæ inopiam: cæterum dierum erat ferè decem. Illa autem, quæ omnes commeabant, altero tanto longiorem habebat anfractum; sed erat copiosa, omniumque rerum abundans. Hæc si proficisceretur, intelligebat prius adversarios rescituros de suo adventu, quàm ipse tertiam partem confecisset itineris: sin per loca sola contenderet, sperabat se imprudentem hostem oppressurum. Ad hanc rem conficiendam, imperavit quàm plurimos utres, atque etiam culleos comparari; post hæc pabulum: prætere accubaria cocta dierum decem: utque quàm minimè fieret ignis in castris. Iter, quod habebat, omnes celat. Sic paratus, qua constituerat, proficiscitur.

CAP. IX. Dimidium ferè spatium confecerat, cùm ex fumo castrorum ejus, suspicio allata est ad Eumeneum, hostem appropinquare. Conveniunt duces; quaeritur quid opus sit facto. Intelligebant omnes, tam celeriter copias ipsorum contrahi non posse, quàm

sible that he was not a match for his enemy prepared for him, he resolves to take some new course. There were two ways, by which they might come from the country of the Medes, where he wintered, to the winter-quarters of their enemies: the shorter of which was through desert places, which nobody inhabited, by reason of the scarcity of water; but it was only about ten days march. But the other, by which all people travelled, had a wind about as long again, but it was plentiful, and abounding in all things. If he went this way, he was sensible his enemies would know of his coming, before he had made a third part of his march; but if he should go through the desert places, he hoped he should come upon the enemy unawares. For the doing of this matter, he ordered a great many leather bottles and sacks to be got together; after that forage: besides meat ready dressed for ten days: and that as little fire as possible should be made in the camp. He conceals from all people the march, which he was about. Being thus provided, he goes the way which he had intended.

CHAP. IX. He had got almost half way, when, from the smoke of his camp, a suspicion was brought to Eumenes, that the enemy was coming. The generals meet: it is debated amongst them, what was necessary to be done. They all knew, that their troops could not so soon be got together, as Antigonus seemed likely to be  
Antigonus

Antigonus affuturus videbatur. Hic omnibus titubantibus, et de rebus summis desperantibus; Eumenes ait, Si celeritatem velint adhibere, et imperata facere, quod antè non fecerint, se rem expediturum: nam quod diebus quinque hostis transisse posset, se effecturum, ut non minùs totidem dierum spatio retardaretur. Quare circumirent, suas quisque copias contraheret. Ad Antigoni autem refrenandum impetum, tale capit consilium: certos mittit homines ad infimos montes, qui obvii erant itineri adversariorum; hisque præcepit, ut primâ nocte quàm latissimè possint, ignes faciant quàm maximos; atque hos secundâ vigiliâ minuant, tertiâ perexiguos reddant: et, assimulatâ castrorum consuetudine, suspicionem injiciant hostibus, his locis esse castra, ac de eorum adventu esse prænuntiatum; idemque posteriâ nocte faciant. Quibus imperatum erat, diligenter præceptum curant. Antigonus, tenebris obortis, ignes conspicatur; credit de suo adventu esse auditum, et adversarios illuc suas contraxisse copias. Mutat consilium, et, quoniam imprudentes adoriri non posset, flectit iter suum, et illum anfractum longiorem copiosè viæ capit; ibique diem

there. Here all of them hesitating upon the matter, and despairing of the main stake; Eumenes says, If they would but use expedition, and perform orders, which they had not done before, he would clear the matter: for whereas the enemies might pass in five days, he would take care that they should be retarded not less than as many days time. Wherefore he ordered them to go about, and every man to get together his troops. Now he takes this method to retard the progress of Antigonus: he sends trusty men to the bottom of the mountains, which were opposite to the enemy's march, and ordered them to make as large fires, and as far and wide, as they could, in the beginning of the night; and lessen them the second watch, make them very little the third; and, by imitating the usage of a camp, give the enemy a suspicion, that there was a camp in those parts, and that notice had been given of their coming; and to do the same the following night. They, to whom this order was given, take care to execute their order diligently. Antigonus when the darkness of night begun, sees the fires, believes that they had heard of his coming, and that the enemies had drawn their troops thither. He alters his design, and, because he could not set upon them unawares, he turns his march, and takes that longer wind of a plentiful route; and there he stays one day, to re-



unum opperitur, ad lassitudinem sedandam militum, ac reficienda jumenta, quò integriore exercitu decerneret.

CAP. X. Hic Eumenes callidum imperatorem vicit consilio, celeritatemque impedivit ejus: neque tamen multum profecit; nam invidiâ ducum, cum quibus erat, perfidiâque militum Macedonum veteranorum, cum superior præliò discessisset, Antigo-

*lieve the weariness of his soldiers, and refresh the horses, that he might engage with his army in better condition.*

CHAP. X. Here Eumenes prevailed against this crafty general by his contrivance, and slackened his speed: but yet he did not much good to himself: for through the envy of the generals with whom he was, and the treachery of the Macedonian veteran soldiers, tho' he came off superior in the battle, he was delivered up to Antigon-

no

\* [The following short account about this remarkable affair is taken from Diodorus, Plutarch, and Justin.

Eumenes's infantry had defeated those of Antigonus; but he being strong in cavalry, and taking the advantage of the dust raised by his horses in a sandy ground, came upon Eumenes unawares, and having put his cavalry to flight, took his baggage, together with the women and children that followed the camp; yet Eumenes, having rallied his horse, was very desirous to engage Antigonus a second time, with a design to retrieve his loss: but Peucestes, (one of the deceased Alexander's great captains, and of his lifeguard, and now in Eumenes's army), who had behaved shamefully in the former engagement, refused now to obey orders; whereupon Eumenes was obliged to drop his design. In the mean time one Teutamus, in Eumenes's army too, having asked his effects from Antigonus, was answered, That he should not only receive all belonging to him, but also that the Argyraspides (that is, a company that wore silver shields, and had been in Alexander's army, and now with Eumenes) should be kindly entertained by him (Antigonus), on condition they delivered Eumenes to him. Which answer and demand of Antigonus being laid before the Argyraspides, they agreed to it; and in order to recover their wives, children, and baggage from Antigonus, they wrest the sword out of Eumenes's hands, and tie them behind his back. Upon this he expostulates the matter with them, begging that, rather than deliver him alive into the hands of his enemy, they themselves would put him to death, or at least untie him, and let him have a sword to put hand in himself; but when he could prevail nothing with them, he poured out bitter imprecations against them, and was at last basely given up to Antigonus, with whom he had such a lamentable undeserved end as Nepos here relates. After this Antigonus, reckoning the Argyraspides to be but a pack of unnatural, barbarous villains, for betraying their excellent general Eumenes, ordered their captain Antigene-

to

no est deditus, cum exercitus ei ter antè, separatim temporibus, jurasset, se eum defensurum; nec unquam deserturum. Sed tanta fuit nonnullorum virtutis obrectatio, ut fidem amittere mallent, quàm eum non prodere. Atque hunc Antigonus, cum ei fuisset infestissimus, conservasset, si per suos esset licitum, quod ab nullo se plus adjuvari posse intelligebat in his rebus, quas impendere jam apparebat omnibus. Imminebant enim Seleucus, Lyfimachus, Ptolemæus, opibus jam valentes: cum quibus ei de<sup>u</sup> summis rebus erat dimicandum. Sed non passi sunt hi, qui circa erant; quod videbant, Eumene recepto, omnes præ illo parvi futuros. Ipse autem Antigonus adeò erat incensus, ut, nisi magnâ spe maximarum rerum, leniri non posset.

CAP. XI. Itaque, cum eum in custodiam dedisset, et præfectus custodum quæsisset, quemadmodum ser-

*nus, tho' the army had sworn to him thrice before, at several times, that they would defend him, and never forsake him. But such was the endeavour of some people to detract from his worth, that they chose rather to part with their honour, than not betray him. And yet Antigonus would have saved him, tho' he had been very bitter against him, if he could but have done it for his friends, because he was sensible he could be more assisted by no body, in those things, which now it was apparent to all people were ready to happen. For Seleucus, Lyfimachus, and Ptolemy, now mighty in strength, were coming upon him, with whom he would be obliged to engage for his all. But those that were about him did not suffer him; because they saw, that if Eumenes was entertained by him, they should all be of small account in comparison with him. Besides, Antigonus himself was so incensed, that he could not be mollified, but by a great expectation of the greatest advantages from him.*

CHAP. XI. *Wherefore, when he had put him under confinement, and the commander of the guard had inquired, how he would*

to be burnt alive, and delivered the other officers and soldiers of that company to Sibirius governor of Arachosia, (now Candahar), in pretence for the uses of war, but in reality for destruction; for he gave him private orders to employ them in such work, as they might thereby be utterly destroyed, not thinking it proper to keep such traitors in his service: so that none of them returned into their own country, Macedonia.]

<sup>u</sup> [*Res summa*, the commonwealth, empire, sovereignty.]

vari vellet? Ut acerrimum, inquit, leonem, aut ferocissimum elephantum: nondum enim statuerat, servaret eum, necne. Veniebat autem ad Eumenem utrumque genus hominum; et qui, propter odium, fractum oculis ex ejus casu capere vellent; et qui, propter veterem amicitiam, colloqui, consolarique cuperent. Multi etiam, qui ejus formam cognoscere studebant, qualis esset, quem tamdiu, tamque valde timuissent, cujus in perniciem positam spem habuissent victoriæ. At Eumenes, cum diutius in vinculis esset, ait Onomarcho, penes quem summa imperii erat custodia, *Se mirari, quare jam tertium diem sic teneretur; non enim hoc convenire Antigoni prudentiæ, ut sic se uteretur victo; quin aut interfici, aut missum fieri juberet.* Hic cum ferocius Onomarcho loqui videretur: *Quid, tu, inquit, animo si isto eras, cur non in prælio cecidisti potius, quam in potestatem inimici venires?* Huic Eumenes, *Utinam quidem istud evenisset,* inquit: *sed edò non accidit, quòd nunquam cum fortiore sum congressus; non enim cum quoquam arma contuli, quin is mihi suc-*

*have him kept? he said, As a most furious lion, or a very fierce elephant: for he had not yet determined whether he should save him or no. Now two sorts of people came to Eumenes; both those who, because of their hatred of him, had a mind to receive a satisfaction by their own eyes from his fall; and those who, because of their old friendship for him, desired to speak with him, and to comfort him: many likewise, who were desirous to know his person, and what sort of man he was, whom they had feared so long, and so very much, in whose destruction they had placed their hopes of victory. But Eumenes, after he had been long in chains, says to Onomarchus, in whom the chief command of the guard was, That he wondered why he was thus kept now the third day; for this was not agreeable to the prudence of Antigonus, thus to abuse him he had conquered; that he should order him either to be slain, or to be discharged. As he seemed to Onomarchus to talk very boldly on this point: What, says he, if you were of that mind, why did not you rather fall in battle, than come into the power of your enemy? To him Eumenes replied, I wish that had befallen me indeed; but it therefore did not happen, because I never engaged with a flouter than myself; for I did not fight with any one, but he fell under me: for I fell not*

<sup>u</sup> [Some prefer this reading, *ut sic deuteretur victo.* Deutor, to make ill use of.]

*cubuerit : non enim virtute hostium, sed amicorum perfidia decidi. Neque id falsum : nam et dignitate fuit honesta, et viribus ad laborem ferendum firmis, neque tam magno corpore, quam figurâ venustâ.*

CAP. XII. De hoc Antigonus, cum solus constitutere non auderet, ad concilium retulit. Hic, cum plerique omnes, primò perturbati, admirarentur, non jam de eo sumtum esse supplicium, à quo tot annos adeò essent malè habiti, ut sæpe ad desperationem forent adducti, quique maximos duces interfecisset ; denique, in quo uno esset tan-

by the bravery of my enemies, but by the treachery of my friends. Nor was that false : <sup>x</sup> for he was a man both of genteel gracefulness of person, and of strength sufficient for the bearing of fatigue, yet not of so large a body, as a handsome shape.

CHAP. XII. As Antigonus durst not alone determine about him, he proposed the matter to a council. Here, when almost all of them, being much disturbed at first, wondered he was not already punished, by whom they had been so ill handled for so many years, that they were often brought to despair, and who had taken off the greatest generals ; finally, in whom alone there was so much weight, that so

<sup>x</sup> This seems but an odd kind of a reason for his being too hard for all he fought with. Had he encountered ladies with the like success, then indeed his *dignitas honesta*, his *venusta figura*, might well be supposed to have stood him in good stead ; but what they could signify against hard bangs and cold iron, I cannot imagine. [If Nepos had kept out of this sentence these words, *et viribus ad laborem ferendum firmis*, there might have been some occasion for the silly Mr Clarke makes here ; but when we read them jointly, as they ought to be, with the *dignitas honesta* and *venusta figura*, it may be thought strange to see him treat the accurate author with such a sneer ; for he could not but know, that both ancient and modern writers take particular notice of the *dignitas honesta* and *venusta figura* in great warriors. See, amongst many, another instance in this same author, in his first chapter of the Kings, what he says of Artaxerxes Macrochir, or Longimanus ; as also in Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 860.

una namque ire videbat  
*Egregium formâ juvenem et fulgentibus armis.*

and in *Æn.* v. 344.

*Gratior et plucbro veniens in corpore virtus.*

and what Tacitus says of Agricola, 44. 2. *Si habitum ejus posteri noscere velint, decentior quàm sublimior fuit.* But if what is above said does not satisfy, we may suppose, with the learned gentlemen Buchner and Staveren, that there is something wanting in the text here, which, however, they do not attempt to supply.]

tum,



tum, ut, quoad ille viveret, ipsi securi esse non possent; interfecto, nihil habituri negotii essent. Postremo, si illi redderet salutem, quærebant, Quibus amicis esset usus? sese enim cum Eumene apud eum non futuros. Hic, cognita concilii voluntate, tamen usque ad septimum diem deliberandi sibi spatium reliquit: tum autem, cum jam vereretur, ne qua seditio exercitus oriretur, vetuit ad eum quenquam admitti, et quotidianum victum amoveri jussit: nam negabat, se ei vim allaturum, qui aliquando fuisset amicus. Hic tamen non amplius, quam triduum, fame fatigatus, cum castra moverentur, insciente Antigono, jugulatus est à custodibus.

CAP. XIII. Sic Eumenes, annorum quinque et quadraginta, cum ab anno vigesimo (uti supra ostendimus) septem annos Philippo apparuisset; et tredecim apud Alexandrum eundem locum obtinuisset; in his uni equitum alæ præfuisse; post autem Alexandri Magni mortem, imperator exercitus duxisset, summosque duces partim repulisset, partim interfecisset; captus, non Antigoni virtute, sed Macedonum perjurio, talem habuit exitum vitæ. In quo quanta fuerit omni-

long as he lived, they could not be secure: if he was slain, they should have no difficulty. At last, if he gave him his life, they asked him, What friends he intended to make use of? for they would not be with him, together with Eumenes. Having known the mind of the council, yet he left himself time to consider, till the seventh day: but then, when he was now afraid, lest any mutiny of the army should arise upon it, he forbade any one to be admitted to him, and ordered his daily food to be withdrawn: for he denied that he would offer violence to him, who had once been his friend. Yet he being tormented with hunger no more than three days, when the camp was removed, was butchered by his guards, Antigonus being ignorant of the matter.

CHAP. XIII. Thus Eumenes, being five and forty years old, after he had attended Philip as his secretary for seven years, from his twentieth year, (as we have shewn above), and had held the same place under Alexander thirteen; in which he commanded only one wing of the cavalry; but after the death of Alexander the Great, had led armies as a general, and had partly defeated, and partly slain the greatest generals; being taken prisoner, not by the good conduct of Antigonus, but the perjury of the Macedonians, had this end of his life. Of whom

um opinio eorum, qui post Alexandrum Magnum reges sunt appellati, ex hoc facillimè potest judicari; quòd nemo, Eumene vivo, rex appellatus est, sed præfectus. Idem, post hujus occasum, statim regium ornatum nomenque sumserunt: neque, quod initio prædicâant, se Alexandri liberis regnum servare, id præstare voluerunt: et, uno propugnatore sublato, quid sentirent, aperuerunt. Hujus sceleris principes fuerunt Antigonus, Ptolemæus, Seleucus, Lyfimachus, Cassander. Antigonus autem Eumenem, mortuum, propinquis ejus sepeliendum tradidit. Hi militari honesto funere, comitante toto exercitu, humaverunt; ossaque ejus in Cappadociam ad matrem, atque uxorem, liberosque ejus, deportanda curârunt.

*how great the opinion of all those was, who were called kings after Alexander the Great, may be very easily judged from hence; that none, whilst Eumenes was alive, was named king, but governor: the same, after his fall, presently took upon them the regal habit and name too; nor would they perform that, which at first they had given out, that they would keep the kingdom for the children of Alexander: and this their only protector being taken off, they discovered what they intended. The leaders in this villany were, Antigonus, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lyfimachus, and Cassander. But Antigonus gave Eumenes, when dead, to his relations to be buried. Those buried him with a military and a handsome funeral, the whole army attending; and took care that his bones were carried into Cappadocia to his mother, wife, and children.*

## XIX.

PHOCION, *Atheniensis.*

## CAP. I.

**P**Hocion, Atheniensis. Etsi sæpe exercitibus præfuit, summosque magistratus cepit; tamen multò ejus notior integritas est vitæ, quàm rei militaris labor: itaque hujus me-

## XIX.

PHOCION, *the Athenian.*

## CHAP. I.

**P**Hocion the Athenian. Though he oftentimes commanded armies, and bore the greatest offices, yet the integrity of his life is much more noted than his performance in military affairs: wherefore there is no account of

Q moria

moriam est nulla, illius autem magna fama; ex quo, cognomine *Bonus* est appellatus. Fuit enim perpetuò pauper, cum divitissimus esse posset propter frequentes delatos honores, potestatesque summas, quæ ei à populo dabantur. Hic cum à rege Philippo munera magnæ pecuniæ repudiaret, legatique hortarentur accipere, simulque admonerent, si ipse his facile careret, liberis tamen suis prospiceret, quibus difficile esset, in summa paupertate, tantam paternam tueri gloriam: His ille, *Si mei similes erunt, idem hic*, inquit, *agellus illos alet, qui me ad hanc dignitatem perduxit: sin dissimiles sunt futuri, nolo meis impensis illorum ali augerique luxuriam.*

CAP. II. <sup>c</sup> Eidem cum propè ad annum octogesimum prospera permansisset fortuna, extremis temporibus magnum in odium pervenit suorum civium. Primò, quòd cum Demade de urbe tradenda Antipatro consenserat: ejusque confi-

*this, but the fame of the other is great; from whence he was called by surname, a The Good. For he was always poor, though he might have been very rich, because of the frequent offices conferred upon him, and the great posts, that were given him by the people. When he refused the present of a great sum of b money from king Philip, and the ambassadors advised him to receive it, and at the same time told him, that tho' he could easily want it, yet he ought to provide for his children, for whom it would be difficult, in the utmost poverty, to maintain the mighty glory of their father: to these he replied, If they be like me, this same little estate will maintain them, which has brought me to this dignity: but if they shall prove unlike me, I would not have their luxury maintained and increased at my charge.*

CHAP. II. After fortune had continued favourable to him, almost to his eightieth year, at the latter end of his time, he fell under the great hatred of his countrymen. First, because he had agreed with Demades about delivering the city to Antipater: and by his advice, Demosthenes

<sup>a</sup> [The Greek name is *χρησός*, the Beneficent, which was conferred upon him in a common hall, *nomine contradicente*, for his great good services to many.]

<sup>b</sup> [The sum was 100 talents of silver, about 8000 pounds English.]

<sup>c</sup> [For *eidem* some read *idem*, that *prospera fortuna* may be taken in the ablative case; and instead of *permansisset*, others have *pervenisset*, had come to him; and *prospera fortuna*, if we do not read *idem*, may be the nominative to either of the verbs.]

lio Demosthenes cum cæteris, qui benè de republica mereri existimabantur, populiscito in exilium erant expulsi. Neque in eo solùm offenderat, quòd patriæ malè consulcrat, sed etiam quòd amicitiaë fidem non præstiterat: namque auctus adjutusque à Demosthene, eum, quem tenebat, ascenderat gradum, cùm adversus Charetem eum subornaret; ab eodem in judiciis, cùm capitis causam diceret, defensus, aliquoties liberatus discesserat; hunc non solùm in periculis non defendit, sed etiam prodidit. Concidit autem maximè uno crimine; quòd cùm apud eum summum esset imperium populi, et Nicanorem, Cassandri præfectum, insidiari Piræeo Atheniensium, à Dercyllo moneretur; idemque postularet, ut provideret, ne comineatibus civitas privaretur: hic, audiente populo, Phocion negavit esse periculum, seque ejus rei obsidem fore pollicitus est; neque ita multò post Nicanor Piræco est potitus: <sup>d</sup> ad quem recuperandum, (sine quo A-

with the rest, who were thought to deserve well of the commonwealth, had been forced into banishment by an act of the commons. Nor had he only offended in this, that he had advised ill for his country, but likewise in that he had not performed the faithful part in friendship: for being supported and assisted by Demosthenes, he had mounted to that height, which he then held, when he suborned him against Chares; being defended by the same in some trials, when he was tried for his life, he had come off several times safe; he not only did not defend him in his dangers, but likewise betrayed him. But he fell chiefly by one crime; because, when the supreme government of the people was in him, and he was told by Dercyllus, that Nicanor, Cassander's governor, had a design upon Pyræus, a port of the Athenians, and the same man desired, that he would take care the city was not deprived of its provisions: here, in the bearing of the people, Phocion denied there was any danger, and promised that he would be security for that matter; and not long after Nicanor got Pyræus: to recover which port (without

<sup>d</sup> [The accurate Bosius and Stavéren, with some others, (who own a difficulty in the words, as they have them placed), make this whole sentence to stand thus: *Ad quem recuperandum, cum populus armatus concurrisset, ille non modò neminem ad arma vocavit, sed ne armatis quidem præesse voluit. Sine quo Athenæ omnino esse non possunt.* But in regard the order in which Messieurs Clarke and Courtin have these words seems to be somewhat plainer, it was therefore thought proper to copy after them here.]



thenæ omnino esse non possunt) cùm populus armatus concurrisset, ille non modò neminem ad arma vocavit, sed ne armatis quidem præesse voluit.

CAP. III. Erant eo tempore Athenis duæ factiones; quarum una populi causam agebat, altera optimatum; in hac erat Phocion et Demetrius Phalereus. Harum utraque Macedonum patrociniis nitebatur: nam populares Polyperchonti favebant; optimates cum Cassandro sentiebant. Interim, à Polyperchonte Cassander Macedoniâ pulsus est. Quo factò, populus superior factus, statim duces adversariæ factionis capitibus damnatos, patriâ pepulit: in his Phocionem et Demetrium Phalereum: deque ea re legatos ad Polyperchontem misit, qui ab eo peterent, ut sua decreta confirmaret. Huc eodem profectus est Phocion; quò ut venit, causam apud Philippum regem verbo, re ipsâ quidem apud Polyperchontem, jussus est dicere; namque is tum regis rebus præerat. Hic cùm ab Agnonide accusatus [esset] quòd Piræum [Nicanori] pro-

*which Athens cannot be at all), when the people run together in arms; he not only called out nobody to arms, but would not so much as command those that were armed.*

CHAP. III. There were at that time two factions at Athens; one of which stood up for the cause of the people; the other that of the quality: in this was Phocion and Demetrius Phalereus. Each of these relied upon the protection of the Macedonians: for the popular party favoured Polyperchon; the gentry sided with Cassander. In the mean time, Cassander was driven out of Macedonia by Polyperchon. Upon which, the people becoming superior, immediately forced out of their country the heads of the opposite party, condemned to the loss of life; among these Phocion and Demetrius Phalereus: and sent ambassadors about that matter to Polyperchon, to desire of him that he would confirm their decrees. To the same went Phocion; whither as soon as he was come, he was obliged to plead his cause before king <sup>e</sup> Philip in pretence, but in reality before Polyperchon; for he at that time directed the king's affairs. Being accused by Agnonides for having betrayed Pyrræus [to Nica-

<sup>e</sup> [To the same person and place, viz. Macedonia, where Polyperchon was at this time.]

<sup>f</sup> [Viz. Philip Aridæus the husband of Eurydice, and bastard-son of that Philip, who was the son of Amyntas.]

didisset,

didisset, ex concilii sententia in custodiam conjectus, Athenas deductus est, ut ibi de eo legibus fieret iudicium.

CAP. IV. Huc ubi perventum est, cum propter ætatem pedibus jam non valeret, vehiculoque portaretur, magni concursus sunt facti; cum alii, reminiscentes veteris famæ, ætatis misererentur; plurimi verò irâ exaceruerentur, propter prodicionis suspicionem Piræei; maximèque, quòd adversus populi commoda in senectute steterat. Qua de re, ne perorandi quidem ei data est facultas, et dicendi causam. Inde iudicio, legitimis quibusdam confectis, damnatus, traditus est undecimviris; quibus ad supplicium, more Atheniensium, publicè damnati tradi solent. Hic cum ad mortem duceretur, obvius ei fuit Emphyletus, quo familiariter fuerat usus: is cum lachrymans dixisset, *O quàm indigna perpeteris, Phocion!* huic ille, *At non inopinata,* inquit; *hunc enim exitum plerique clari viri habuerunt Athenienses.* In hoc tantum fuit odium multitudinis, ut nemo ausus sit eum liber sepelire: itaque à servis sepultus est.

nor], being put under confinement by order of the council, he was carried to Athens, that he might have his trial there according to law.

CHAP. IV. After he was come hither, being now lame of his feet by reason of his age, and was carried in a chariot, great crowds of people gathered about him; whilst some, remembering his former fame, pitied his age; but very many were incensed because of the suspicion of his betraying Pyræus; and chiefly, because he had stood up against the interests of the people in his old age. Wherefore he had not, indeed, leave given him to speak for himself, and plead his cause. Then some formalities of law being performed, he was condemned, and delivered to the undecimviri, to whom, according to the custom of the Athenians, those condemned for offences against the state use to be delivered. When he was led to execution, Emphyletus met him, whom he had been very intimate with: when he said, weeping, *O! what unworthy things do you suffer, Phocion!* To him he replies, *But not unexpected;* for most of the famous men of Athens have had this end. So great was the hatred of the people against him, that no freeman durst bury him: wherefore he was buried by his slaves.

## XX.

## XX.

TIMOLEON, *Corinthius.*TIMOLEON, *the Corinthian.*

## CAP. I.

## CHAP. I.

**T**Imoleon Corinthius. Sine dubio magnus omnium judicio hic vir extitit: namque huic uni contigit, quod nescio an ulli, ut et patriam, in qua erat natus, oppressam à tyranno liberaret; et à Syracusis, quibus auxilio erat missus, inveteratam servitutem depelleret; totamque Siciliam, multos annos bello vexatam, à barbarisque oppressam, suo adventu in pristinum restitueret. Sed in his rebus non simplici fortunâ conflictatus est; et, id quod difficilius putatur, multò sapientiùs tulit secundam, quàm adversam, fortunam: nam cum frater ejus Timophanes, dux à Corinthiis delectus, tyrannidem per<sup>a</sup> milites mercenarios occupâset, particepsque regni posset esse; tantum absuit à societate sceleris, ut antetulerit suorum civium libertatem fratris salutem, et patriæ legibus obtemperare sanctius duxerit, quàm imperare patriæ. Hâc mente,

**T**Imoleon the Corinthian. Without doubt he was a great man in the judgment of every body: for that happened to him alone, which I know not whether ever it happened to any other, that he both delivered his country, in which he was born, oppressed by a tyrant; and removed an inveterate slavery from Syracuse, to the assistance of which he was sent; and restored, by his coming, to its former state, all Sicily, that had been harassed with war many years, and oppressed by barbarians. But in these things he struggled not with one sort of fortune only. And that which is thought much the more difficult, he bore his good fortune much better than his ill fortune: for when his brother Timophanes, being chosen general by the Corinthians, had seized the government, by the means of the mercenary soldiers, and he might have been a partner with him in his kingdom; he was so far from having a share in his villainy, that he preferred the liberty of his countrymen before his brother's life, and esteemed it more upright to obey the laws of his country, than to rule over

<sup>a</sup> [Mercenarii milites are soldiers hired from another country, and 400 such foreigners were in the service and pay of the Corinthians at this time, in the war they had with the Argives and Cleonians.]

per <sup>b</sup> haruspicem, communemque affinem, cui soror ex iisdem parentibus nata, nupta erat, fratrem tyrannum interficiendum curavit. Ipse non modò manus non attulit, sed ne aspicere quidem fraternum sanguinem voluit. Nam dum res conficeretur, procul in <sup>c</sup> præsidio fuit, ne quis factelles posset succurrere. Hoc præclarissimum ejus facinus non pari modo probatum est ab omnibus: nonnulli enim læsam ab eo pietatem putabant, et invidiâ laudem virtutis obtinebant. Mater verò, post id factum, neque domum ad se filium admisit, neque aspexit; quin eum fratricidam impiumque detestans compellaret. Quibus rebus ille adeò est commotus, ut nonnunquam vitæ finem facere voluerit, atque ex ingratorum hominum conspectu morte decedere.

CAP. II. Interim Dione Syracusis interfecto, Dionysius rursus Syracusarum potitus est: cujus adversarii opem à Corinthiis petiverunt, ducemque, quo in bello uterentur, postularunt. Huc Timoleon missus, incredibilifelicitate Di-

his country. *With this mind he took care to have his brother the usurper slain by a soothsayer, and their common relation, to whom their sister, born of the same parents, was married. He not only did not put a hand to the work, but he would not indeed see his brother's blood. For whilst the thing was a-doing, he was at a distance upon the watch, lest any lifeguard-man should succour him. This most noble action of his was not approved of in the like manner by all: for some thought natural affection had been violated by him, and out of envy endeavoured to lessen the praise of his virtue. But his mother, after that fact, did neither permit her son to come home to her, nor would look at him; but cursing him, called him the murderer of his brother, and a wicked villain. With which things he was so much moved, that sometimes he had a mind to put an end to his life, and to withdraw by death out of sight of ungrateful men.*

CHAP. II. *In the mean time, Dion being slain at Syracuse, Dionysius again got Syracuse; whose enemies begged assistance of the Corinthians, and desired a general, whom they might make use of in the war. Timoleon being sent thither, drove Dionysius out of all Sicily, with incredible*

<sup>b</sup> [*Haruspex*, or *aruspex*, (from *haruga*, a sacrifice, or *ara*, an altar, and *specio*, to view), so called, because his chief business was to judge of future events, by consulting the entrails of the sacrifices.]

<sup>c</sup> [*Præsidium*, a garrison, guard; a station or post.]



onyfium totâ Siciliâ depulit : cùm interficere poffet, noluit ; tutòque ut Corinthum perveniret, effecit, quòd utrorumque Dionyfiorum opibus Corinthii sæpe adjuti fuerant : cujus benignitatis memoriam volebat exftare ; eamque præclaram victoriam ducebat, in qua plus effet clementiæ, quàm crudelitatis. Postremò, ut non folùm auribus acciperetur, fed etiam oculis cerneretur, quem, et ex quanto regno ad quam fortunam detrufiffet. Post Dionyfii deceffum, cum Hiceta bellavit, qui adverfatus fuerat Dionyfio ; quem non odio tyrannidis diffeniffe, fed cupiditate, indicio fuit, quòd ipfe, expulfo Dionyfio, imperium dimittere noluit. Hòc fuperato, Timoleon maximas copias Carthaginienfium apud Crimelfum flumen fugavit, ac fatis habere coëgit, fi liceret Africam obtinere, qui jam complures annos poffeffionem Siciliæ tenebant. Cepit etiam Mamercum, Italicum ducem, hominem bellicofum et potentem, qui tyrannos adjutum in Siciliam venerat.

*good fortune : and when he might have killed him, would not, and took care, that he fhould, come fafe to a Corinth, becaufe the Corinthians had been often affifted by the power of both the Dionyfufes ; the memory of which kindnefs he had a mind fhould continue ; and he reckoned that a noble victory, in which there was more of clemency than of cruelty. Finally, that it might not only be heard by the ears, but alfo feen by the eyes, whom, and from how great a kingdom, to what a fortune he had reduced. After the departure of Dionyfius, he made war with Hicetas, who had opposed Dionyfius ; with whom that he did not differ, out of hatred of his tyranny, but out of a defire to reign, this was a proof, that he, after Dionyfius was forced away, would not quit his power. He being conquered, Timoleon overthrew a great army of the Carthaginians at the river Crimelfus, and forced them to be content, if they could but keep Africa, who had now kept poffeffion of Sicily for feveral years. He likewife took Mamercus an Italian general, a warlike and a powerful man, who had come into Sicily to help the tyrants.*

d [It is now called *Coranto*, a city of Sacania in the Morea ; has been a very confiderable city, but now in a very declining ftate. It is in the midft of the ifthmus of Corinth, which is a neck of land that joins Morea to the reft of Greece, being about two leagues broad, between the gulfs of Lepanto and Engia.]

e [In Sicily.]

CAP. III. Quibus rebus confectis, cum propter diurnitatem belli non solum regiones, sed etiam urbes desertas videret; conquisivit, quos potuit, primum Siculos; deinde Corintho arcessivit colonos, quod ab his initio Syracusæ erant conditæ. Civibus veteribus sua restituit, novis bello vacuefactas possessiones divisit; urbium moenia disiecta, fanaque deleta refecit; civitatibus leges libertatemque reddidit; ex maximo bello tantum otium toti insulæ conciliavit, ut hic conditor urbium earum, non illi, qui initio deduxerant, videretur. Arcem Syracusis, quam muniêrat Dionysius ad urbem obsidendam, à fundamentis disjecit; cætera tyrannidis propugnacula demolitus est, deditque operam, ut quàm minimè multa vestigia servitutis manerent. Cum tantis esset opibus, ut etiam invitis imperare posset, tantum autem haberet amorem omnium Siculorum, ut nullo recitante regnum obtineret; maluit se diligi, quàm metui. Itaque, cum primum potuit, imperium deposuit, et privatus Syracusis, quod reliquum vitæ fuit, vixit. Neque verò id imperitè fecit; nam quod cæteri reges imperio potuerunt, hic be-

CHAP. III. *Which things being done, when he saw not only the country, but the cities likewise forsaken, by reason of the long continuance of the war; he sought up first all the Sicilians which he could, and then sent for planters from Corinth, because Syracuse had been built at first by them. He restored to the old inhabitants their own, and divided the possessions that were made void of owners by the war, to the new ones; he repaired the walls of cities that had been thrown down, and temples that had been destroyed; he restored to the cities their laws and liberty; and procured so much quiet to the whole island after a very great war, that he seemed to be the founder of these cities, and not those, who at first had brought the colonies thither. He demolished, to the foundations, the citadel at Syracuse, which Dionysius had fortified to awe the city; he pulled down the other bulwarks of the tyranny, and did his endeavour, that as few marks as possible of the former servitude should remain. Tho' he was in so great power, that he might have ruled over them, even against their wills, and had so much the love of all the Sicilians, that he might have had the sovereignty, nobody refusing him, he chose rather to be beloved than feared. Therefore, as soon as he could, he laid down his commission, and lived a private person at Syracuse the remaining part of his life. Nor did he do that imprudently; for what other kings*  
nevolentiâ

nevolentiâ tenuit. Nullus honos huic defuit ; neque postea Syracusis res ulla gesta est publicè, de qua priùs fit decretum, quàm Timoleontis sententia cognita. Nullius unquam consilium non modò antelatum, sed ne comparatum quidem est : neque id magis benevolentiâ factum est, quàm prudentiâ.

CAP. IV. Hic cùm ætate jam provectus esset, sine ullo morbo lumina oculorum amisit : quam calamitatem ita moderatè tulit, ut neque eum querentem quisquam audiêrit, neque eò minùs privatis publicisque rebus interfuerit. Veniebat autem in theatrum, cùm ibi concilium populi haberetur, propter valetudinem vectus jumentis junctis, atque ita de vehiculo, quæ videbantur, dicebat. Neque hoc illi quisquam tribuebat superbiæ ; nihil enim unquam neque insolens, neque gloriosum, ex ore ejus exiit : qui quidem, cùm suas laudes audiret prædicari, nunquam aliud dixit, quàm se in ea re maximas diis gratias f agere, atque habere,

*could do by their power, he carried by the good will of the people: he wanted no honour: nor was any public thing done after at Syracuse, concerning which a decree was made, before the opinion of Timoleon was known. Not only no man's counsel was ever preferred before his, but not indeed compared with it: nor was that occasioned more by their good will for him, than his prudence.*

CHAP. IV. *When he was now advanced in age, he lost the sight of his eyes without any displeasure to occasion it: which misfortune he bore so meekly, that neither any one heard him complain, neither was he the less engaged in private and public business: but he came into the theatre, when any assembly of the people was held there, riding in a chariot because of his blindness, and so spoke from the chariot what seemed proper. Nor did any one impute this to his pride; for nothing ever, neither insolent nor boasting, came out of his mouth: who truly, when he heard his own praises celebrated, never said any thing else, than that in that case he gave very great thanks to the immortal gods, and still would thank them, that since they had resolved to put Sicily again into a good condition,*  
quòd

f [The author elegantly distinguishes here between *gratias agere et habere*. *Gratias agere, est verbis*, to give thanks by words. *Gratias vel gratiam habere, est animo et voluntate*; to be thankful in one's mind; to have a grateful remembrance of a favour done, and an inclination to show gratitude as occasions offer. And *gratiam referre, vel reddere, est factis*; to thank by deeds; to requite a courtesy or good turn.

quòd cùm Siciliam recreare constituisſent, tum ſe potiſſimùm ducem eſſe voluiſſent. Nihil enim rerum humanarum ſine deorum numine & agi putabat. Itaque ſuæ domi ſacellum αὐτοματίας (*automatias*) conſtituerat, idque ſanctiſſimè colebat.

CAP. V. Ad hanc hominiſ excellentem bonitatem mirabiles acceſſerunt caſus : nam prælia maxima natali die ſuo fecit omnia ; quo factum eſt, ut ejuſdem natalem feſtum haberet univerſa Sicilia. Huic quidam Lameſtius, homo petulans et ingratus, vadimonium cùm vellet imponere, quòd cum illo ſe lege agere diceret ; et complures concurriffent, qui procacitatem hominiſ manibus coercere conarentur : Timoleon oravit omnes, ne id facerent ; namque, id ut Lameſtio, cateriſque liceret,

*they had thought fit, that he, above all others, ſhould be the conductor of that affair. For he thought, that nothing of human affairs was tranſacted without the providence of the gods. Wherefore he had built a temple of <sup>h</sup> fortune in his own houſe, and frequented it moſt religiously.*

CHAP. V. To this excellent goodneſs of the man, wonderful accidents were ſuperadded : for he fought all his greateſt battles upon his birth-day ; whence it came to paſs, that all Sicily kept his birth-day as a feſtival. When one Lameſtius, a ſaucy ungrateful fellow, would needs put bail upon him, becauſe he ſaid he would go to law with him ; and ſeveral people gathered about him, who endeavour'd to correct the ſaucineſs of the fellow by blows : Timoleon begged of them all, that they would not do it ; for that he had undergone the greateſt fatigues and extreme hazards, that that might be lawful for Lameſtius

turn. Thus, in the life of Themiftocles, at the end of chap. 5. we have *pro meritis gratiam poſtea retulit* ; he afterwards made a requital (to the ſhipmaſter) according to his deſerts : for it is ſaid, that Themiftocles gave him a ſum of money.]

& [Some read *geri*.]

<sup>h</sup> Timoleon and the Sicilians ſeem to have worſhipped Fortune under the name of *Automatia*, (*i. e.* the iſſue, event, or ſucceſs, that comes freely, or of itſelf), becauſe fortune was reckoned by the Greeks and Romans to be the miſtreſs and governeſs of all ſucceſſes ; upon which account they erected many temples to her : Yet the judicious poet Juvenal ſpeaks thus of her :

*Nullum numen abeſt, ſi ſit prudentia : ſed te  
Nos facimus, Fortuna, deam, cœloque locamus.*

Fortune is never worſhipp'd by the wiſe :  
But ſhe, by fools ſet up, uſurps the ſkies.



se maximos labores summaque adiisse pericula : hanc enim speciem libertatis esse, si omnibus, quod quisque vellet, legibus experiri liceret. Idem, cum quidam Lamæstii similis, nomine Demænetus, in concione populi, de rebus gestis ejus detrudere cœpisset, ac nonnulla inveheretur in Timoleonem ; dixit, Nunc demum se i voti esse damnatum ; namque hæc à diis immortalibus semper precatum, ut talem libertatem restituerent Syracusanis, in qua cuivis liceret, de quo vellet, impune dicere. Hic cum diem supremum obiisset, publicè à Syracusanis in gymnasio, quod Timoleon-teum appellatur, totâ celebrante Siciliâ, sepultus est.

and others : for this was a visible appearance of freedom, if it was allowed all people to try at law, what every one pleased. The same man, when one like Lamæstius, by name Demænetus, had begun to detract from his actions in an assembly of the people, and inveighed somewhat against Timoleon ; he said, that now, and never till now, he had his wish ; for he had always begged this of the immortal gods, that they would restore such freedom to the Syracusans, in which it might be allowed any one to speak his mind with impunity, of whom he would. When he died, he was buried at the public expence by the Syracusans, in the <sup>k</sup> gymnasium, which is called Timoleon-teum, all Sicily celebrating his funeral.

i [Damnatus voti, bound to perform a vow or promise.]

k [Gymnasium was a place where wrestlers, or other gamesters did exercise their strength, in trying masteries, and other feats of activity. A school, college, or hall in an university. The gymnasia are said to have been first in use at Lacedæmon, but were afterwards very common in all the parts of Greece, and imitated, very much augmented, and improved at Rome. They were not single edifices, but a knot of buildings united, being so capacious as to hold a great many thousands of people at once, and have room enough for philosophers, rhetoricians, and the professors of all other sciences, to read their lectures ; and for wrestlers, dancers, and all others that would, to exercise at the same time, without the least disturbance or interruption. They consisted of a great many parts, the chief of which (with the above) are to be seen described by Dr Potter, in his *Gr. Ant.* vol. I. p. 39, 40. Now, the Sicilians buried Timoleon, according to Plutarch, in the forum, at the public charge, (which was ordinary among the ancients to do to several of their great men, whether rich or poor) ; and, for the great respect they had to him, built such a gymnasium over his sepulchre, and called it Timoleon-teum, from his name.]

## XXI.

## XXI.

## De REGIBUS.

## Of KINGS.

## CAP. I.

## CHAP. I.

**H**Iserè fuerunt Græciæ gentis duces, qui memoriâ digni videbantur, præter reges: namque eos attingere noluimus, quòd omnium res gestæ separatim sunt relatæ: neque tamen hi admodum sunt multi. Lacedæmoniûs autem Agesilaus, nomine, non potestate, fuit rex, sicuti cæteri Spartani. Ex his verò, qui dominatum imperio tenuerunt, excellentissimi fuerunt, (ut nos judicamus), Persarum, Cyrus, et Darius Hystaspis filius; quorum uterque privatus virtute regnum est adeptus. Prior horum apud Massagetæ in prælio cecidit: Darius senectute diem obiit supremum. Tres sunt præterea ejusdem ge-

**T**hese were near all the generals of Greece, that seemed worthy of remembrance, besides the kings: for we would not meddle with them, because the actions of them all are separately related; neither yet are these very many. But the Lacedæmonian Agesilaus was a king in name, not in power, as the rest of the Spartan kings. But of these, who held the government with an absolute sway, the most excellent were (as we judge) Cyrus king of the Persians, and Darius the son of Hystaspes; both of which being private persons, got the kingdom by their good behaviour. The former of these fell in battle amongst the <sup>a</sup> Massageta: Darius died in old age. There are three besides of the same nation, Xerxes, and the two Artaxerxes, <sup>b</sup> Matrochir and Mnemon. The most illu-

<sup>a</sup> [They were a people inhabiting the Eastern part of Scythia in Asia: but, with respect to the death of Cyrus, the account that Xenophon gives seems more probable, viz. That he died peaceably in his bed, and was buried at Paslagarda in Persia, where his monument, according to Strabo, continued to the time of Alexander the Great. See the Reverend Mr Millar's *history of the Jews*, p. 234.]

<sup>b</sup> [This was the son of Xerxes, and by prefixing *Art*, (which, amongst the Persians, signifies great), the name *Artaxerxes* will signify a great lord, governor, or ruler. The Greeks called him *Macrochir*, which the Latins render by *Longimanus* (i. e. longhanded), because of the more than ordinary length of his hands; for they were so long, that, on his standing upright, he could touch his knees with them. The other Artaxerxes (the son of Darius Nothus) was, for his extraordinary memory, called by the Greeks *Mnemon*, that is, *rememberer*.]

neris, Xerxes, & duo Artaxerxes, Macrochir & Mnemon. Xerxi maximè est illustre, quòd maximis post hominum memoriam exercitibus, terrâ marique bellum intulit Græciæ. At Macrochir præcipuam habet laudem amplissimæ pulcherrimæque corporis formæ, quam incredibili ornavit virtute belli; namque illo Persarum nemo fuit manu fortior. Mnemon autem iustitiæ famâ floruit. Nam cum matris suæ scelere amisisset uxorem, tantum indulgit dolori, ut eum pietas vinceret. Ex his, duo eodem nomine, morbo naturæ debitum reddiderunt: tertius ab Artabano præfecto ferro interemptus est.

CAP. II. Ex Macedonum autem genere, duo multò cæteros antecesserunt rerum gestarum gloriâ; Philippus Amyntæ filius, & Alexander magnus. Horum alter Babylone morbo consumptus est: Philippus Ægis à Pausania, cum spectatum ludos iret, juxta theatrum occisus est. Unus Epirotes, Pyrrhus, qui cum populo Romano bellavit. Is cum Argos oppidum oppu-

*strious thing of Xerxes is, that he made war upon Greece by land and sea, with the greatest armies that have been known since we have had any history of mankind. But Macrochir has a mighty commendation in story, for the large and most comely make of his person, which he adorned with an incredible bravery and conduct in war; for none of the Persians were more stout in action than he. But Mnemon flourished in reputation for justice. For, after he had lost his wife by the wicked contrivance of his mother, he so far indulged his sorrow, that his duty to his mother overcame it. Of these, the two of the same name paid their debt to nature by a disease: the third was slain with the sword by Artabanus, a governor of his.*

CHAP. II. But, of the nation of the Macedonians, two much excelled the rest in the glory of their exploits; Philip the son of Amyntas, and Alexander the Great. One of these was taken off by a distemper at Babylon: Philip was slain at Ægæ by Pausanias, as he was going to see the public games, nigh the theatre. There was one of Epirotes, Pyrrhus, who made war with the Roman people. He died of a stroke with a stone, when

<sup>c</sup> [Viz. The two Artaxerxeses, Macrochir and Mnemon.]

<sup>d</sup> [Viz. Xerxes.]

<sup>e</sup> [Ægæ was for some time the royal city of Macedonia, but Pella became so afterwards.]

gnaret in Peloponneſo, lapide iectus interiit. Unuſitem Siculus, Dionyſius prior: nam et manu fortis, et belli peritus fuit; et, id quod in tyranno non facile reperitur, minimè libidinoſus, non luxurioſus, non avarus; nullius rei denique cupidus, niſi ſingularis perpetuæ imperii, ob eamque rem crudelis: nam dum id ſtudit munire, nullius pepercit vitæ, quem ejus inſidiatorem putaret. Hic, cùm virtutet tyrannidem ſibi peperiffet, magnâ retinuit felicitate, majorque annos ſexaginta natus, deceſſit florente regno: neque, in tam multis annis, cujuſquam ex ſua ſtirpe funus vidit, cùm ex tribus uxoribus liberos procreaſſet, multique ei nati eſſent nepotes.

CAP. III. Fuerunt præterea magni reges ex amicis Alexandri Magni, qui, poſt obitum ejus, imperia ceperunt: in his, Antigonus, & hujus filius Demetrius; Lyſimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemæus. Ex his Antigonus, cùm adverſus Seleucum Lyſimachumque dimicaret, in prælio occiſus eſt. Pari letho affectus eſt Lyſimachus à Seleuco: nam, ſocietate diſſolutâ, bellum inter ſe geſſerunt. At Demetrius, cùm filiam ſuam Seleuco in matrimonium dediſſet, neque eo

he was attacking the town of Argos in Peloponneſus. There was one likewiſe of Sicily, Dionyſius the Firſt: for he was both brave in action, and ſkilful in war; and, that which is not eaſily found in a tyrant, he was not at all luſtful, not luxurious, not covetous; finally, very deſirous of nothing but of arbitrary power, and for life, and for that reaſon cruel: for whiſt he endeavoured to ſecure that, he ſpared no man's life, whom he thought to be in a plot againſt it. He, after he had got the government by his able management, kept it with great good fortune; and died above ſixty years of age, in a flouriſhing kingdom: nor, in ſo many years, did he ſee the funeral of any of his iſſue, tho' he had children by three wives, and had many grandſons born to him.

CHAP. III. There were beſides, great kings of the friends of Alexander the Great, who, after his death, ſeized the government: amongſt theſe, Antigonus, and his ſon Demetrius; Lyſimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemey. Of theſe, Antigonus was ſlain in a battle, when he fought againſt Seleucus and Lyſimachus. Lyſimachus was taken off with the like death by Seleucus: for, upon a breach of the alliance, they carried on a war together. But Demetrius, after he had given his daughter to Seleucus in marriage, and the alliance betwixt them was never the more



magis fida inter eos amicitia manere potuisset; captus bello, in custodia socer generi periit morbo: neque ita multo post, Seleucus à Ptolemæo Cerauno, dolo interfectus est; quem, ille à patre expulsum Alexandria, alienarum opum indigentem, receperat. Ipse autem Ptolemæus, cum vivus filio regnum tradidisset, ab illo eodem vitâ privatus dicitur. De quibus quoniam satis dictum putamus, non incommodum videtur, non præterire Hamilcarem et Hannibalem; quos et animi magnitudine, et calliditate, omnes in Africa natos præstitisse constat.

*faithfully observed for that; the father-in-law being taken in war, died of a disease in custody of his son-in-law: and not long after, Seleucus was treacherously slain by Ptolemy Ceraunus<sup>f</sup>; whom, when driven by his own father out of Alexandria, and in need of others relief, he had entertained. But Ptolemy having delivered, whilst living &, his kingdom to his son, is said to have been deprived of his life by that same son. Concerning whom because we think enough has been said, it does not seem improper, not to pass by Hamilcar and Hannibal; who, 'tis certain, did excel all that were born in Africa, both in greatness of mind, and subtilty<sup>h</sup>.*

<sup>f</sup> [He was called *Ceraunus* (i. e. the thunderer), because in war he, as it were, thundered.]

<sup>g</sup> [The otherwise accurate author seems to be mistaken here, and to have blended this part of the history of Ptolemy Soter (the son of Lagus), and Ptolemy Euergetes his grandson, both kings of Egypt after the death of Alexander the Great. For Ptolemy Soter, after he had reigned about 35, or, as others say, 39 years, resigned the government to his youngest son Ptolemy Philadelphus, having banished his elder son Ptolemy Ceraunus, as Nepos says; or, as others have it, Ceraunus not being able to bear the preference of his younger brother before him, fled first to Lysimachus, and afterwards to Seleucus, who received him with great kindness. And Ptolemy Euergetes, after reigning 25 years, was put to death by his son Ptolemy Philopater, so called by antiphrasis for his barbarity to his father; whereas Ptolemy Ceraunus was never king of Egypt, but of Macedonia, and was slain by a company of Gauls, who had invaded that kingdom under the command of one Belgus. See, amongst others, *Ductor Historicus*, vol. I. p. 309. & 358, and the Rev. Mr Millar of Paisley his *history of the Jews*, p. 320. & 322.]

<sup>h</sup> [Calliditas signifies also prudence, policy, circumspection.]

## XXII.

## XXII.

## HAMILCAR.

## HAMILCAR.

## CAP. I.

## CHAP. I.

**H**amilcar, Hannibalis filius, cognomine Barcas, Carthaginienſis, primo Punico bello, ſed temporibus extremis, admodum adoleſcentulus, in Sicilia præſſe cœpit exercitui. Cùm ante ejus adventum, et mari et terrâ malè res gererentur Carthaginiënſium; ipſe ubi aſſuit, nunquam hoſti ceſſit, neque locum nocendi dedit; ſæpeque è contrario, occaſione datâ, laceſſivit, ſemperque ſuperior diſceſſit. Quo factò, cùm penè omnia in Sicilia Pœni amiſſent, ille Erycem ſic defendit, ut bellum eo loco geitum non videretur. Interim, Carthaginiënſes claſſe apud inſulas Ægates à C. Lutatïo Conſule Romanorum ſuperati, ſtatuērunt belli finem facere, eamque rem

**H**amilcar the ſon of Hannibal, by ſurname Barcas, the Carthaginian, begun, when very young, to command an army in Sicily, in the firſt<sup>a</sup> Carthaginian war, but about the latter end of it. And whereas, before his coming there, the affairs of the Carthaginians were ill managed, both by ſea and land; when he came there, he never ſhined before the enemy, nor gave them any opportunity of hurting him; and oftentimes, on the contrary, when an opportunity offered, he attacked the enemy, and always came off ſuperior. Upon which, tho' the Carthaginians had almoſt loſt all in Sicily, he ſo defended<sup>b</sup> Eryx, that the war did not ſeem to have been carried on at all in that place. In the mean time, the Carthaginians being routed by ſea, at the iſlands called<sup>c</sup> Ægates, by Caius Lutatius the conſul of the Romans, reſolved to make an end of the war, and

<sup>a</sup> [The Carthaginians, were by ſynecdoche called Pœni, (a people of Africa near Carthage), the ſame as Phœni, becauſe they were deſcended from the Phœnicians, a people of Aſia: hence Pœnicus, for which authors ſometimes uſe Pœnicus, of, or belonging to Carthage, or Libya, Pœnic.]

<sup>b</sup> [This is reckoned the higheſt mountain of Sicily, (after Ætna); having a town built upon it, and a temple on the top of it, ſacred to Venus. Some call it now Monte S. Juliano.]

<sup>c</sup> [The Ægates, (called by Polybius Ægyſæ), are a knot of ſmall iſlands in the Mediterranean ſea, overagainſt the weſtern point of Sicily, upon the coaſt of Africa; they are now called, according to Bo-hun, Goſham.]

arbitrio permiserunt Hamilcaris. Ille etsi flagrabat bellandi cupiditate, tamen paci serviendum putavit, quòd patriam, exhaustam sumptibus, diutius calamitatem belli ferre non posse intelligebat: sed ita, ut statim mente agita- ret, si paulum modò res essent refectæ, bellum renovare, Romanosque armis persequi, donicum aut certè vicissent, aut victi manus dedissent. Hòc consilio pacem conciliavit; in qua tanta fuit ferocia, ut cum Catulus negaret, se bellum compositurum, nisi ille cum suis, qui Erycem tenuerunt, armis relictis, Sicilià decederent; succumbente patrià, ipse periturum se potius dixerit, quàm cum tanto flagitio domum rediret: non enim suæ esse virtutis, arma à patria accepta adversus hostes, adversariis tradere. Hujus pertinaciæ cessit Catulus.

CAP. II. At ille, ut Carthaginem venit, multò ali-

*lest that matter to the discretion of Hamilcar. He, altho' he burnt with desire of carrying on the war, yet thought it necessary to endeavour after peace, because he was sensible, that his country, being exhausted by the charges, was not able to bear the distress of the war any longer; but so, that he immediately purposed in his mind, if their affairs should be but a little recruited, to renew the war, and to fall upon the Romans with arms, until they should either manifestly conquer, or, being conquered, give up the cause. With this design he made a peace, in which so great was his resolution, that when Catulus denied that he would agree upon ending the war, unless he with his men, that held Eryx, quitting their arms, left Sicily; tho' his country was sinking, he said, he would perish rather than return home with so great a scandal; for it was not suitable to his conduct to deliver up his arms, received from his country against its enemies, to his adversaries. Catulus yielded to his resolution.*

CHAP. II. But he, as soon as he came to <sup>e</sup> Carthage, found the  
ter,

<sup>d</sup> [Certè, or certò vincere, imports such undoubted victory, as that the enemies themselves behoved to acknowledge it.]

<sup>e</sup> [Carthage, Rome's great rival, was once the most famous and potent city in Africa; it was built by a colony of the Phœnicians, and, according to the learned Vossius, was in its greatest dignity, even before the Trojan war; it was at last razed by Scipio Æmilianus, after it had sustained three sharp wars with Rome: yet it was made a Roman colony, and rebuilt by the Romans about 25 years after it had been

ter, ac sperabat, rempublicam se habentem cognovit. Namque diuturnitate externi mali tantum exarsit intestinum bellum, ut nunquam pari periculo fuerit Carthago, nisi cum deleta est. Primò, mercenarii milites, qui adversus Romanos fuerant, desciverunt; quorum numerus erat viginti millium: hi totam abalienarunt Africam, ipsam Carthaginem oppugnarunt. Quibus malis ad eò sunt Pœni perterriti, ut auxilia etiam à Romanis petiverint, eaque impetraverint. Sed extremò, cum propè jam ad desperationem pervenissent, Hamilcarem imperatorem fecerunt: is non solum hostes à muris Carthaginis removit, cum amplius centum millia facta essent armatorum; sed etiam eò compulit, ut locorum angustiis clausi, plures fame, quàm ferro, interirent. Omnia oppida abalienata, in his Uticam atque Hipponem, valentissima totius Africæ, restituit patriæ. Neque eo fuit con-

*commonwealth to be quite otherwise than he expected. For so great a civil war had broke out, occasioned by the long continuance of the foreign war, that Carthage was never in the like danger, but when it was destroyed. First of all, the foreign soldiers in their pay, who had been employed against the Romans, revolted; whose number was twenty thousand: these drew along with them all Africa, and attacked Carthage itself. With which misfortunes the Carthaginians were so terrified, that they begged assistance even from the Romans; and obtained it. But at last, when they were come now almost to despair, they made Hamilcar their general: he not only drove the enemies from the walls of Carthage, though they were become above an hundred thousand armed men; but likewise reduced them to that, that being inclosed within a narrow place, more of them died by famine, than by the sword. He restored to his country all the revolted towns, and amongst these, <sup>f</sup> Utica and <sup>g</sup> Hippo, the strongest of all Africa. Nor was he content with that, but likewise extended*

been ruined. After this it flourished greatly a long time, till about A. D. 1269, the Saracens totally ruined it; and out of its ruins, about three leagues from it, was built Tunis, a city on the coast of Barbary, upon the Mediterranean sea.]

<sup>f</sup> [Utica (now Biserta or Bensert) was the next famous city to Carthage in Africa, remarkable for the suicide of Cato, who is from hence called Cato Uticensis; it stands in the kingdom of Tunis in Barbary.]

<sup>g</sup> [Hippo (now Bone) is a city of Africa in the kingdom of Algiers in Barbary, and famous for being the birth-place of St Augustine.]

tentus,



tentus, sed etiam fines imperii propagavit; totâ Africâ tantum otium reddidit, ut nullum in ea bellum videretur multis annis fuisse.

CAP. III. Rebus his exsententia peractis, sidenti animo, atque infesto Romanis, quò faciliùs causam bellandi reperiret, effecit, ut imperator cum exercitu in Hispaniam mitteretur; eoque secum duxit filium Hannibalem, annorum novem. Erat præterea cum eo adolescens illustris et formosus, Hasdrubal; quem nonnulli diligere turpiùs, quàm par erat, ab Hamilcare, loquebantur: non enim maledici tanto viro deesse poterant. Quo factum est, ut à præfecto morum Hasdrubal cum eo vetaretur esse. Huic ille filiam suam in matrimonium dedit, quòd moribus eorum non poterat interdici focero generi. De hoc ideo mentionem fecimus, quòd, Hamilcare occiso, ille exercitui præfuit, resque magnas gessit: et princeps largitione vetustos pervertit mores Carthaginiensium; ejusdemque post mortem, Hannibal ab exercitu accepit imperium.

CAP. IV. At Hamilcar, posteaquam mare transiit, in Hispaniamque venit, ma-

*the bounds of their empire; and restored such a peace throughout all Africa, that there seemed not to have been any war in it for many years.*

CHAP. III. *These things being performed according to his wish, with a mind full of expectations, and incensed against the Romans, that he might the more easily find out a pretence for making war, he procured to be sent general with an army into Spain; and thither he carried along with him his son Hannibal, nine years old. There was besides with him an illustrious and beautiful youth, Hasdrubal, who, some said, was beloved more scandalously than was fitting, by Hamilcar: for backbiters could not be wanting to so great a man. From whence it was, that Hasdrubal was forbid to be with him by the overseer of the public manners. He gave him his daughter in marriage, because, according to their fashions, a son-in-law could not be discharged the company of his father-in-law. We have therefore made mention of him, because, when Hamilcar was slain, he commanded the army, and performed great things: and first of all, corrupted the ancient manners of the Carthaginians, by his distributing money to the troops; and after his death, Hannibal received the command from the army.*

CHAP. IV. *But Hamilcar, after he passed the sea, and was come into Spain, performed great*  
gnas

gnas res secundâ gessit fortunâ ; maximas bellicosissimasque gentes subegit : equis, armis, viris, pecuniâ, totam locupletavit Africam. Hic cum in Italiam bellum inferre meditaretur, nono anno, postquam in Hispaniam venerat, in prælio pugnans adversus Vettones occisus est. Hujus perpetuum odium erga Romanos maximè concitâsse videtur secundum bellum Punicum : namque Hannibal, filius ejus, assiduis patris obtestationibus eò est perductus, ut interire, quàm Romanos non ex- periri, mallet.

things with good success: he subdued very great and most warlike nations; he enriched all Africa with horses, arms, men, and money. Whilst he was intending to carry the war into Italy, he was slain fighting in a battle against the Vettones<sup>h</sup>, in the ninth year after he came into Spain. His constant hatred of the Romans seems chiefly to have raised the second Carthaginian war: for Hannibal his son was brought to that, by the perpetual instances of his father, that he chose rather to perish, than not make trial of the Romans.

## XXIII.

## HANNIBAL.

## CAP. I.

**H**Annibal, Hamilcaris filius, Carthaginensis. Si verum est, quod nemo dubitat, ut populus Romanus omnes gentes virtute

## XXIII.

## HANNIBAL.

## CHAP. I.

**H**Annibal, the son of Hamilcar, the Carthaginian. If it be true, which no body doubts,<sup>a</sup> that the Roman people have excelled all nations in bravery

<sup>h</sup> [A people of Spain, about the river Tagus or Taio.]

<sup>a</sup> Our author has here expressed himself after a very unusual manner, if the reading be good. When a sentence, that is a positive affirmation or negation, is the subject or object of a verb, i. e. answers the question, What? before or after it, the accusative case and infinitive mood are commonly used; but sometimes, though very rarely, *quod* with the nominative, and indicative, or subjunctive. There are some of opinion, that *quod* and *ut* have, in this period, changed places, and that we ought to read thus: *Si verum est, ut nemo dubitat, quod*.

superârit, non est inficiandum, Hannibalem tanto præstitisse cæteros imperatores prudentiâ, quanto populus Romanus antecedit fortitudine cunctas nationes : nam quotiescunque cum eo congressus est in Italia, semper discessit superior. Quod nisi domi civium suorum invidiâ debilitatus esset, Romanos <sup>d</sup> videtur superare potuisse. Sed multorum obtrectatio devicit unius virtutem. Hic autem, velut hæreditate relictum, odium paternum erga Romanos sic confirmavit, ut prius animam, quam id, deposuerit : qui quidem cum patriâ pulsus esset, et alienarum opum indigeret, nunquam destiterit animo bellare cum Romanis.

CAP. II. Nam, ut omit-  
tam Philippum, quem, ab-  
sens hostem reddidit Ro-  
manis ; omnium his tem-

and conduct, it is not to be denied, that Hannibal as much exceeded other commanders in prudence, as the Roman people exceeds all nations in valour <sup>b</sup> for as oft as he engaged with them in Italy <sup>c</sup>, he always came off superior. And unless he had been weakened by the envy of his countrymen at home, he seems to have been capable of conquering the Romans. But the detraction of many prevailed against the great abilities of one. Now, he so firmly fixed in his mind his father's hatred of the Romans, lest him, as it were, by inheritance, that he laid down his life before that : who, even when he was banished his country, and stood in need of other people's relief, never ceased in his mind to make war with the Romans.

CHAP. II. For, to say nothing of Philip <sup>e</sup>, whom, tho' at a distance from him, he made an enemy to the Romans ; <sup>f</sup> Antiochus was poribus

<sup>b</sup> I wonder our author should affirm a thing so notoriously false, as is plain from all other accounts. See Livy and Plutarch.

<sup>c</sup> [Italy is the most celebrated country in all Europe, and was the mistress and civilizer of all the rest. It is washed on all sides by the sea, but to the north, where it is bounded by the Alps, which separate it from Germany, and north-west from France, and north-east from Turkey. It is reckoned about 250 leagues long, and in breadth in some places to be 45 leagues, in others 25, and in others less ; in shape it resembles a man's leg.]

<sup>d</sup> [Some read *videretur*, might have seemed.]

<sup>e</sup> [This was Philip IV. king of Macedon, a very martial prince, aiming at nothing less than becoming universal monarch of the world, and was for pushing his conquests to the very walls of Rome ; yet was beat several times by the Romans, and forced at last to make a peace with them.]

<sup>f</sup> [This Antiochus was king of Syria, and of a great deal of Asia :  
he

poribus potentissimus rex Antiochus fuit. Hunc tantâ cupiditate incendit bellandi, ut usque à rubromari arma conatus sit inferre Italiæ: ad quem cum legati venissent Romani, qui de ejus voluntate explorarent, darentque operam consiliis clandestinis, ut Hannibalem in suspicionem regi adducerent, tanquam, ab ipsis corruptum, alia atque antea sentire; neque id frustra fecissent; idque Hannibal comperisset, seque ab interioribus consiliis segregari vidisset: tempore dato, adiit ad regem, eique cum multa de fide sua, et odio in Romanos commemorasset, hoc adjunxit: *Pater* (inquit) *meus Hamilcar, puerulo me, utpote non amplius novem annos nato, in Hispaniam imperator proficiscens,* <sup>b</sup> *Car-*

*the most powerful prince of all in those times. . He fired him with so strong a passion for making war, that he endeavoured to bring his arms upon Italy, even as far as from the Red sea &: to whom when the Roman ambassadors were come, to make a discovery of his intention, and did their endeavour, by clandestine contrivances, to bring Hannibal in suspicion with the king, as if, being bribed by them, he had other sentiments than formerly; and had not done that in vain; and Hannibal perceived it, and saw that he was secluded from his secret counsels: an opportunity being given him, he went to the king; and after he had said much to him about his faithfulness to him, and his hatred of the Romans, he added this: My father Hamilcar, says he, when I was a little boy, as being no more than nine years old, going general into Spain, offered sacrifices at Carthage to Jupiter*

he was surnamed The Great, on account of his vast conquests; but was always unsuccessful in his wars against the Romans; so that he was obliged at last to sue for a peace.]

<sup>g</sup> [The Red sea, or Arabian Gulf, is that branch of the Eastern or Indian ocean, that runs up (from south to north) between Arabia on the east, and Egypt and the coast of Abex on the west, extending from the streights of Babelmandel to the isthmus of Suez, being about 370 leagues long, and about 80 broad. Towards the north, it is not above 8 or 9 miles over, as Mr Thevenot observes, who travelled on its shores five days. There are different opinions about the name of it, some saying it should be called *mare Erythreum*, the Erythrean sea, from one Erythra, that was a king thereabouts: but others think, that it should be still called the *Red sea*, because the children of Esau, who is also Edom, possessed the coast near it; for *Edom* signifies *red*: some call it now the sea of *Clusona*, i. e. *drowning*, because Pharaoh and his host were drowned in it.]

<sup>h</sup> [Others have the comma at *Carthagine*, (not at *proficiscens*), and make the sense to be, *going from Carthage*.]

*thagine*



*thagine Jovi Optimo Maximo hostias immolavit : quæ divina res dum conficiebatur, quæsit à me, Vellemne secum in castra proficisci ? Id cum libenter accepissem, atque ab eo petere cepissem, Ne dubitaret ducere ; tum ille, Faciam, inquit, si fidem mihi, quam postulo, dedcris. Simul ad aram adduxit, apud quam sacrificare instituerat ; eamque, cæteris remotis, tenentem, jurare jussit, Nunquam me in amicitia cum Romanis fore. Id ego jurandum patri datum, usque ad hanc diem ita conservavi, ut nemini dubium esse debeat, quin reliquo tempore eadem mente sum futurus. Quare, si quid amicè de Romanis cogitabis, non imprudenter feceris, si me celaris : cum quidem bellum parabis, teipsum frustraberis, si non me in co principem posueris.*

CAP. III. Hac igitur <sup>k</sup> ætate cum patre in Hispaniam profectus est : cujus post obitum, Hasdrubale imperatore successore, equitatu omni præfuit. Hæc quoque interfecto, exercitus summam imperii ad eum detulit : id Carthaginem delatum, publicè comproba-

the best and the greatest ; which divine worship whilst it was performing, he inquired of me, If I would go along with him to the camp ? As I willingly accepted of that, and begun to beg of him that he would not scruple to carry me ; upon that he says, I will do it, if you will give me the promise which I demand of you. And at the same time he brought me to the altar, at which he had begun to sacrifice ; and commanded me, the rest being ordered away, holding that, to swear, That I would never be at friendship with the Romans. I have so kept that oath I swore to my father, all along till this day, that it ought to be doubt with no body, but that I shall be of the same mind for the time to come. Wherefore, if you design any thing friendly as to the Romans, you will not do unwisely, if you conceal it from me ; but if, indeed, you will prepare for war, you will deceive yourself, if you do not place me the foremost in that affair.

CHAP. III. Wherefore he went at this age with his father into Spain : after whose death, Hasdrubal being put in his room as general, he commanded all the horse. He too being slain, the army gave the chief command to him ; which being carried to Carthage, was approved of by the government. Thus Hannibal, re-

<sup>1</sup> These are epithets frequently applied by Heathen authors to their god Jupiter.

<sup>k</sup> [Some insert here *quæ diximus.*]

tum est. Sic Hannibal minor quinque et viginti annis natus, imperator factus, proximo triennio omnes gentes Hispaniæ bello subegit. Saguntum, foederatam civitatem, vi expugnavit: tres exercitus maximos comparavit: ex his unum in Africam misit, alterum cum Hasdrubale fratre in Hispania reliquit, tertium in Italiam secum duxit: saltum Pyrenæum transiit: quacun- que iter fecit, cum omnibus incolis conflavit: neminem, nisi victum, dimisit. Ad Alpes posteaquam venit, quæ Italiam à ° Gal-

ing made general when less than five and twenty years old, in the following three years subdued all the nations of Spain in war. He took by force <sup>1</sup> Saguntum, a city in alliance with the Romans: he raised three very great armies: he sent one of these into Africa; another he left with Hasdrubal his brother, in Spain; the third he led along with himself into Italy. He passed the <sup>m</sup> Pyrenean forest: wheresoever he made his march, he engaged with all the inhabitants of the country: he sent none away any otherwise than conquered. After he came to the <sup>n</sup> Alpes, which divide Italy from Gaul, which  
lia

<sup>1</sup> [Saguntum was anciently where the city Morviedro is now, viz. in Valentia in Spain. Pliny says, it was built 200 years before the destruction of Troy; and it was a very faithful ally to the Romans: for when they had held out against Hannibal, and were reduced to skeletons by famine, insomuch that *Saguntina fames* (extreme famine) became proverbial, rather than submit, they chose to burn themselves, wives and children; which was the cause of the second Punic war.]

<sup>m</sup> The Pyrenean Saltus is a great ridge of mountains betwixt France and Spain, reaching from the bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean. Our author calls it by the name of Saltus, because it was then almost wholly covered with wood.

<sup>n</sup> [The Alpes are a great chain of mountains that divide Italy from France, (as Nepos says here), and Germany too, extending from Monaco in the republic of Genoa, to the gulf of Carnaro in the Venetian gulf; they run through many countries, are very remarkable for their length and height, and are divided by geographers into eleven parts; and that part which Hannibal passed, was from him called *Alpes Pœninae*, (i. e. the Alpes which Pœnus or the Carthaginian crossed); and is probably the same with that part now called *Alpes Pennine*, which runs through the country of Valais, between the mountains Great St Bernard and St Gothard. See the *new geographical dictionary*.]

<sup>o</sup> *Gallia*, Gaul, now France, one of the best countries of Europe, is bounded on the east by Germany, Switzerland, and the duchy of Savoy; west, by the British sea and the bay of Biscay; north, by the English channel and the Netherlands; and south, by the Mediterranean sea and the Pyrenees, which separate it from Spain. It is in length, from

S

the

lia sejungunt, quas nemo unquam cum exercitu ante eum, præter Herculem Graium, transierat; (quo factò is hodie saltus Graius appellatur), Alpico conantes prohibere transitum concidit: loca patefecit, itinera muniit, effecitque, ut eâ elephanti ornati ire possent, quâ antea unus homo inermis vix poterat repere. Hâc copias traduxit, in Italiamque pervenit.

CAP. IV. Confluxerat apud Rhodanum cum P. Cornelio Scipione consule, eumque pepulerat. Cum hoc eodem <sup>q</sup> de Claustidio apud Padum decernit; fau-

*no body had ever passed with an army before him, besides Hercules the Grecian; (from which fact that forest is called at this day the Grecian forest), he cut to pieces the Alpians, endeavouring to hinder his passage: he opened the places, made roads, and brought it to pass, that a harnessed elephant might go that way, where before a single man unarmed could scarce creep. This way he drew over his troops, and came into Italy.*

CHAP. IV. *He had engaged at the <sup>p</sup> Rhone with Publius Cornelius Scipio the consul, and had defeated him. He engages with the same near the <sup>r</sup> Po, where they disputed for <sup>†</sup> Claustidium; he sends*  
cium

the west parts of Brittany to the east parts of Provence, about 220 leagues, and from Calais to Toulon about 187. [See the modern geographers for a fuller description; and, for its ancient divisions, Mr Stirling's *geographical index to Eutropius*.]

<sup>p</sup> Our author was, in all likelihood, mistaken here; for Livy, a much better writer in all respects, gives a different account, *i. e.* that Scipio designed to have engaged him; but finding Hannibal gone from his camp, altered his intention, and put his men on board his ships to return to Italy, judging it more easy and safe for him to engage Hannibal as he came down from the Alpes upon Italy, which accordingly he did (as in the next sentence) near the Po; and this is said to have been the first engagement Scipio had with Hannibal. Thus Livy, Polybius, Florus, &c. [As for the Rosne, it is a very rapid river, and one of the largest of France, arising out of the mountain La Fourche, one of the Alpes, runs by Geneva westward through France, and falls into the Mediterranean sea with many mouths.]

<sup>q</sup> [Some copies want the preposition *de* here, such as Bosius's and Staveren's; but Puteanus, Courtin, Stubelius, and Essenius, have it.]

<sup>r</sup> [The Po (called *Eridanus* by Ovid) is the chief river of Italy, and comes from Viso a noted mountain of the Alpes, runs through several countries, and falls into the gulf of Venice with four large mouths, besides many lesser ones.]

<sup>†</sup> [*Claustidium* (now Chiasstezo, or Chiassteggio, according to Cellarius) is a city of Liguria (or the republic of Genoa) in Italy, between Placentia and Tortona. The Romans had laid up in *Claustidium* a great quantity

cium inde ac fugatum dimittit. Tertiò idem Scipio, cum collega Tiberio Longo, apud Trebiam, adversus eum venit. Cum his manum conferuit, utrosque profligavit. Inde per Ligures Appenninum transit, petens Etruriam. Hoc itinere adeò gravi morbo afficitur oculorum, ut postea nunquam dextro æquè benè usus sit. Quà valetudine cum etiam nunc premere-tur, lecticâque ferretur, C. Flaminius consulem apud Transimenum cum exercitu insidiis circumventum, occidit: neque multò post C. Centenium prætorem, cum delecta manu saltus occupantem. Hinc in Apuliam pervenit: ibi obviam ei venerunt duo consules, C. Terentius Varro, et L. Paulus Æmilius: utriusque ex-

him away from thence wounded and routed. The same Scipio, with his colleague Tiberius Longus, came against him a third time, at <sup>t</sup> Trebia. He engaged them, and defeated them both. After that he passes the <sup>u</sup> Appennine mountain through the country of the <sup>x</sup> Ligurians, marching for <sup>y</sup> Etruria. In this march he was afflicted with such a violent dislemper in his eyes, that he never had the use of his right eye so well after. With which malady though he was even then troubled, and carried in a chair, he killed C. Flaminius the consul, at the <sup>z</sup> Trasimene lake, trepanned with his army by an ambush: and not long after C. Centenius the prætor, seizing upon the forests with a choice body of troops. After that he came into <sup>a</sup> Apulia. There the two consuls, C. Terentius Varro, and L. Paulus Emilius, met him: he

quantity of corn, which Hannibal's army standing in great need of, resolved to fight for it; which accordingly they did, and gained it. And in this battle the Roman general Publius Cornelius (the first of that noble family that was surnamed *Scipio*, i. e. a staff, because of his leading about his father when blind) was not only wounded, but in great danger of being slain or taken, had not his young son (afterwards the great *Scipio Africanus*, who conquered Hannibal) seasonably interposed and rescued him.]

<sup>t</sup> A river falling into the Po on the south side.

<sup>u</sup> The Appennine is a mountain that runs quite through the middle of Italy.

<sup>x</sup> The Ligurians were a people of Italy, bordering on France, betwixt the sea and the Po. Liguria is now called *Riviera di Genova*.

<sup>y</sup> Etruria is a country below Liguria in Italy, and now called *Tuscany*.

<sup>z</sup> The Trasimene lake is in Etruria, and is now called *Lago di Perugia*.

<sup>a</sup> A country in the south part of Italy, [and was one of the old divisions of the kingdom of Naples; it contained the Capitanate, *Terra di Otranto*, and *Terra di Bari*.]



exercitus uno prælio fugavit : L. Paulum consulem occidit, et aliquot præterea consulares; in his Cn. Servilium Geminum, qui anno superiore fuerat consul.

CAP. V. Hac pugna pugnata, Romam profectus, nullo resistente, in propinquis urbis montibus moratus est. Cum aliquot ibi dies castra habuisset, et revertetur Capuam, Q. Fabius Maximus, Dictator Romanus, in agro Falerno ei se objecit. § Hinc, clausus locorum angustis, noctu sine ullo detrimento exercitus se expedit : Fabio callidissimo imperatori verba dedit : namque obducta nocte, sarmenta in cornibus juvencorum deligata

routed both their armies in one battle : he slew L. Paulus the consul, and some consular gentlemen besides ; amongst these Cn. Servilius Geminus, who had been consul the year before.

CHAP. V. After this battle was fought, he marched to <sup>c</sup> Rome, no body resisting him, and made a halt in the mountains, nigh the city. When he had kept his camp there for some days, and was returning to <sup>d</sup> Capua, Q. Fabius Maximus, the Roman <sup>e</sup> dictator, threw himself in his way in the territory of <sup>f</sup> Falernum. Tho' inclosed in a narrow place, he extricated himself thence in the night-time, without any diminution of his army : he put a trick upon that most crafty commander Fabius : for after night was come on, he set fire to some

<sup>b</sup> [That is, such as had been formerly consuls.]

<sup>c</sup> [Rome was once the capital city of the world, still a very considerable one, and the metropolis of all Italy, in the Papacy, and province called the *Campania* of Rome. It was built by Romulus and Remus about 750 years before the birth of Christ, and stands on both sides the river Tiber, four leagues from the mouth of it in the Mediterranean sea ; they say it is now four leagues and an half in circuit, very populous, full of magnificent buildings, as well ancient as modern ; and is about 400 miles from Vienna in Germany, 680 from Paris in France, 750 from Amsterdam in Holland, and 840 from London in England.]

<sup>d</sup> A very great city of Campania, a country towards the bottom of Italy.

<sup>e</sup> The dictator was an extraordinary officer, nominated in times of danger, and invested with very great power, almost absolute, but confined within the space of six months. He had an officer under him, called master of the horse, because in the day of battle he commanded the horse, as the dictator did the foot.

<sup>f</sup> [A hill of *Terra di Laverno* in Naples, formerly noted for its excellent wine ; some call it now *Monte Massico*.]

§ [Some have this part of the sentence thus : *Hic, clausis locorum angustis*, Here, though the narrow passages (about his camp) were shut up.]

incendit,

incendit, ejusque generis multitudinem magnam dispersam immisit. Quo repentino objectu viso, tantum terrorem iniecit exercitui Romanorum, ut egredi extra vallum nemo sit ausus. Hanc post rem gestam, non ita multis diebus, M. Minutium Rufum magistrum equitum, pari ac dictatorem imperio, dolo productum in prælium, fugavit: Ti. Sempronium Gracchum, iterum consulem, in Lucanis absens, in insidias inductum sustulit: M. Claudium Marcellum, quinquies consulem, apud Venusiam pari modo interfecit. Longum est enumerare prælia: quare hoc unum satis erit dictum, ex quo intelligi possit, quantus ille fuerit: quamdiu in Italia fuit, nemo ei in acie restitit; nemo adversus eum post Cannensem pugnam, in campo castra posuit.

*twigs, tied upon the horns of some bullocks, and sent up a vast number of that sort of cattle scattered here and there. Which sudden appearance being seen, it struck so great a terror into the army of the Romans, that none durst go without their ramparts. Not many days after this exploit, he routed M. Minutius Rufus, master of the horse, invested with the same power as the dictator himself, being drawn to an engagement by a ruse: & he likewise, though then in the country of the Lucanians<sup>b</sup>, took off Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a second time consul, being drawn into an ambush: in like manner he cut off at Venusia<sup>i</sup> M. Claudius Marcellus, a fifth time consul. It is too long to reckon up all the battles: wherefore this one thing will be enough to be said, from whence it may be understood, how great a man he was: So long as he was in Italy, no body could stand before him in the field; no body, after the battle of Cannæ<sup>k</sup>, pitched his camp in the plain against him.*

<sup>g</sup> [Flavius, a man of Lucania, made the Consul Gracchus believe, that the chief of the Italians would come in to the Romans, upon his engaging an army of the Carthaginians commanded by Mago in Hannibal's absence; whereby he was decoyed to fight, but was slain, and his dead body sent by Mago to Hannibal. And this battle seems to have been fought at the river Trebia, according to Eutropius, *lib. 3. cap. 9.*]

<sup>h</sup> [The Lucanians were a people of Italy, descended from the Samnites.]

<sup>i</sup> [Venusia, now *Venosa*, is a city of the Basilicate, a province of the kingdom of Naples, and the birth place of Horace.]

<sup>k</sup> [Cannæ, now in ruins, was a pitiful village of Apulia in the kingdom of Naples, where Hannibal slew 40,000 Romans, and among them such a number of gentry, that he sent to Carthage three bushels of rings, in that battle at the end of the preceding chapter.]

CAP. VI. Hic invictus patriam defensum revocatus, bellum gessit adversus P. Scipionis filium, quem ipse primum apud Rhodanum, iterum apud Padum, tertio apud Trebiam fugaverat. Cum hoc, exhaustis jam patriæ facultatibus, cupivit<sup>1</sup> in præsentiarum bellum componere, quò valentior postea congregaretur. In colloquium convenit; conditiones non convenerunt. Post id factum, paucis diebus, apud Zamam cum eodem conflixit: pulsus (incredibile dictu) bi-duo et duabus noctibus Adrumetum pervenit, quod abest à Zama circiter milia passuum trecenta. In hac fuga, Numidæ, qui simul cum eo ex acie excesserant, insidiati sunt ei: quos non solum effugit, sed etiam ipsos oppressit. Adrumeti reliquos ex fuga collegit; novis delectibus, paucis diebus, multos contraxit.

CAP. VII. Cùm in apparando acerrimè esset oc-

CHAP. VI. *This unconquered man being called home to defend his country, carried on the war against the son of that P. Scipio, whom he had routed first at the Rhone, again at the Po, and a third time at Trebia. The wealth of his country being now exhausted, he was desirous to make an end of the war by treaty with him for that time, that he might engage the Romans afterwards, when more able. He came to a conference with him; the articles were not agreed upon. A few days after that transaction, he engaged with the same at Zama<sup>m</sup>; being routed (it is incredible to be said), in two days and two nights he came to Adrumetum<sup>n</sup>, which is about three hundred miles distant from Zama. In this flight, some Numidians, who had come out of the battle with him, formed a plot against him; whom he not only escaped, but likewise killed them. At Adrumetum he picked up those that were left after the flight; and by new levies, in a few days, raised a great many.*

CHAP. VII. *Whilst he was mighty busy in making prepara-*

<sup>1</sup> [i. e. in presentia rerum; in presentiarum et impræsentiarum, adverb. are both of the same signification, viz. at this time, for this present, at present.]

<sup>m</sup> [Zama was a town of Africa in Numidia Propria, south-west from Carthage; it is now called Zamora, and was the capital of Numidia, a large country in that part of Africa that is now Bildulgerid.]

<sup>n</sup> Adrumetum a town of Africa in the province of Byzacium upon the sea, to the eastward from Carthage. [It is now called Mahométa, and Hamametha.]

cupatus, Carthaginienses bellum cum Romanis composuerunt. Ille, nihilo secius, exercitui postea præfuit, resque in Africa gessit [itemque Mago frater ejus], usque ad Publium Sulpicium et Caium Aurelium consules. His enim magistratibus, legati Carthaginienses Romam venerunt, qui senatui populoque Romano gratias agerent, quòd cum his pacem fecissent, ob eamque rem coronâ aureâ eos donarent, simulque peterent, ut obsides eorum Fregellis essent, captivique redderentur. His ex senatusconsulto responsum est, Munus eorum gratum acceptumque esse; obsides, quo loco rogarent, futuros; captivos non remissuros, quòd Hannibalem, cujus operâ susceptum bellum foret, inimicissimum nomini Romano, et nunc cum imperio apud exercitum haberent; itemque fratrem ejus Magonem. Hòc responso Carthaginienses cognito, Hannibalem domum [Magonemque] revocârunt. Hic, ut rediit, prætor factus est, postquam rex fuerat an-

tions, the Carthaginians ended the war by treaty with the Romans. He, notwithstanding, afterwards commanded the army, and performed several actions in Africa [and likewise Mago his brother], until P. Sulpicius and C. Aurelius were consuls. For under these magistrates, Carthaginian ambassadors came to Rome, to give thanks to the senate and people of Rome, because they had made peace with them, and to present them with a golden crown upon that account; and at the same time to request, that their hostages might be at Fregellæ<sup>p</sup>, and their prisoners be restored. To these answer was made by order of the senate, That their present was grateful and acceptable; that the hostages should be in the place they desired; but that they would not send back the prisoners, because they had Hannibal, by whose means the war had been occasioned, a bitter enemy to the Roman name, even now with a command at the army; and likewise his brother Mago. The Carthaginians having heard this answer, sent for Hannibal [and Mago] home. He, as soon as he returned, was made prætor<sup>q</sup>, in the two and twentieth year, af-

<sup>o</sup> One Mago, Hannibal's brother, was slain in a battle before this time, according to Livy; so that this must either be a mistake, or Hannibal had two brothers of the name of Mago.

<sup>p</sup> Fregellæ is a town of Latium, nigh the borders of Campania in Italy. It is now a village called *Ponte Corvo*.]

<sup>q</sup> A sort of, a lord-chief-justice, or superintendant in their courts of judicature.



no secundo et vigesimo. Ut enim Romæ consules, sic Carthagine quotannis annui bini reges creabantur. In eo magistratu pari diligentia se Hannibal præbuit, ac fuerat in bello: namque effecit, ex novis vectigalibus non solum ut esset pecunia, quæ Romanis excedere penderetur, sed etiam superesset, quæ in ærario poneretur. Deinde, anno post præturam, M. Claudio, Lucio Furio Coss. Romani legati Carthaginem venerunt; hos Hannibal sui exoscendi gratiâ missos ratus, priusquam his senatus daretur, navem conscendit clam, atque in Syriam ad Antiochum profugit. Hæc re palam factâ, Pœni naves duas, quæ eum comprehenderent, si possent consequi, miserunt; bona ejus publicârunt, domum à fundamentis disjecerunt; ipsum exulem judicârunt.

CAP. VIII. At Hannibal, anno tertio postquam domo profugerat, L. Cornelio, Quinto Minutio Coss. cum quinque navibus Africam accessit, in finibus Cyrenæorum, si fortè Carthaginenses ad bellum, Anti-

ter he had been made king. For as consuls are made at Rome, so at Carthage every year two kings were made for a year. In that office Hannibal behaved himself with the like diligence, as he had done in the war: for he took care not only that there should be money from the new taxes, to be paid the Romans, according to the treaty, but likewise that there should be an overplus to be laid up in the treasury. Then, a year after his prætership, when M. Claudius and L. Furius were consuls, Roman ambassadors came to Carthage; Hannibal supposing they were sent upon account of demanding him, before an audience of the senate was given them, privately goes aboard a ship, and fled into Syria unto Antiochus. This thing being made public, the Carthaginians sent two ships to seize him, if they could overtake him; they confiscated his estate, they pulled down his house to the foundations, and declared him an exile.

CHAP. VIII. But Hannibal, in the third year after he fled from home, when L. Cornelius and Q. Minutius were consuls, came with five ships to Africa in the country of the Cyreneans, if perhaps he might induce the Carthaginians to a war, through the

<sup>r</sup> [Syria, called also *Souria* and *Souristan*, is a great country of Asiatic Turkey, and was of old much larger than it is now. The rivers Euphrates, Pharphar, Jordan, and many others, water it. Anciently Damascus was the capital of it, then Antioch, and now Aleppo.]

ochi spe fiduciâque, inducere posset; cui jam persuaserat, ut cum exercitibus in Italiam proficisceretur. Huc Magonem fratrem exivit. Id ubi Pœni resciverunt, Magonem, eâdem, quâ fratrem absentem, pœnâ affecerunt. Illi, desperatis rebus, cum solvissent naves, ac vela ventis dedissent, Hannibal ad Antiochum pervenit. De Magonis interitu duplex memoria prodita est: namque alii naufragio, alii à servis ipsius interfectum eum, scriptum reliquerunt. Antiochus autem, si tam in agendo bello parere voluisset consiliis ejus, quàm in suscipiendo instituerat, propius<sup>f</sup> Tiberi quàm Thermopylis de summa impetii dimicasset: quem etsi multa stultè conari videbat, tamen nulla deferuit in re. Præfuit paucis navibus, quas ex Syria jussus erat in

hope and confidence of Antiochus's support; whom he had now persuaded to go with his armies into Italy. Hither he sent for his brother Mago. When the Carthaginians understood that, they punished Mago with the same punishment as his absent brother. Their condition being desperate, after they had loosed their ships, and given their sails to the winds, Hannibal came to Antiochus. There is a double account given of Mago's death: for some have left upon record, that he<sup>f</sup> perished by shipwreck, others, that he was slain by his slaves. But Antiochus, if he would have obeyed his advice, as well in carrying on the war, as he had resolved in undertaking of it, he would have fought nearer<sup>u</sup> Tiber than Thermopylæ for the empire of the world: whom, tho' he saw to enterprize many things foolishly, yet he forsook in nothing. He commanded a few ships, which he had been ordered to bring out of Syria into Asia, and with these

<sup>f</sup> There seems to be some word wanting in the text after *naufragio*, such as *periisse* or *interiisse*; for *naufragio interfectus* is, I take it, just as good Latin as, *killed by a shipwreck*, is good English.

<sup>u</sup> [Peter Mortier's edition from Bosius has *Tiberim* and *Thermopylas*; and it is owned, that, amongst approved authors, *propius* is found with the accusative rather than the dative; yet Staveren and others retain the dative here.]

<sup>u</sup> *Tiberis*, Tiber, is a famous river of Italy. [It was anciently called *Albula*, and riseth in Falterona, one of the Appennine hills, near *Monte Corvaio*, a village in the dukedom of Florence, twelve miles from *Sarsina*. It receives several little rivers in its course, flows by *Perusia*, *Todi*, passeth through *Rome*, and falls into the Tuscan sea, about twelve miles below that city, between the ruins of *Ostia* and *Portus Augusti*, and about one hundred miles from its fountains. Its waters are foul, its current rapid, and causes great damage by its frequent overflowings.]

Asiam ducere, hisque adversus Rhodiorum classem in Pamphylio mari conflixit; quo cum multitudo adversariorum sui superarentur, ipse, quo cornu rem gessit, fuit superior.

CAP. IX. Antiocho fugato, verens ne dederetur, quod sine dubio accidisset, si sui secisset potestatem, Cretam ad Gortynios venit, ut ibi, quò se conferret, consideraret. Vidit autem vir omnium callidissimus, magno se fore periculo, nisi quid providisset, propter avaritiam Cretensium: magnam enim secum pecuniam portabat, de qua sciebat exisse famam. Itaque capitale consilium. Amphoras complures complet plumbo; summas operit

*he engaged against the fleet of the <sup>x</sup> Rhodians in the <sup>y</sup> Pamphylian sea; in which fight, tho' his men were overpowered by the numbers of their enemies, he was however superior in that wing in which he acted.*

CHAP. IX. After Antiochus was routed, fearing lest he should be given up, which without doubt would have happened, if he had given them an opportunity of snapping him, he came to <sup>z</sup> Crete to the <sup>a</sup> Gortynians, that there he might consider whither he should betake himself. But this man, the most cunning of all men, saw that he should be in great danger, unless he took some care, by reason of the <sup>b</sup> covetousness of the Cretians: for he carried a great deal of money with him, of which he knew a rumour was got abroad. Wherefore he takes this course. He fills several pots with lead, he covers

<sup>x</sup> [The people of Rhodes, a celebrated island in the Mediterranean sea, between Cyprus to the East, and Crete or Candy to the west, and upon the coast of the Lesser Asia near its south-west point. It is 130 miles in circuit; the capital is of the same name, and stands on the east coast, with a good port, having two rocks at its entrance, on which are two towers for its defence. On these two rocks, it is thought, was the famous *Colossus*, one of the wonders of the world; it was a statue dedicated to the sun, 70 cubits in height, made of brass by Chares a Lydian; it stood astride over the mouth of the harbour, so that ships sailed between his legs; but was at last thrown down in an earthquake.]

<sup>y</sup> [That part of the Mediterranean sea that washes the south of Pamphylia, an ancient province of the Lesser Asia, is called here the Pamphylian sea.]

<sup>z</sup> A famous island in the south parts of the Ægean sea. [It is now called *Candy*.]

<sup>a</sup> [Gortyna, now in ruins, was of old a city in the middle of Crete.]

<sup>b</sup> Κρήτες αἰὲν δειῖσαι, κατὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί. Titus i. 12.

aurō et argento : has præsentibus principibus deponit in templo Dianæ ; simulans, se suas fortunas illorum fidei credere. His in errorem inductis, statuas æneas, quas secum portabat, omnes suâ pecuniâ complet, easque in propatulo domi abjicit. Gortynii templum magnâ curâ custodiunt, non tam à cæteris quàm ab Hannibale ; ne quid ille, inscientibus his, tolleret, secumque duceret.

CAP. X. Sic conservatis suis rebus, Pœnus, illis Cretensibus omnibus, ad Prusiam in Pontum pervenit ; apud quem eodem animo fuit erga Italiam : neque aliud quicquam egit, quàm regem armavit, et exercuit adversus Romanos ; quem cùm videret domesticis rebus minùs esse robustum, conciliabat cæteros reges, adjugebatque bellicosas nationes. Dissidebat ab eo Pergamenus rex Eumenes, Romanis amicissimus ; bellumque inter eos gerebatur et mari et terrâ : quo magis cupiebat

*the upper parts with gold and silver ; he deposits these, whilst the chief men of the city were present, in the temple of<sup>c</sup> Diana ; pretending he would intrust his fortune to their honesty. These being led into a mistake, he fills all his brazen statues, which he carried with him, with his money, and throws them in an open place at home. The Gortynians guard the temple with great care, not so much against others, as against Hannibal ; lest he should remove any thing without their knowledge, and take it along with him.*

CHAP. X. Thus the Carthaginian having saved his money, and fooled all the Cretans, he came to Prusias, into<sup>d</sup> Pontus ; with whom he was of the same disposition as to Italy ; nor did he do any thing else but arm and exercise the king against the Romans ; whom when he saw to be not at all strong in his own circumstances, he brought over other princes, and joined warlike nations to him. Eumenes, king of<sup>e</sup> Pergamus, a very great friend to the Romans, was at difference with him ; and a war was carried on betwixt them both by sea and land : for which reason Hannibal was the

<sup>c</sup> [The daughter of Jupiter by Latona, at the same birth with Apollo : she was called in heaven *Phæbe*, on earth *Diana*, and under it *Hecate*.]

<sup>d</sup> A province of Asia Minor, lying upon the Euxine sea. [Bithynia, where Prusias reigned, was called Pontus.]

<sup>e</sup> A city of Mysia Major in Asia Minor. [It is now called *Pergame*, was the capital city of the kingdom of Pergamos, and one of the seven churches of Asia.]



cum Hannibal opprimi; sed utrobique Eumenes plus valebat, propter Romanorum societatem; quem si removisset, faciliora sibi cætera fore arbitrabatur. Ad hunc interficiendum talem iniit rationem: classe paucis diebus erant decreturi: superabatur navium multitudine: dolo erat pugnandum, cum par non esset armis. Imperavit quàm plurimas venenatas serpentes vivas colligi, easque in vasa fictilia conjici. Harum cum confecisset magnam multitudinem, die ipso, quo facturus erat navale prælium, classarios convocat, hisque præcipit, omnes ut in unam Eumenis regis concurrant navem, à cæteris tantum satis habeant se defendere; id facile illos serpentium multitudine consequuturos; rex autem in qua nave veheretur, ut scirent, se facturum; quem si aut cepissent, aut interfecissent, magno his pollicetur præmio fore.

CAP. XI. Tali cohortatione militum factâ, classis ab utrisque in prælium deducitur: quarum acie constitutâ, priusquam signum pugnæ daretur, Hannibal, ut palàm faceret suis, quo loco Eumenes esset, tabellarium in scapha cum ca-

more desirous to have him taken off; but Eumenes prevailed every where by virtue of the alliance with the Romans; whom if he could but remove, he thought other things would be more easy for him. He took this method to kill him: they were to engage with their fleet in a few days: he was quite outdone in number of ships: he was therefore to fight with subtilty, since he was not a match for him in arms. He ordered as many poisonous serpents as possible to be got together alive, and to be put in earthen pots. After he had made up a good number of them, upon the very day, wherein he was to fight this battle by sea, he calls his marines together, and orders them all to gather about the ship of king Eumenes alone, to be content to defend themselves only against the rest; that they might easily do, by the great number of serpents; and he would take care they should know in what ship the king sailed; whom, if they either took or killed, he promises they should have a good reward for it.

CHAP. XI. Having made this exhortation to his soldiers, the fleet is drawn out to battle by both sides: the line of battle in each being formed, before the signal for the fight was given, Hannibal, that he might make known to his men in what place Eumenes was, sends a letter-

\* [Utròbique, on both sides and parts, i. e. Eumenes prevailed both by sea and land.]

duceo mittit: qui, ubi ad naves adversariorum pervenit, epistolam ostendens, se regem professus est querere; statim ad Eumenem deductus est, quod nemo dubitabat aliquid de pace esse scriptum. Tabellarius, ducis nave declarata suis, eodem, unde ierat, se recepit. At Eumenes, soluta epistolâ, nihil in ea reperit, nisi quod ad irridendum eum pertineret: cuius etsi causam mirabatur, neque reperiebatur, tamen prælium statim committere non dubitavit. Horum in concursu, Bythini, Hannibalis præcepto, universi navem Eumenis adoriuntur; quorum vim cum rex sustinere non posset, fugâ salutem petiit; quam consequutus non esset, nisi intra sua præsidia se recepisset, quæ in proximo litore erant collocata. Reliquæ Pergamenæ naves cum adversarios premerent acrius, repente in eas vasa fictilia, de quibus supra mentionem fecimus, conjici cœpta sunt; quæ jacta, initio risum pugnantibus concitârunt, neque, quare id fieret, poterat intelligi. Postquam autem naves com-

*carrier in a boat, with a staff of peace: who, after he came to the enemies ships, shewing the letter, told them he wanted the king; immediately he was brought to Eumenes, because no body doubted there was something writ in it about peace. The letter-carrier having thus discovered the king's ship to his own side, withdrew himself to the same place from whence he was come. But Eumenes having opened the letter, found nothing in it, but what tended to banter him: the reason of which although he wondered at, nor was it discovered, yet he scrupled not immediately to join battle. In their fight the Bithynians, by order of Hannibal, all of them attack the ship of Eumenes; the fury of whom when the king was not able to withstand, he sought his security by flight; which he would not have obtained, unless he had betaken himself within his guards, which were posted upon the neighbouring shore. When the rest of the Pergamene ships bore hard upon the enemy, on a sudden the earthen pots, of which we made mention above, begun to be thrown amongst them, which, when cast at them, at first raised a laugh amongst the soldiers, nor could it be comprehended for what reason it was done. But after they saw the ships filled with ser-*

f The caduceus was a staff with the figure of two serpents twisted about it, borne by heralds, and other messengers, sent to an enemy to signify their coming in a peaceable manner. [Hence *caduceator*, an herald sent to treat of peace, as the *fecialis* (an herald at arms) did of war.]

pletas conspexerunt serpentibus, novâ re perterriti, cum, quid potissimum vitarent, non viderent, puppes averterunt, seque ad sua castra nautica retulerunt. Sic Hannibal consilio arma Pergamenorum superavit: neque tum solum, sed sæpe alias, pedestribus copiis pari prudentiâ pepulit adversarios.

CAP. XII. Quæ dum in Asia geruntur, accidit casu, ut legati Prusiæ Romæ apud L. Quintium Flaminium & consularem cœnarent: atque ibi, de Hannibale mentione factâ, ex his unus diceret, cum in Prusiæ regno esse. Id postero die Flamininus senatui detulit. h Patres conscripti, qui, Hannibale vivo, nunquam se sine insidiis futuros existimabant, legatos in Bithyniam mise-

rents, being affrighted at this new thing, as they knew not what chiefly they should avoid, they turned their ships, and betook themselves to their sea camp. Thus Hannibal, by this contrivance, prevailed against the arms of the Pergamenians: nor did he do that then only, but often at other times, he defeated the enemy with his land forces with the like conduct.

CHAP. XII. Which things whilst they are a-doing in Asia, it happened by chance, that the ambassadors of Prusias at Rome supped with L. Q. Flamininus, a consular gentleman: and there, mention being made of Hannibal, one of them said, that he was in the kingdom of Prusias. Flamininus, the day after, carried that to the senate. The fathers of the senate, who thought they should never be without contrivances against them, so long as Hannibal was alive, sent ambassadors into i Bithynia, north

g [Consularis, subst. (sc. vir), one who had been consul, a president of a province.]

h [Patres conscripti, inrolled fathers, was a general title given to those senators that were added by Tarquinius Priscus, as also to those who were taken into that order out of the gentry by Brutus and the people, upon the establishment of the commonwealth after the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud; which senators then began to be called *Conscripti*, to distinguish them from the *Patricii*, (men of the highest nobility), who were instituted by Romulus; at which time the number, which in the time of Romulus was an hundred, and doubled by Tarquinius Priscus, was augmented to three hundred: but in after times, all the number were promiscuously styled *Patres*, and *Patres Conscripti*.]

i [Bithynia (called also *Pontus*, according to Ainsworth) was formerly a considerable kingdom of Asia Minor, and bounded on the east by Paphlagonia, west by the Thracian Bosphorus and the Propontis, north



runt, in his Flaminium, qui à rege peterent, ne inimicissimum suum secum haberet, sibi que dederet. His Prusias negare ausus non est; illud recusavit, ne id à se fieri postularent, quod adversus jus hospitii esset; ipsi, si possent, comprehenderent; locum, ubi esset, facile inventuros. Hannibal enim uno loco se tenebat in castello, quod ei ab rege datum erat muneri; idque sic ædificarat, ut in omnibus partibus ædificii exitum sibi haberet, semper verens ne usu eveniret, quod accidit. Huc cum legati Romanorum venissent, ac multitudine domum ejus circumdeditissent; puer ab janua prospiciens, Hannibali dixit, plures præter consuetudinem armatos apparere; qui imperavit ei, ut omnes fores ædificii circumiret, ac properè sibi renunciaret, num eodem modo undique obsideretur: puer cum celeriter, quid esset, renunciasset, omnesque exitus occupatos ostendisset; sensit id non fortuito factum, sed se peti, neque sibi diutius vitam esse retinendam; quam ne alieno arbitrio dimitteret, inemor pristinarum virtutum, ve-

thynia, amongst these Flaminius, to desire of the king, that he would not keep their bitterest enemy with him, and that he would surrender him up to them. Prusias durst not deny them; but he refused one thing, and desired, they would not expect that to be done by him, which was contrary to the right of hospitality; they might catch him, if they could; they would easily find the place where he was. For Hannibal kept himself in one place, in a castle, which had been given him as a present by the king; and he had so built it, that he might have a way out for himself on all sides of the building, fearing always lest that should come to pass, which fell out. When the ambassadors of the Romans were come thither, and had beset his house with a good number of men, a boy looking out at a gate, told Hannibal, that several armed men appeared contrary to custom; who ordered him to go round to all the doors of the castle, and bring him word quickly, whether he was blocked up on all sides in the same manner: when the boy quickly brought word again how it was, and informed him, that all the ways out were secured; he was sensible that was not accidentally done, but that he was aimed at, and that he ought to keep his life no longer; which that he might not part with at another's pleasure, mindful of his former

north by the Euxine or Black sea, and south by Phrygia; and did contain these cities, viz. Chalcedon, Nice, Heraclea, Apamea, Prussa, now Bursa. All this country is now called Beesangil.]



nenum, quod semper secum habere consueverat, sumsit.

CAP. XIII. Sic vir fortissimus, multis variisque perfunctus laboribus, apud no acquieuit septuagesimo. Quibus consulibus interierit, non convenit. Nam Atticus, M. Claudio Marcello, Q. Fabio Labeone Coss. mortuum, in Annali suo scriptum reliquit: at Polybius, L. Æmilio Paulo, et Cn. Bæbio Tamphilo: Sulpitius autem, P. Cornelio Cethego, et M. Bæbio Tamphilo. Atque hic tantus vir, tantisque bellis districtus, nonnihil temporis tribuit literis; namque aliquot ejus libri sunt Græco sermone confecti: in his ad Rhodios de Cn. Manlii Vulsonis in Asia rebus gestis. Hujus bella gesta multi memorie prodiderunt: sed ex his duo, qui cum eo in castris fuerunt, simulque vixerunt, quamdiu fortuna passa est, Silenus, et Sosilus Lacedæmonius. Atque hoc Sosilo Hannibal literarum Græcarum usus est doctore. Sed nunc tempus est hujus libri facere finem, et Romanorum explicare imperatores; quo facilius collatis utrorumque factis, qui

noble qualities, he took poison, which he had been accustomed to carry always about him.

CHAP. XIII. Thus this most gallant man, after he had run through many and various toils, rested in his seventieth year<sup>k</sup>. Under what consuls he died, is not agreed. For Atticus has left it written in his Annal, that he died when M. Claudius Marcellus, and Q. Fabius Labeo were consuls; but Polybius says under L. Æmilius Paulus, and Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus: on the contrary, Sulpitius says he died in the time of P. Cornelius Cethegus, and M. Bæbius Tamphilus. And yet this great man, and so prodigiously taken up with the prosecution of such great wars, employed some part of his time in letters; for there are some books of his writ in the Greek tongue: amongst these one to the Rhodians concerning the actions of Cn. Manlius Vulso in Asia. Many have transmitted to memory his wars which were carried on by him. But two of them were such, who were with him in the camp, and lived with him, as long as his circumstances allowed it, Silenus, and Sosilus the Lacedæmonian. And Hannibal made use of this Sosilus, as his instructor in the Greek tongue. But now it is time to make an end of this book, and to relate the lives of the Roman commanders, that by comparing the actions of both, it may be the

<sup>k</sup> [Some are of opinion, that the author wrote, sexagesimo quinto.]

viri præferendi sint, possit *more easily discerned, which men*  
judicari. *are to have the preference.*

## XXIV.

## XXIV.

M. PORCIUS CATO.

M. PORCIUS CATO.

Ex Libro <sup>a</sup> Secundo

Out of the Second Book of

CORNELII NEPOTIS.

CORNELIUS NEPOS.

## CAP. I.

## CHAP. I.

**C**ATO ortus <sup>c</sup> municipio  
Tusculo, adolescens-  
tulus, priusquam honori-  
bus operam daret, versa-  
tus est in Sabinis, quod i-  
bi hæredium à patre reli-  
ctum habebat. Hortatu L.  
Valerii Flacci, quem in  
consulatu censuraque ha-  
buit collegam, ut M. Per-  
perna Censorius narrare  
solitus est, Romam demi-  
gravit, in foro [que] esse  
cœpit. Primum <sup>g</sup> stipen-

**C**ATO was born in the borough  
town of <sup>d</sup> Tusculum, and,  
when a very young man, before  
he made suit for any public posts  
in the government, lived in the  
country of the <sup>e</sup> Sabines, because  
he had an estate there, left him by  
his father. By the advice of L.  
Valerius Flaccus, whom he had for  
his colleague in the consulship and  
censorship, as M. Perperna, who  
had been censor, used to say, he  
removed to Rome, [and] begun to  
appear in the <sup>f</sup> forum. He first  
dium.

<sup>a</sup> [Others have *posteriore*, latter.]

<sup>b</sup> [This was the great grandfather of Cato Uticensis.]

<sup>c</sup> [*Municipium*, a borough, any city, or town corporate, that had some or all the privileges and liberties of Rome, and yet had particular laws and customs of its own to be governed by.]

<sup>d</sup> A town of Latium in Italy, near upon twenty miles east from Rome. [It is now called *Frascati*.]

<sup>e</sup> [An ancient and religious people of Italy, (between the Umbrians and Latins), famous for gravity, sobriety, and chastity, and of incorrupt manners. Cicero calleth them valiant, and the very flower of Italy. After the rape of their women by the Romans, Tatius (king of the Sabines) and Romulus agreed to incorporate them into one people.]

<sup>f</sup> The forum was a large square in the middle of the cities of Italy and Greece, where the courts and markets were kept, and where the people usually met for the choice of magistrates, and enacting of laws.

<sup>g</sup> [*Stipendium*, wages, or pay for soldiers; a campaign. *Mæreo*, to

dium meruit annorum decem septemque : Q. Fabio Maximo, M. Claudio Marcello Coss. tribunus militum in Sicilia fuit. Inde ut rediit, castra sequutus est C. Claudii Neronis, magnique ejus existimata opera est in prælio apud Senam, quo cecidit Hasdrubal frater Hannibalis. Quæstor obtigit P. Cornelio Scipioni Africano consuli : cum quo non pro fortis necessitudine vixit ; namque ab eo perpetuâ dissensit vitâ. Ædilis plebis factus est cum C. Helvio. Prætor, provinciam obtinuit Sardiniam, ex qua quæstor superiore tempo-

*entered the service of his country in the wars, when he was seventeen years of age : he was a <sup>h</sup> tribune of soldiers in Sicily, when Q. Fabius Maximus and M. Claudius Marcellus were consuls. As soon as he came from thence, he followed the camp of C. Claudius Nero, and his service was highly valued in the battle at <sup>i</sup> Sena, in which Hasdrubal the brother of Hannibal fell. He happened to be <sup>k</sup> quæstor to P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus when <sup>i</sup> consul, with whom he lived not according to the <sup>m</sup> obligation his chance had brought him under ; for he differed with him all his life-long. He was made <sup>n</sup> ædile of the commons with C. Helvius. When <sup>o</sup> prætor, he got the province of <sup>p</sup> Sardinia, out of*  
re

earn or gain, deserve, serve in the war for pay: *Primum stipendium meruit*, earned his first wages, made his first campaign.]

<sup>b</sup> A tribune was a military officer, pretty much like our colonels. There were at first six in a legion ; which had the command of it in their turns ; but afterwards they were reduced to the command of one single cohort or regiment, of which there were ten in a legion ; and therefore it is supposed there were the like number of tribunes.

<sup>i</sup> A city of Italy, in that part of it formerly called *Umbria*, nigh the Adriatic sea. [It is now called *Sienna*.]

<sup>k</sup> The Quæstor in Rome was a sort of lord treasurer. The proconsuls and prætors too, that were sent governors into the provinces of the Roman empire, had their quæstors, who had the charge of the public money, the plunder that was not given to the soldiers, &c.

<sup>l</sup> [The Consul was a chief officer among the Romans, of which two were yearly chosen to govern the city.]

<sup>m</sup> The quæstors, as well as proconsuls and prætors, had their provinces assigned them by lot ; and usually lived in a strict friendship with those under whom their lot fell.

<sup>n</sup> An officer whose business it was to take care of the markets and public buildings.

<sup>o</sup> The prætor at Rome was superintendant or director of their courts of justice.

<sup>p</sup> [Sardinia is one of the largest islands of the Mediterranean sea, having on the east the Tyrrhenean sea, west that of Sardinia, south that

re ex Africa decedens, Q. Ennium poetam deduxerat; quod non minoris existimamus, quam quemlibet amplissimum Sardinensem triumphum.

CAP. II. Consulatum gessit cum L. Valerio Flacco; forte provinciam nactus<sup>a</sup> Hispaniam citeriorem, exque ea triumphum deportavit. Ibi cum diutius moraretur, P. Scipio Africanus, consul iterum, cujus in priore consulatu quaestor fuerat, voluit eum de provincia depellere, et ipse ei succedere; neque hoc per senatum efficere potuit, cum quidem Scipio in civitate principatum obtineret; quod tum non potentia, sed jure, respublica administrabatur: qua ex re iratus,

which, when coming quaestor some time before out of Africa, he had brought away Q. Ennius the poet; which we value no less than any the noblest triumph over Sardinia.

CHAP. II. He bore the office of consul with L. Valerius Flaccus; he got by lot hither Spain for his province, and brought home from thence a triumph. As he staid there long, P. Scipio Africanus, a second time consul, whose quaestor he had been in the former consulate, designed to oust him of his province, and to succeed him himself; but could not effect it by the senate, even tho' Scipio had the greatest sway in the city; because the government was then managed not by interest, but justice: for which reason being angry, when that session of the senate was ended, he

that of Africa, and north the Strait of Bonifacio separates it from the isle of Corsica. It is of an oval figure, and is 57 leagues from north to south, 32 from east to west, and about 150 in circuit. It had in the times of the Romans above 40 cities, but now no more than 8. The Duke of Savoy is now king of Sardinia.]

<sup>a</sup> [*Hispania*, the kingdom of Spain, the most western country in Europe; hence it was called *Hesperia* from *Hesperus*, the evening-star; as also *Iberia*, from *Iberus*, the Ebro, one of the greatest rivers in it; and *Celtiberia*, from the ancient inhabitants the *Celte* living about *Iberus*. It was divided into two parts, viz. the *citerior* and *ulterior*, by the river *Iberus* in old Castile. It was also divided into three parts, 1. *Hispania Tarraconensis*, (in the *Citerior*, the hither Spain, or nearer to Italy), which contained Old Castile, Arragon, Catalonia, and Valentia. 2. *Hispania Batica*, which included New Castile, Granada, Andalusia. 3. *Hispania Lusitania*, which took in Portugal, Galicia, and the west part of Spain. The *Batica* and *Lusitania* were reckoned in the *Uterior*, the farther Spain, viz. from Italy. This large kingdom of Spain is almost a peninsula, being separated from France by the Pyrenean hills; north-west and south it has the western ocean, on the other sides the straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean sea, and is in length above 200 leagues, and about 160 in breadth.]

senatu



senatu peracto, privatus in urbemansit. At Cato, censor cum eodem Flacco factus, severè præfuit ei potestati: nam et in complures nobiles animadvertit, et multas res novas in edictum addidit, quâ re luxuria reprimeretur, quæ jam tum incipiebat pullulare. Circiter annos octoginta, usque ad extremam ætatem, ab adolescentia, reipublicæ causâ suscipere inimicitias non destitit. A multis tentatus, non modò nullum detrimentum existimationis fecit, sed quoad vixit, virtutum laude crevit.

CAP. III. In omnibus rebus singulari fuit prudentiâ et industriâ: nam et a-

*continued a private person in the city. But Cato being made<sup>r</sup> censor with the same Flaccus, behaved very strictly in that post; for he both punished several noble-men, and put a great many new things in his edict, whereby luxury might be restrained, which even then began to bud. He never ceased for about fourscore years, from his youth to the end of his life, to engage in quarrels upon the common-wealth's account. Though he was attacked by many, he not only suffered no loss of reputation, but grew in fame for his excellent qualities, as long as he lived.*

CHAP. III. In all things he was a man of excellent prudence and industry: for he was both

<sup>r</sup> [Censor, (from *cenſeo*, to rate or value), a master of discipline, a judge or reformer of manners. The Censor was a magistrate amongst the Romans, who superintended the *census*, i. e. the valuation of every man's estate, the registering himself, his years, tribe, family, profession, wife, children, and servants. And this was first instituted by Servius Tullius their sixth king, and managed as part of his kingly office. In the consular state, the consuls themselves executed it as part of their business, till the year of the city 311, when, by reason they had too much employment on their hands, the senate were willing, for several politic reasons, to ease them of this part of their burden, by creating two of these officers, Papirius and Sempronius, whose office then being only to take an account of the number of the people, and the value of their estates, and to assess them accordingly, was looked upon as mean; but afterwards the succeeding censors, upon the accession of more business, gained so great authority, that even the Emperors themselves exercised their office. They were to correct indecencies, and punish ill manners, such as the law took no cognisance of, by degrading the senators and knights, and disfranchising the commonalty. They had the care of public buildings, bridges, and ways, making and abrogating certain laws, &c.; and their station was reckoned more honourable than the consulship, though their authority in matters of state was not so considerable.]

gricola solers, et reipublicæ peritus, et jurisconsultus, et magnus imperator, et probabilis orator, et cupidissimus literarum fuit; quarum studium etsi senior arripuerat, tamen tantum [in eis] progressum fecit, ut non faciliè reperire possis, neque de Græcis, neque de Italicis rebus, quod ei fuerit incognitum. Ab adolescentia consecit orationes: senex historias scribere instituit, quarum sunt libri septem: primus continet res gestas regum populi Romani: secundus et tertius, unde quæque civitas orta sit Italica; ob quam rem omnes *Origines* videtur appellasse: in quarto autem, bellum Punicum primum: in quinto, secundum: atque hæc omnia capitulatim sunt dicta. Reliquaque bella pari modo persecutus est usque ad præturam Ser. Galbæ, qui diripuit Lusitanos. Atque horum bellorum duces non nominavit, sed sine nominibus res notavit. In iisdem exposuit quæ in Italia, Hispaniisque viderentur admiranda; in quibus multa industria et diligentia comparet, multa do-

a dexterous husbandman, well skilled in the business of government, and a lawyer, and a great commander, and a plausible orator, and very fond of learning; the study of which though he took up when old, yet, he made so great a progress [in it], that you cannot easily find any thing, neither of the Grecian nor the Italian affairs, which was unknown to him. He made speeches from his youth: when old, he began to write history, of which there are seven books: the first contains the actions of the kings of the Roman people: the second and third contain an account, from whom every city of Italy had its rise; for which reason he seems to have called them all *Origines*: and then in the fourth is the first Carthaginian war: in the fifth, the second: and all these things are summarily related. And he has gone through the other wars, in the like manner, unto the prætorship of Ser. Galba, who rifled the <sup>c</sup> Lusitanians. And he has not named the generals in these wars, but has set down the actions without names. In the same books he has given an account of what seemed remarkable in Italy and Spain; in which there appears much industry and

<sup>c</sup> [*Lusitania*, Portugal, a small kingdom of Europe, but about 110 leagues in length, and 50 in breadth, bounded on the east by Leon and Spanish Estremadura, west by the Atlantic ocean, north by Galicia, and south by Andalusia. It was anciently called *Lusitania*, from the *Lusitani* its first inhabitants, and took the present name about the fifth century, from *Portocale*, a celebrated mart.]

Strina. Hujus de vita et moribus plura in eo libro persequuti sumus, quem separatim de eo fecimus. rogatu Titi Pomponii Attici; quare studiosos Catonis ad illud volumen delegamus.

diligence, and much learning. We have said more concerning his life and manners, in that book which we made separately about him, at the request of T. Pomponius Atticus; wherefore we send those that are desirous of knowing Cato to that volume.

## XXV.

## XXV.

T. POMPONII ATTICI  
*Vita, ex Cornelio Ne-*  
*pote.*

The life of T. POMPONIUS  
ATTICUS, out of Cornelius  
Nepos.

## CAP. I.

## CHAP. I.

**T.** Pomponius Atticus, ab <sup>c</sup> origine <sup>d</sup> ultima stirpis Romanæ generatus, perpetuò à majori-

**T.** <sup>a</sup> Pomponius <sup>b</sup> Atticus, descended of an ancient Roman family, kept the <sup>c</sup> equestrian dignity, received by uninter-

<sup>a</sup> [This Pomponian family was descended of Numa Pompilius the second king of the Romans, whose fourth son was called *Pompo*, from whom his posterity were called *Pomponii*. Plutarch and Courtin.]

<sup>b</sup> [He was called *Atticus*, because he had lived long at Athens, and was a perfect master of the Greek tongue.]

<sup>c</sup> [*Origo*, a stock, or top of nobility, whence a family is descended.]

<sup>d</sup> [*Ultimus*, the last; but here it signifies the first; and it may seem somewhat strange it should have such a signification, were it not that other authors of the Augustan age used it in the same sense. Thus Liv. 40. 6. *Ab ultima origine Macedonia regum*; and Virg. *Æn.* vii. 48. and 49.]

——— *Fauno Picus pater; isque parentem*  
*Te, Saturne, refert; tu sanguinis ultimus auctor.*

So these words, *generatus ab ultima origine Romanæ stirpis*, may be Englished perhaps somewhat more literally, thus: Sprung from the first stock of a Roman race, or family.]

<sup>e</sup> The Roman people were divided into three orders, the Plebeian, Equestrian, and Senatorian: those whose estates were 400,000 sesterces, (upwards of 3000 pounds), were reckoned of the Equestrian order, till they were chose into the senate, and then they were of the Senatorian. Atticus's ancestors had never any of them been in the senate; and he, treading in their steps, declined all preferment.

bus

bus acceptam equestrem obtinuit dignitatem. Patre usus est diligente, indulgente, et, ut tum erant tempora, diti, imprimisque studioso literarum: hic, prout ipse amabat literas, omnibus doctrinis, quibus puerilis ætas impertiri debet, filium erudit. Erat autem in puero, præter docilitatem ingenii, summa suavis oris ac vocis, ut non solum celeriter acciperet, quæ tradebantur, sed etiam excellenter pronunciaret: quæ ex re, in pueritia nobilis inter æquales ferebatur, clariùsque explendebatur, quàm generosi discipuli animo æquo ferre possent; itaque incitabat omnes studio suo: quo in numero fuerunt L. Torquatus, C. Marius filius, M. Cicero: quos consuetudine suâ sic sibi devinxit, ut nemo iis perpetuò fuerit carior.

CAP. II. Patre maturè decessit. Ipse adolescentulus, propter affinitatem P. Sulpicii, qui tribunus pl. interfectus est, non expers fuit illius periculi: namque Anicia, Pomponii consobrina, nupserat M. Servio, fratri P. Sulpicii. Itaque interfe-

rupted succession from his ancestors. He had a diligent and indulgent father, and, as the times were then, rich, and above all things, a lover of learning: as he loved learning himself, he instructed his son in all that sort of literature, that youth ought to be acquainted with. Now there was in him when a boy, besides a docility of wit, a mighty sweetness of countenance and voice, that he not only quickly took in what was taught him, but also pronounced excellently; upon which account he was reckoned famous amongst his fellows in his childhood, and shone out more brightly than his noble school-fellows were able to bear with a patient mind; wherefore he pushed them all forward by his great application, in which number were L. Torquatus, C. Marius the <sup>†</sup> son, M. Cicero; whom he so engaged to him by his acquaintance with them, that no body was all along more dear to them.

CHAP. II. His father died early. He being a very young man, by reason of his affinity with P. Sulpicius, who was slain when <sup>‡</sup> tribune of the commons, was not clear of that danger: for Anicia, the cousin of Pomponius, had married M. Servius, the brother of Sulpicius: wherefore P.

<sup>†</sup> [Viz. of Caius Marius, who had been seven times consul.]

<sup>‡</sup> [The tribunes of the commons were Roman magistrates, being ten in number, of extraordinary authority. They were the keepers of the liberties of the people against the encroachments of the senate.]



Et P. Sulpicio, posteaquam vidit Cinnano tumultu civitatem esse perturbatam, neque sibi dari facultatem pro dignitate vivendi, quin alterutram partem offenderet, dissociatis animis civium; cum alii Syllanis, alii Cinnanis faverent partibus; idoneum tempus ratus studiis obsequendi suis, Athenas se contulit; neque eò feciùs adolescentem Marium, hostem judicatum, juvit opibus suis; cujus fuggam pecuniâ sublevavit. Ac, ne illa peregrinatio detrimentum aliquod afferret rei familiari, eòdem magnam partem fortunarum trajecit suarum. Hic ita vixit, ut universis Atheniensibus meritò esset carissimus: nam, præter gratiam, quæ jam in adolescentulo magna erat, sæpe suis opibus inopiam eorum publicam levavit: cum enim versuram facere publicè necesse esset, neque ejus conditionem æquam haberent; semper se interposuit, atque ita, ut neque usuram unquam ab iis acceperit, neque longiùs, quàm dictum esset, eos debere passus sit; quod utrumque erat iis salutare: nam neque

*Sulpicius being slain, after he found the city mightily disturbed with the bustle raised by Cinna, and there was no possibility for him to live suitably to his dignity, but he must offend one party or the other, the minds of his countrymen being divided; whilst some favoured Sylla's party, and others Cinna's; thinking it a proper time to follow his studies, he withdrew himself to Athens; but nevertheless he assisted young Marius, declared an enemy, with his estate; and relieved him in his banishment with money. And, lest that his living abroad should prove a detriment to his estate, he carried over to the same place a great part of his substance. Here he lived so, that he was deservedly very dear to all the Athenians: for, besides his<sup>h</sup> interest, which was already considerable in him, tho' a very young man, he often relieved their public want out of his own estate: for when the government was obliged to borrow money to pay off a public debt, and could have no fair offer for it, he always interposed, and so, that he neither ever received any use of them, nor suffered them to owe him the money longer than had been agreed; both which things were very good for them: for he neither suffered their debts to grow old up-*

<sup>h</sup> By *gratia* is here meant the interest he had amongst several of the leading men at Rome, by which he was in a condition of serving the Athenians several ways.

<sup>i</sup> *Versura* signifies borrowing of one upon interest to pay another, which has no word to answer it in our language.

indulgento inveterascere eorum æs alienum patiebatur, neque multiplicandis usuris crescere. Auxit hoc officium aliâ quoque liberalitate: nam universos frumento donavit, ita ut singulis septem <sup>1</sup> modii tritici darentur, qui modus mensuræ *Medimnus* Athenis appellatur.

CAP. III. Hic autem sic se gerebat, ut communis infimis, par principibus videretur; quo factum est, ut huic omnes honores, quos possent, publicè haberent, civemque facere studerent; quo beneficio ille uti noluit: quod nonnulli ita interpretantur, amitti civitatem Romanam aliâ ascitâ. Quamdiu affuit, ne qua sibi statua poneretur, resistit; absens, prohibere non potuit: itaque aliquot ipsi, et Phidias, locis sanctissimis posuerunt; hunc enim in omni procuratione reip. auctorem, auctoremque habebant. Igitur primum illud munus fortunæ, quod in ea potissimum urbe natus est, in qua domicilium

on them, by forbearing them, nor to increase, by the multiplying of use. He added to this kindness by another piece of generosity too: for he presented them <sup>k</sup> all with corn, so that seven modii of wheat were given to every man, which kind of measure is called a *Medimnus* at Athens.

CHAP. III. He likewise behaved so, that he seemed upon a level with the lowest, and yet equal to the greatest; from whence it was, that they publicly conferred upon him all the honours which they could, and endeavoured to make him a freeman of their city; which kindness he would not accept, because some construe the matter so, that the freedom of Rome is lost by taking another. As long as he was there, he made such opposition, that no statue was erected for him; when absent, he could not hinder it: wherefore they set up some both for him and Phidias, in the most sacred places; for in the whole management of their government, they had him for their agent and adviser. Wherefore that was an especial favour of fortune, that he was born in that city, a-

<sup>k</sup> Our author has here expressed himself very carelessly; to be sure, he did not present them all, *universos*, but only the poorer sort; it would have been so far from a kindness, that it would have been a most stupid affront, to have offered a largess of a few pecks of corn to people of quality, or any tolerable fashion. [Yet it is said, the Great Cicero (6. *ad Att. ep. 6.*) approves of this piece of generosity in Atticus.]

<sup>1</sup> A *modius* is reckoned by some to be about two pecks.

orbis terrarum esset imperii, ut eandem et patriam haberet, et domum : hoc specimen prudentiæ, quod cum in eam civitatem se contulisset, quæ antiquitate, humanitate, doctrinâ præstaret omnes ; unus ei ante alios fuerit carissimus.

CAP. IV. Huc ex Asia Sulla decedens cum venisset ; quamdiu ibi fuit, secum habuit Pomponium, captus adolescentis et humanitate et doctrinâ : sic enim Græcè loquebatur, ut Athenis natus videretur ; tanta autem suavitas erat sermonis Latini, ut appareret, in eo nativum quendam leporem esse, non affectum. Idem poemata pronunciabat et Græcè et Latinè, sic ut suprâ nihil posset addi. Quibus rebus factum est, ut Sulla nusquam eum ab se dimitteret, cuperetque secum deducere ; cui cum persuadere tentaret, *Noli, oro te, (inquit Pomponius), adversum eos me velle ducere, cum quibus ne contra te arma ferrem, Italiam relinqui.* At Sulla, adolescentis officio collaudato, omnia munera ei, quæ Athenis acceperat, proficiscens iussit deferri. Hic complures annos moratus, cum et rei familiari tantum operæ daret, quantum non indili-

bove others, in which was the seat of the empire of the world, that he had the same both for his native place, and his home : this was a specimen of his prudence, that when he withdrew himself into that city, which excelled all others in antiquity, politeness, and learning, he was singly very dear to it above all others.

CHAP. IV. When Sulla was come hither in his departure from Asia, so long as he was there, he kept Pomponius with him, charmed both with the politeness and learning of the youth : for he spoke Greek so, that he seemed to have been born at Athens : but such was the sweetness of his Latin dialect, that it appeared there was a certain natural pleasantness in him, not acquired. The same man pronounced poems both in Greek and Latin so, that nothing could be beyond it. For which things it was, that Sulla would part with him no whither from him, and was desirous to take him along with him to Rome ; whom when he endeavoured to persuade to that, *Do not, I beseech you, (says Pomponius), desire to lead me against those, with whom that I might not bear arms against you, I left Italy.* But Sulla, commending the behaviour of the young man, upon his departure ordered all the presents which he had received at Athens, to be carried to him. Having staid here several years, whilst he both employed as much care upon his estate, as a diligent master of a family ought

gens deberet paterfamilias; et omnia reliqua tempora aut literis, aut Atheniensium reip. tribueret; nihilominus amicis urbana officia præstitit: nam et ad comitia eorum ventitavit, et si qua res major acta est, non defuit; sicut Ciceroni in omnibus ejus periculis singularem fidem præbuit; cui ex patria fugienti LLS. ducenta et quinquaginta millia donavit. Tranquilla-

to do; and bestowed all the rest of his time either upon books, or the government of the Athenians; <sup>m</sup> notwithstanding he performed all manner of good offices in the city of Rome to his friends; for he both came frequently to their elections, and if any important matter of theirs was transacted, he was not wanting; as he shewed a singular faithfulness to Cicero in all his dangers: to whom when <sup>n</sup> banished his country, he presented two hundred and fifty thousand

<sup>m</sup> I am somewhat surprised to find this passage thus translated by Major Pack: "He found many opportunities to perform very important services to his friends on the suffering side; he frequently assisted at their private rendezvous." Our author is not here talking of his friends on the suffering side, *i. e.* on the side of Marius; but of his friends in general, or rather those on the conquering side; for such alone, during the tyranny of Sylla, were permitted to sue for the great offices of the government, and such he here means, as is plain from what follows, *ad comitia eorum ventitavit*, which is not to be rendered, "assisted at their private rendezvous," words hardly intelligible, but in the same manner, or to the same purpose, as I have done, *comitia* never signifying any thing else than meetings of the people for their choice of magistrates, enacting laws, or public trials. The relative pronoun *eorum*, seems to restrain it to the first kind, meetings of the people for the choice of magistrates or elections. The Major has mistaken too the sense of *urbana officia*, which signifies here such services or good offices as were confined to the city of Rome, and could not elsewhere be performed at all, or so effectually; such as, waiting upon the candidates to the forum, or in their rounds about the town, making of interest among the citizens for them: these, and the like, are the *urbana officia* here spoken of. I make not this remark to depreciate Mr Pack's performance, which is as good, at least, if not better, than any thing of the kind I ever read; but to do justice to Cornelius Nepos, and myself too, who might otherwise be condemned, upon the authority of Mr Pack, as having here grossly mistaken the sense of my author.

<sup>n</sup> I choose to render *fugienti ex patria*, being banished out of his country. Major Pack's translation, *being obliged to fly his country*, is, to my thinking, too general, to convey the author's meaning to such as are unacquainted with Cicero's story; he was banished by the people of Rome, and that is what the author meant. He uses the word *fugio* here, as the Greeks do their verb *φεύγω*, which is commonly put for being banished, sometimes with the accusative *πατρίδα*, but oftener, I think, without.



tis autem rebus Romanis, remigravit Romam, ut opinor, L. Cottâ, et L. Torquato Coss. quem diem sic universa civitas Atheniensium prosecuta est, ut lacrymis desiderii futuri dolorem indicaret.

CAP. V. Habebat avunculum, Q. Cæciliun, equitem Romanum, familiarem L. Luculli, divitem, difficillimâ naturâ; ejus sic asperitatem veritus est, ut, quem nemo ferre posset, hujus sine offensione ad summam senectutem retinuerit benevolentiam; quo facto tulit pietatis fructum. Cæcilius enim moriens testamento adoptavit eum, hæredemque fecit ex <sup>q</sup> dodrante; ex qua hæreditate accepit circiter

o sesterces. But after the Roman affairs were pretty well settled, he returned to Rome, as I think, when L. Cotta, and L. Torquatus, were consuls; which day the whole city of the Athenians did so observe, that they discovered by their tears their sorrow for their future loss.

CHAP. V. He had an uncle, Q. Cæcilius, a Roman knight, a friend of L. Lucullus, rich, but of a very rugged temper; whose peevishness he bore so meekly, that he kept in his favour, without any offence given, to an extreme age, whom no body else was able to bear with; for which he reaped the fruit of his <sup>p</sup> dutiful behaviour towards him. For Cæcilius, when a-dying, adopted him by his will, and made him heir to three fourths of his estate; by which inheritance he got about a hundred times an hundred thousand sesterces. centies

<sup>o</sup> A sesterce was the fourth part of a *denarius*, which was about 3d. of our money; the whole sum therefore here mentioned is near upon 2000 pounds.

<sup>p</sup> *Pietas*, I render, *dutiful behaviour*. Piety, which is Major Pack's translation of the word, has nothing at all to do here. See the note on the fifth chapter of Conon's life.

<sup>q</sup> *Dodrants* is nine *uncia* or twelfths of the Roman *as*, which was originally a large brass coin, almost an English pound, but by several reductions brought at last to one four and twentieth part of that weight. An estate was likewise termed *as*, and divided into twelve parts called *uncia*; and accordingly *hares ex asse* was heir to the whole estate, *hares ex dodrante* was heir to nine *uncia* or twelfths, i. e. three fourths of the estate.

<sup>r</sup> *Sestertius*, as I have already remarked, is near upon two pence of our money. *Sestertium* signifies a thousand *sestertii*, i. e. about 7l. 16s. 3d. According to the Roman way of reckoning, after a numeral adverb is always to be understood a hundred thousand; so that *centies .LLS.* is a hundred times a hundred thousand sesterces, or ten millions, i. e. 70,000 pounds of our money nearly. It seems strange the Romans should use no higher a denomination, than that of a two-penny piece, in their reckoning of money; it must have rendered their accounts

centies LLS. Erat nupta oror Attici Q. Tullio Ci. *The sister of Atticus was married to Q. Tullius Cicero, and M.*

accounts high, and troublesome enough. [If two pence is the value of the *sestertius*, (which some do reckon it to be), then the sum here mentioned amounts to 83,333 *l.* 4 *s.* and the sum in the fourth chapter to 2083 *l.* 6 *s.* *Sterling*. There are so many different opinions, both of British and foreign writers, about the true value of *sestertius*, (though but a small coin among the Romans), that it is not so very easy for one to satisfy himself about it. Mr Clarke seems to make it want half a farthing of our two pence, which is indeed the opinion of some others: Mr Kennett, towards the end of his *Roman antiquities*, seems to make it one farthing and a half above two pence. However, they generally agree as to the marks of both the *as* and *sestertius*. The *as*, (which some reckon a coin of three farthings value), because at first it was a pound weight, is expressed by *l.* the first letter of *libra*, a pound. And the *sestertius*, by *LLS.* the two *LL* standing for *duo librae*, two pounds, and the *S* for *semi*, half a pound; which afterwards, by turning the two *LL* into an *H*, was thus marked, *HS*; so that *LLS.* or *HS*, stand for *sestertius* a sesterce, being two *asses* and an half, *i. e.* two pounds of brass coin and an half; the value of which in our money is hinted at above, and in Mr Clarke's note here.

In reckoning by *sesterces*, the Romans had an art which may be understood by these three rules.

I. If a numeral noun agree in gender, case, and number, with *sestertius*, then it denotes precisely so many *sestertii* as mentioned, as *decem sestertii*, ten sesterces.

II. If a numeral noun of another case be joined with the genitive plural of *sestertius*, it denotes so many thousands, as *decem sestertium* (for *sestertiorum*) signifies, ten thousand sesterces.

III. If an adverb numeral be joined with the genitive plural of *sestertius*, it denotes so many hundred thousands, as *decies sestertium* signifies ten hundred thousand sesterces; or, if the numeral adverb be put by itself, the signification is the same, as *decies* or *vicies* stand for ten or twenty hundred thousand sesterces, or, as they say, so many hundred *sestertia*.

As for the remark which Mr Clarke makes towards the end of his note upon the *sestertius* here, it is hard to say what he means by it: for he could not but know that the Romans had and did use higher denominations than that of the *sestertius* in their reckoning of money; such as, the new *denarius*, in value about seven pence two farthings, the old *denarius*, about eight pence two farthings, the *centussis*, about six shillings three pence, &c. besides their sums, such as their *libra* of 3*l.* the *sestertium* of 7*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.* and talent of 187*l.* 10*s.* All which do occur in their writers either of prose or poetry. But there not being so much art in reckoning by any of these as by the *sestertius*, it would therefore seem their ingenious authors choose to reckon by it, which may probably be the reason why it is in most frequent use amongst them.]

[Her name was Pomponia.]

ceroni; easque nuptias M. Cicero conciliarât; cum quo à condiscipulatu vivebat conjunctissimè, multo etiam familiariùs quàm cum Quinto: ut judicari possit, plus in amicitia valere similitudinem morum, quàm affinitatem. Utebatur autem intimè Q. Hortensio, qui iis temporibus principatum eloquentiæ tenebat, ut intelligi non posset, uter cum plus diligeret, Cicero an Hortensius; et id, quod erat difficillimum, efficiebat, ut inter quos tantæ laudis esset æmulatio, nulla intercederet obrectatio; essetque talium virorum <sup>t</sup> copula.

CAP. VI. In repub. ita est versatus, ut semper optimarum partium et esset, et existimaretur; neque tamen se civilibus fluctibus committeret, quòd non magis eos in sua potestate existimabat esse, qui se iis dedissent, quàm qui

*Cicero had made up the match; with whom he lived in a very close friendship from the time of their being school-fellows, and much more familiarly than with Quintus; that it may be thereby judged, that a similitude of manners does more in friendship, than affinity. He was likewise intimate with Q. Hortensius, who in those times, had the highest reputation for eloquence, that it could not be understood whether of them loved him more, Cicero or Hortensius; and he effected that, which was very difficult, that there was no endeavour to lessen one another, passed betwixt those, betwixt whom there was a rivalry for so considerable a prize of fame; and he was the bond of union betwixt those great men.*

CHAP. VI. He behaved himself so in the commonwealib, that he both always was, and was reckoned of the <sup>u</sup> party of the quality; and yet would not engage himself in civil broils, because he did not think them to be more in their own power, who trusted themselves upon those waves, than those, who

<sup>t</sup> [*Copula* properly signifies a dog-couple, also a bond or tie, which Mr Clarke has well Englished here by *bond of union*: and as Atticus was such between Cicero and Hortensius, so Julia the daughter of Cæsar, who was married to Pompey the Great, was, while alive, the *copula* betwixt these two great men; but after her death, they broke out into war, which ended in the ruin of Pompey.]

<sup>u</sup> Major Pack renders *optimarum partium*, by right side; but, in my opinion, those words can signify nothing but the best or a very good side or party; which would imply, that there were more parties than two in Rome, which is false. *Optimarum* is undoubtedly a wrong reading for *optimatum*. See note the first on the sixth chapter of Dion's life.

maritimis <sup>x</sup> jactarentur. Honores non petiit, cum ei paterent, propter vel gratiam, vel dignitatem; quod neque peti more majorum, neque capi possent, conservatis legibus, in tam effusis ambitus largitionibus; neque geri è republica sine periculo, corruptis civitatis moribus. Ad hastam publicam nunquam accessit. Nullius rei neque præs, neque <sup>z</sup> manceps factus est. Neminem [neque] suo nomine, neque subscribens, accusavit. In jus de sua re nunquam

were tossed about by the waves of the sea. He did not sue for any preferment in the state, though it lay ready for him, by reason either of his interest or quality; because it could neither be sued for after the manner of our ancestors, nor be attained, if the laws were observed, in so prodigious an extravagance of corruption; nor be managed to the service of the commonwealth without danger, the morals of the city being so much depraved. He never came to a public sale <sup>y</sup>. He neither became surety for, nor a farmer of, any part of the public revenue <sup>z</sup>. He [neither] <sup>b</sup> accused any one in his  
iit ;

<sup>x</sup> [Some think it should rather be *marinis*, which signifies of the nature of the sea, inhabiting the sea. *Maritimus*, being or dwelling by the sea-coast.]

<sup>y</sup> He means chiefly the sale of the estates of such as were taken off in the proscription of that barbarous butcher Sylla. Atticus in that acted the part of a generous man, and a lover of his country, that scorned to increase his estate out of the spoils taken from his innocent fellow-citizens. In those sales it was usual for the præco, or the person that superintended or managed the sale, to fix down a spear by him, which is the reason of our author's wording himself as he does.

<sup>z</sup> *Manceps* properly signifies a farmer of the public revenue, as the customs, taxes, &c. and *præs* a person bound to the government, for the farmer's due performance of his bargain.

<sup>a</sup> [The author seems to be somewhat mistaken here: for, according to Cicero, 2 *epist.* 15. Atticus was a publican, or farmer of the taxes, and employed therein, particularly amongst the Sicyonians, (a people of Greece), as the same Cicero writes, *lib. I. epist.* 19, yet this was no way derogatory to his high rank at Rome; for tho' the office of a publican was reckoned infamous by the Jews, yet it was very honourable among the Romans, as Cicero (*pro Planc. 9.*) says, *Flos equitum Romanorum, ornamentum civitatis, firmamentum reipublice publicanorum ordine continetur.*]

<sup>b</sup> When any person of figure was impeached of any crime, there were usually several managers of the trial against him; but yet the burden lay chiefly upon one person, who preferred the bill of indictment, or impeachment, to the Prætor, or lord-chief-justice, with his name to it, and was called *accusator*. Others, that had a mind



fit; iudicium nullum habuit. Multorum Consul-  
um Prætorumque præfe-  
cturas delatas sic accepit,  
ut neminem in provinci-  
am sit secutus; honore  
fuerit contentus, rei fami-  
liaris despexerit fructum;  
qui ne cum Q. quidem Ci-  
cerone voluerit ire in Asi-  
am, cum apud eum lega-  
ti locum obtinere posset;  
non enim decere se arbi-  
trabatur, cum Præturam  
gerere noluiſſet, aſſecram  
eſſe prætoris: qua in re  
non ſolum dignitati ſervi-  
ebat, ſed etiam tranquill-  
itati, cum ſuſpiciones quo-  
que vitaret criminum:  
quo fiebat, ut ejus obser-  
vantia omnibus eſſet ca-  
rior, cum eam officio, non  
timori, neque ſpei tribui  
viderent.

## CAP. VII. Incidit Cæſa-

*own name, uſr in the quality of a  
ſubſcriber or aſſiſtant. He never  
went to law about any thing of  
his own; had no trial. He ſo ac-  
cepted of the commiſſions of ſeveral  
conſuls and prætors, when offered  
him, that he followed none of them  
into his province; was content  
with the honour, deſpiſed the im-  
provement of his eſtate that way;  
who would not indeed go along  
with Q. Cicero into Aſia, though he  
might have had the poſt of a lieu-  
tenant-general under him; for he  
did not think it became him, ſince  
he would not bear the office of præ-  
tor, to be an attendant upon a præ-  
tor: in which thing he not only  
conſulted his dignity, but likewiſe  
his quiet, ſince he avoided even  
the ſuſpicions of crimes: from  
whence it was, that his reſpect  
was the more dear to all people,  
when they ſaw that it proceeded  
from kindneſs, not fear or hope.*

## CHAP. VII. Cæſar's civil

to countenance the matter, and give their aſſiſtance for the manage-  
ment of the cauſe, ſubſcribed their names, but either ſpoke but very  
little, or not at all, in the court; the buſineſs of ſpeaking there be-  
longed chiefly, if not ſolely, to the accuſator. What Major Pack  
means by tranſlating this paſſage, "He never openly or privately ac-  
cuſed any man," I cannot tell. Was I as much at my liberty in  
my tranſlation as the Major was, I ſhould have turned it thus: "He  
never was concerned in the proſecution of an indictment againſt any  
perſon, either as principal manager of the trial, or aſſiſtant."

Mr Pack tranſlates *legatus*, by legate or general officer, as if  
thoſe were words of the ſame import in our language. How far the  
title of a general officer may extend, the Major knows much better  
than I; and becauſe I am ſomewhat uncertain about it, I chuſe to  
make uſe of the word lieutenant-general, becauſe that, I take it, the  
word *legatus* ſignifies here, and that only. A *legatus* in the Roman ar-  
mies was next to the general in power, and uſed to command, by the  
general's appointment, ſome part of the army in the day of battle, and  
likewiſe the whole in the general's abſence. There were ſeveral of them  
in an army.

riatum civile bellum, cum haberet annos circiter sexaginta. Usus est ætatis vacatione<sup>d</sup>, neque[se] quòquam movit ex urbe. Quæ amicis suis opus fuerant ad Pompeium proficiscentibus, omnia ex sua re familiari dedit. Ipsum Pompeium conjunctum non offendit, nullum enim ab eo habebat<sup>e</sup> ornamentum, ut cæteri, qui per eum aut honores, aut divitias ceperant; quorum partim invitissimi castra sunt secuti, partim summa cum ejus offensione domi remanserunt: Attici autem quies tantopere Cæsari fuit grata, ut victor, cum privatis pecunias per epistolas imperaret; huic non solum molestus non fuerit, sed etiam sororis filium et Q. Ciceronem ex Pompeii castris concesserit. Sic veteri instituto vitæ, effugit nova pericula.

CAP. VIII. Secutum est illud. Occiso Cæsare, cum respub. penes Brutos videretur esse, et Cassium, ac tota civitas se ad eos convertisse videretur; sic M. Bruto usus est, ut nullo ille adolescens æquali familiaris, quam hoc se-

war fell out, when he was about sixty years old. He made use of the privilege of his age, nor did he stir any whither out of the town. He gave all things that were necessary for his friends, upon their going to Pompey, out of his own estate. He did not offend Pompey, though a friend; for he had no obligation from him, as others, who by him had got either great posts or riches; part of which followed his camp very unwillingly, part staid at home, to the great offence of him: but Atticus's neutrality was so agreeable to Cæsar, that after he was conqueror, when he commanded several private gentlemen by letters to furnish him with money, he was not only not troublesome to him, but likewise gave him out of Pompey's camp his sister's son, and Quintus Cicero. Thus, by his old way of life, he avoided new dangers.

CHAP. VIII. Then followed this. After Cæsar was slain, when the government seemed to be in the hands of the Brutuses and Cassius, and the whole city was seen to turn themselves towards them; he was so kind with M. Brutus, that that young gentleman had more intimacy with none of his own

<sup>d</sup> [Vocatio, leisure, time of ceasing from common business; a discharge, immunity, exemption from serving in the wars, which was a privilege allowed by the Roman senate to those who were above fifty years of age.] —

<sup>e</sup> [Ornamentum, (here), advantage, viz. of honour or profit.]

ne<sup>e</sup>; neque solùm eum principem consilii haberet, sed etiam in convivio. Excogitatum est à quibusdam, ut privatum ærarium Cæsaris interfectis ab equitibus Romanis constitueretur: Id facillè effici posse arbitrati sunt, si et principes illius ordinis pecunias contulissent. Itaque appellatus est à C. Flavio, Bruti familiari, Atticus, ut ejus rei princeps esse vellet. At ille, qui officia amicis præstanda sine factione existimaret, semperque à talibus se consiliis removisset, respondit; si quid Brutus de suis facultatibus<sup>f</sup> uti voluisset, usurum, quantum eæ paterentur: sed neque cum quoquam de ea re collocuturum, neque coiturum. Sic ille consensionis globus hujus unius dissensione disiectus est. Neque multò post superior esse cœpit Antonius; ita ut Brutus et Cassius<sup>h</sup> provinciarum, quæ iis dicis

age than with that old gentleman; and not only used him as his principal counsellor, but had him pretty constantly at his table. It was projected by some, that a sort of private fund should be settled by the Roman knights for the assassins of Cæsar: they thought that might easily be effected, if the leading persons of that order too would contribute money towards it. Wherefore Atticus was spoke to by C. Flavius, Brutus's friend, that he would be the beginner of that matter. But he, who thought good offices were to be performed to his friends without regard to party, and had always kept himself at a distance from such cabals, replied; That if Brutus had a mind to make any use of his estate, he might use it, as far as it would bear; but that he would neither confer, nor have a meeting with any one upon that affair. Thus this<sup>g</sup> ball of agreement was dashed in pieces by the dissent of him alone. And not long after, Antony began to be uppermost; so that Brutus and Cassius, their case being desperate, went into the provinces which had been given them  
causa

<sup>e</sup> [Scil. usus sit.]

<sup>f</sup> [The verb *utor* (which governs the ablative case) is here construed with the accusative *quid*, by a figure called *archaismus*, by which antiquated words or phrases are sometimes used.]

<sup>g</sup> [Or, company of united sentiments.]

<sup>h</sup> The text is here most vilely corrupted. Ist, *Provinciarum* should, I think, be *in provincias*, as some critics would have it, for thither, it is certain, they did go, that is, into Macedonia and Syria; besides, *sub provinciarum desperatis*, can signify nothing, in my mind, but the case or condition of their provinces being looked upon as desperate, i. e. by them; which, had it been true, as it was not, would be a strange kind of a reason for their going into banishment, and into those



causâ datæ erant à consulibus, desperatis rebus, in exilium proficiscerentur. Atticus, qui pecuniam simul cum cæteris conferre noluerat florenti illi parti, abjecto Bruto, Italiâque cedenti LLS. centum millia muneri misit; eidem in Epiro absens CCC. iussit dari: neque eo magis potenti adulatus est Antonio, neque desperatos reliquit.

CAP. IX. Secutum est bellum gestum apud Muti-

by the consuls as it were into banishment. Atticus, who would not contribute money, together with the rest, to that party when flourishing, sent as a present a hundred thousand sesterces to Brutus, in distress, and retiring out of Italy; and, tho' absent, ordered three hundred thousand more to be given him in Epiro: nor did he therefore flatter Antony now in power, nor leave those that were in a desperate condition.

CHAP. IX. After this followed the war carried on at Mutina;

those very provinces: the provinces were in no danger; they found and raised together, considerable armies there, enough, any one would have then thought, to have chased the three tyrants, Antony, Lepidus, and Cæsar, out of the Roman empire. 2dly, *Dicis causa*, for form's sake, cannot stand, because not true. Those provinces had been given them by Cæsar, and confirmed to them by the senate, not in formal empty ceremony, or compliment, whilst they were at bottom never intended for them, but seriously, and out of regard to the public interest, which required that two of the richest provinces of the Roman empire, and the best provided with troops, should be in able and trusty hands, well affected to the public liberty, and such as the honest party could depend upon, at so dangerous a juncture. This our author knew as well as any body, and therefore could not be guilty of saying, the provinces were given them *dicis causa*. Nor will the other reading *neis* do, without the word *Cæsaris*, though I somewhat question even the propriety of that expression; however, without that addition, the word *neis* can relate to none but the persons mentioned, according to the constant usage of the Latin tongue, and then the sense will be ridiculous, viz. that those provinces were given them upon account of their own death. 3dly, The words *à consulibus* look very much like the gloss of some ignoramus in the Roman customs; for provinces were never disposed of by the consuls, but either by lot, by the senate, or by the votes of the people.

<sup>k</sup> [Epirus was formerly a kingdom of Greece, now a province thereof in European Turkey; it is divided into two countries, viz. Chimera, or Canina, to the north, and Arta to the south.]

<sup>l</sup> [Mutina, now Modena, an ancient, and still a pretty city of Lombardy in Italy, the capital of a sovereign dukedom of the same name. It is seated in a plain upon the river Secchia, with a good citadel, and a fine palace belonging to the Duke; it is very populous, and stands 44 miles almost south-east of Mantua, and almost 200 north of Rome.]

nam;



nam; in quo si tantum eum prudentem dicam, minus, quam debeam, prædicem, cum ille potius divinus fuerit; si divinatio appellanda est perpetua naturalis bonitas, quæ nullis casibus augetur, neque minuitur. Hocis Antonius judicatus, Italiâ cesserat; spes restituendi nulla erat: non solum ejus inimici, qui tum erant potentissimi et plurimi, sed etiam amici adversariis ejus se dabant, et in eo lædendo se aliquam consecuturos sperabant<sup>n</sup> commoditatem; Antonii familiares insequiebantur; uxorem Fulviam omnibus rebus spoliare cupiebant, liberos etiam extinguere parabant. Atticus, cum Ciceronis intimâ familiaritate uteretur, amicissimus esset Bruto, non modò nihil iis indulgit ad Antonium violandum; sed è contrario familiares

<sup>m</sup> in which, if I only style him prudent, I shall commend him less than I ought, since he was rather divine, if an uninterrupted natural goodness, which is neither increased nor diminished by any events of fortune, is to be called divinity. Antony being declared an enemy, had quitted Italy; there was no hope of restoring him: not only his enemies, who then were very powerful and very many, but likewise his quondam friends, joined themselves with his enemies, and hoped they should make their advantage by doing him a mischief; they persecuted Antony's friends; sought to strip his wife Fulvia of every thing; and endeavoured too to destroy his children. Atticus, though he had an intimate familiarity with Cicero, and was a very great friend to Brutus, not only complied with them in nothing for the misusing of Antony; but on the contrary protected, as much

<sup>m</sup> Compare this passage with another in the close of the 16th chap. where our author, in commending Cicero's foresight, says, *Prudentiam quodammodo esse divinationem*. I am very inclinable to think that *divinatio* here is false reading for *divinitas*, which is the only salvo, I believe, can be found for our author. Perhaps some ignorant person, finding the two passages something alike, has pretended to correct the former by the latter, which correction at last got into all the copies. It is plain, the text, according to the present reading, is nonsense. There is no manner of affinity or similitude betwixt *divinatio* in the only sense it can here have, that of prophesying, or foretelling by virtue of a divine impulse upon the mind, or inspiration; I say, there is no manner of likeness betwixt *divinatio* in that sense, and the unalterable goodness or humanity in Atticus, which the author is here commending, and consequently no foundation for such an application of the word *divinatio*. If we read *divinitas* for *divinatio*, the sense will be then what I have expressed in my translation.

<sup>n</sup> [Some read *commendationem*, recommendation.]

ejus, ex urbe profugientes, quantum potuit, texit; quibus rebus indiguerunt, adjuvit. P. vero Volumnio ea tribuit, ut plura à parente proficisci non potuerint. Ipsi autem Fulviæ, cùm liti-  
bus<sup>n</sup> distineretur, magnif-  
que terroribus vexaretur, tantâ diligentia officium suum præstitit, ut nullum illa stiterit vadimonium sine Attico; hic sponsor omnium rerum fuerit: quin etiam, cùm illa fundum [secundâ fortunâ] emisset in diem, neque post calamitatem versuram facere potuisset; ille se interposuit, pecuniamque sine fœnore, sineque ulla<sup>o</sup> stipulatione ei credidit; maximum existimans quæstum, memorem gratumque cognosci; simulque aperire, se non fortunæ, sed hominibus folere esse amicum; quæ cùm faciebat, nemo eum tem-

as he could, his friends flying out of the city; and assisted them with what things they wanted. He did those things for P. Volumnius, that more could not have come from a father. But he performed his good offices with so much care to Fulvia herself, when she was embarrassed with law-suits, and harassed with great terrors, that she never appeared upon bail without Atticus; he was in all cases her bondsman: moreover, when she had bought an estate [in their prosperity] to be paid for by a certain day, and could not take up money for it, after this unhappy turn, he interposed, and trusted her the money without use, or requiring any formal promise of repayment; thinking it the greatest gain, to be found mindful and grateful; and at the same time to shew the world, that he did not use to be a friend to fortune, but to men; which when he did,

<sup>n</sup> *Dislineo* seems originally and properly to signify to fasten, or pin down a thing on several sides, as in that passage of Cæsar, in B. 1. c. 15, of the Civil war: *Has (naves) quaternis ancoris ex quatuor angulis dislinebat, ne fluctibus moverenter.* Thence it was put figuratively for embarrass, incumber, &c. Thus we meet with *disensus bello, curis, occupationibus*, for a person whose attention is wholly taken up, pinned down, as it were, to the business of war, various concerns or employs, which keep the mind, as it were, on all sides attached to them, so as not to leave it at liberty to move, stir, or apply itself to any thing else.

<sup>o</sup> *Stipuler*, from whence the noun *stipulatio* comes, signifies to require, upon the conclusion of a bargain or agreement, a promise, by repeating in clear and full terms, the substance of the agreement, as in Plautus, *Dabisne argenti mihi hodie viginti minas?* is a *stipulatio*, to which the other party answers, *Dabo.* Atticus was so little concerned for the security of his money, that he did not so much as insist upon a set formal promise for the repayment of it.

poris causâ facere poterat existimare. Nemini enim in opinionem veniebat, Antonium rerum potiturum. Sed <sup>p</sup> sensus ejus à nonnullis optimatibus reprehendebatur, quòd parum odisse malos cives videretur.

CAP. X. Ille autem sui judicii, potius, quid se facere par esset, intuebatur, quàm quid alii laudaturi forent. Conversa subito fortuna est. Ut Antonius rediit in Italiam, nemo non magno [in] periculo Atticum [futurum] putârat, propter intimam familiaritatem Ciceronis et Bruti; itaque ad adventum imperatorum de foro decesserat, timens proscriptionem; latebatque apud P. Voluminium, cui, ut ostendimus paulò antè, opem tulerat. (Tanta varietas iis temporibus fuit fortunæ, ut modò hi, modò illi, in summo essent aut fastigio, aut periculo): habebatque secum Q. Gelli-

*no body could think that he did it for time-serving. For it came into no body's thoughts, that Antony would ever have the superiority again. But his conduct was blamed by some of the party of the <sup>q</sup> quality, because he seemed not sufficiently to hate bad citizens.*

CHAP. X. But he being under the guidance of his own judgment, regarded rather what was fit for him to do, than what others would commend. On a sudden fortune was changed. When Antony returned into Italy, every body thought Atticus [would be] in great danger, because of the intimate familiarity of Cicero and Brutus with him; wherefore, upon the coming of the <sup>r</sup> generals to town, he had withdrawn from the forum, fearing the <sup>r</sup> proscription; and absconded with P. Voluminius, to whom he had given his assistance, as I have shewn a little above. (So great was the variety of fortune in those times, that one while these, another while those, were either in the greatest height of grandeur, or the greatest dan-

<sup>p</sup> [For *sensus ejus*, Staveren and Stubelius read *sensim is*, &c. he was blamed by degrees, or in private, as Stubelius explains *sensim*.]

<sup>q</sup> Those in Rome that were for advancing the power of the senate, were called *Optimates*; and those, on the other hand, that stood up for the rights and privileges of the people, were called *populares*. In the former party were the gentry generally, in the latter the populace.

<sup>r</sup> Antony, Lepidus and Cæsar.

<sup>s</sup> Proscription was the posting up of gentlemens names in the most public parts of Rome, with the promise of a reward to such as should bring their heads. This abominable butchery was first used by Sylla, spoken of above.

um Canum, æqualem, simillimumque fui. Hoc quoque sit Attici bonitatis exemplum, quod cum eo, quem puerum in ludo cognoverat, adeò conjunctè vixit, ut ad extremam ætatem amicitia eorum creverit. Antonius autem, etsi tanto odio ferebatur in Ciceronem, ut non solum ei, sed omnibus etiam ejus amicis esset inimicus, eosque vellet proscribere; multis hortantibus tamen, Attici memor fuit officii; et ei, cum requisisset ubinam esset, suâ manu scripsit, ne timeret. statimque ad se veniret; se eum, et illius causâ [Gellium] Canum de proscriptorum numero exemisse; ac, ne quod in periculum incidere quod noctu fiebat, præsidium ei misit. Sic Atticus in summo timore non solum sibi, sed etiam ei, quem carissimum habebat, præsidio fuit: neque enim suæ solum à quoquam auxilium petiit salutis, sed conjunctim; ut appareret nullam se junctam sibi ab eo velle [esse] fortunam: quod si gubernator præcipuâ laude fertur, qui na-

ger): and he had with him *Q. Gellius Canus*, equal in age, and very much like himself. This likewise may be another instance of *Atticus's* goodness, that he lived in such a close union with him, whom he had known when a boy at school, that their friendship grew even to their old age. But *Antony*, tho' he was puffed on with so great a resentment against *Cicero*, that he was not an enemy to him only, but to all his friends too, and intended to proscribe them; yet, many people advising him to it, he was mindful of *Atticus's* kindness; and when he had inquired where he was, writ to him with his own hand, that he should not fear, and that he should come to him out of hand; that he had taken him, and [*Gellius*] *Canus* for his sake, out of the number of the proscribed; and, that he might not fall into any danger, which was then usual in the night, he sent him a guard. Thus *Atticus*, under the utmost apprehension, was not only a security to himself, but also to him, whom he held most dear: for he did not desire help in order to his own security, only, but in conjunction with his friend; that it might appear that he had a mind to have no fortune apart from him: but if a pilot is ex-

<sup>c</sup> This Cicero was a person of the highest abilities in Rome, a good philosopher, and the greatest master of eloquence that ever lived; which fine talent cost him his life: for having exerted it in several harangues before the senate against Antony, he so incensed him, that nothing could satisfy him but the head of the speaker, which he got at last, though Cæsar struggled a long time to save him.



vem ex hyeme, marique scopuloso servat; cur non singularis ejus existimetur prudentia, qui ex tot, tamque gravibus procellis civilibus, ad incolumitatem pervenit?

CAP. XI. Quibus ex malis ut se<sup>u</sup> emerferat, nihil aliud egit, quàm ut plurimis, quibus rebus posset, esset auxilio. Cùm proscriptos, præmiis imperatorum, vulgus conquereret, nemo in Epirum venit, cui res ulla defuerit: nemini non ibi perpetuò manendi potestas facta est. Quinetiam, post prælium Philippense, interitumque C. Cassii, et M. Bruti, L. Julium Mocillam Prætorium, et filium ejus, Aulumque Torquatum, cæterosque pari fortunâ perculsos, instituerit tueri; atque ex Epiro his omnia Samothraciam supportari jussit. Difficile<sup>z</sup> enim est omnia persequi, et non

*toll'd with singular commendation, who saves a ship out of a storm, and a rocky sea; why should not his prudence be thought singular, who, out of so many and such violent civil storms, came to a state of security?*

CHAP. XI. *Out of which distress after he had delivered himself, he minded nothing else, but that he might be aiding to as many as possible, in what things he could. Whilst the common people sought after the proscribed, upon the promised rewards of the generals, nobody came into Epire, to whom any thing was wanting: every one had liberty granted them of slaying there constantly. Moreover after the battle of<sup>x</sup> Philippi, and the death of C. Cassius, and M. Brutus, he resolved to protect L. Julius Mocilla who had been prætor, and his son, and A. Torquatus, and the rest that were bore down by the like ill fortune; and ordered all necessaries to be carried to them from Epirus to<sup>y</sup> Samothrace. But it is difficult to run through all the particulars of this*

<sup>u</sup> [*Emergo* is a neuter verb; yet not only Nepos here has it with an accusative after it, but also Terence, *Andr.* III. iii. 30. *Emergere sese ex malis:*]

<sup>x</sup> Philippi was a city of Macedonia, nigh the borders of Thrace.

<sup>y</sup> [*Samothracia*, now Samandrachi, is one of the isles of the Archipelago, between that of Stalimene and the coast of Romania. It is about seven leagues in circuit, and was anciently very famous for religious rites, especially the mysteries of Ceres and Proserpina. It was accounted sacred, and allowed to be a sanctuary or place of refuge for all offenders, except murderers, to fly to.]

<sup>z</sup> *Enim* seems to have been put here by the heedlessness of some copier of books for *autem*; for what follows is no reason for what goes before, as it should be, if *enim* was the true reading.

<sup>y</sup> necessaria : illud unum intelligi volumus, illius liberalitatem neque temporariam, neque callidam fuisse ; id ex ipsis rebus ac temporibus judicari potest ; quod non florentibus se venditavit, sed afflictis semper succurrit : qui quidem Serviliam, Brutii matrem, non minùs post mortem ejus, quàm <sup>z</sup> florentem, coluerit. Sic liberalitate utens, nullas inimicitias gessit ; quod neque lædebat quenkquam, neque, si quam injuriam acceperat, <sup>a</sup> malebat ulcisci, quàm oblivisci. Idem immortalī memoriā præcepta retinebat beneficia ; quæ autem ipse tribuerat, tamdiu meminerat, quoad ille gratus erat, qui acceperat ; itaque hic fecit, ut verè dictum videatur, *Sui cuique mores fingunt fortunam*. Neque tamen prius ille fortunam quàm se ipse finxit ; qui cavit, ne qua in re jure plecteretur.

kind, and not necessary : we would have this one thing understood, that his generosity was neither temporary, nor sily intended ; that may be discerned by the things and times themselves ; because he did not make his court to those that were in a flourishing condition, but always succoured the distressed : who verily treated with honour Servilia the mother of Brutus no less after his death, than when in a flourishing condition. Thus employing his generosity, he had no quarrels with any body, because he neither injured any one, nor, if he had received any injury, did he chuse rather to revenge it, than forget it. The same man kept in perpetual remembrance kindnesses formerly received ; but what he himself bestowed, he remembered so long as he was grateful, that had received them ; wherefore this he effected by his behaviour, that it seems to have been truly said, Every one's manners make his fortune : <sup>b</sup> neither yet did he form his fortune before he formed himself, who took care that he should not be deservedly punished in any case.

<sup>y</sup> This *necessaria*, I think, should be *necessarium* ; for else I see not how it is possible to make sense of this passage.

<sup>z</sup> [Staveien ha. *fiorente*, sc. *Brutii*.]

<sup>a</sup> [The same gentleman, with some others, read here *non malebat* ; and he observes, that Latin authors sometimes have two negatives, which do not always make an affirmative, but rather inforce the negation ; as in Terence, *neque haud dicas tibi non prædictum cave*, &c.]

<sup>b</sup> What our author here says, is, in my opinion, very sily. *Tamen* always intimates some seeming opposition betwixt what goes before and what follows ; but there is so far from being any such seeming opposition here, that there is a very manifest agreement, it following very evidently from the maxim aforegoing, if true, that Atticus, to form his fortune, must form himself first.

CAP. XII. His igitur rebus effecit, ut M. Vipfanius Agrippa, intimâ familiaritate conjunctus adolescenti Cæsari, cum, propter suam gratiam, et Cæsaris potentiam, nullius conditionis non haberet potestatem, potissimum ejus deligeret affinitatem, præoptaretque equitis R. filiam generosam nuptiis: atque harum nuptiarum conciliator fuit (non est enim celandum) M. Antonius, Triumvir reip. constituendæ; cuius gratiâ cum augere possessiones posset suas, tantum abfuit à cupiditate pecuniæ, ut nulla in re usus fit eâ, nisi in deprecandis amicorum aut periculis, aut incommodis: quod quidem sub ipsa proscriptione perillustre fuit: nam cum L. Sausæii equitis R. æqualis fui, qui cum eo complures annos, studio ductus philosophiæ, habitabat; habebatque in Italia pretiosas possessiones, Triumviri bo-

CHAP. XII. By these things therefore he brought it about, that M. Vipfanius Agrippa, united with the youth Cæsar in a close familiarity, when, by reason of his own interest, and Cæsar's power, he had a possibility of attaining any match whatever, chose his affinity above all others, and preferred the <sup>c</sup> daughter of a Roman knight before the matches of the <sup>d</sup> most noble ladies: and the maker up of this match was (for we must not conceal it) M. Antony, the <sup>e</sup> Triumvir for settling the commonwealth; by whose interest when he might have increased his possessions, he was so far from a greedy desire of money, that he made use of that interest in nothing, but begging off either the dangers or troubles of his friends: which indeed was very remarkable in the time of the proscription: for when the Triumviri, according to the way, in which things were then managed, had sold the estate of L. Sausæius a Roman knight, his friend, who, moved by his fan-

<sup>c</sup> [This lady, the daughter of Atticus, was called Attica; and Cicero, 6. *epist.* 5. in a fond and friendly way calls her Atticula; and she seems to have been her father's darling.]

<sup>d</sup> *Generosam* should be, in my opinion, *generosarum*; for though the lady was of an Equestrian family, yet since none of the family had ever arrived to the Senatorian order, she could not be called *generosa*, in comparison of many other ladies in Rome, that were far beyond her in point of quality. Essenius, Stubelius, and Staveren, agree with Mr. Clarke here, for they all have *generosarum*, which should have likewise been inserted in this text; but that might have rendered Mr. Clarke's note needless, in which there is something curious.]

<sup>e</sup> [*Triumvir* was one of the three officers that were in like authority, such as Octavius, Anthony, and Lepidus.]

na vendidissent, consuetudine eâ, quâ tum res gerebantur; Attici labore atque industriâ factum, ut eodem nuntio Sausæius fieret certior, se patrimonium amisisse, et recuperâsse. Idem L. Julium Calidum, quem post Lucretii Catullique mortem, multo elegantissimum poëtam, nostram tulisse ætatem, verè videor posse contendere; neque minùs virum bonum, optimisque artibus eruditum; post proscriptionem equitum, propter magnas ejus Africanas possessiones, in proscriptorum numerum à P. Volumnio, præfecto fabrûm Antonii, absentem relatum, expedit; quod in præsentibus, utrùm ei laboriosius an gloriosius fuerit, difficile fuit judicare; quòd in eorum periculis, non secus absentes, quàm præsentibus, amicos Attico esse curæ, cognitum est.

CAP. XIII. Neque verò minùs ille vir, bonus paterfamilias habitus est, quàm civis. Nam, cùm esset pecuniosus, nemo illo minùs fuit emax, minùs ædificator; neque tamen non in primis benè habitavit, omnibusque optimis rebus usus est: nam domum ha-

*cy for philosophy, had lived several years with him, and had in Italy valuable possessions; it was brought about by the pains and industry of Atticus, that Sausæius was made acquainted by the same message, that he had lost his estate, and recovered it. The same person likewise brought off L. Julius Calidus, whom, methinks, I may truly affirm our age has produced much the finest poet, since the death of Lucretius and Catullus; and no less a good man, and skilled in the best arts; after the proscription of the knights, put, though absent, into the number of the proscribed, because of his great estate in Africa, by P. Volumnius, a director of Antony's engineers; which, whether it was more laborious or more glorious for him at that time, was hard to judge; because it was observed, that Atticus's friends, in their dangers, were no less his care when absent, than when present.*

CHAP. XIII. Neither was this gentleman reckoned a less good master of a family, than a citizen. For though he was a monied man, yet no body was less addicted to buying than he, nor less a builder; and yet he had a very convenient dwelling, and had all things of the very best: for he had the <sup>f</sup> Tamphilæan house

<sup>f</sup> [So called from some Roman gentleman of the name of Tamphilus, probably Bæbius Tamphilus a consul, mentioned in the 13th chap. of Hannibal's life, from whom Atticus's uncle might have purchased this house.]



buit in colle Quirinali Tam-  
phianam, ab avunculo hæ-  
reditate relictam; cujus a-  
mœnitas non ædificio, sed  
silvâ constabat; ipsum e-  
nim tectum antiquitus con-  
stitutum, plus salis, quàm  
sumptûs habebat; in quo  
nihil commutavit, nisi si  
quid vetustate coactus est.  
Ufus est <sup>h</sup> familiâ, si utilita-  
te judicandum est, optimâ;  
si formâ, vix mediocri;  
namque in ea erant pueri li-  
teratissimi, anagnostæ opti-  
mi, et plurimi librarii; ut  
ne pedisequs quidem quis-  
quam esset, qui non utrum-  
que horum pulchrè facere  
posset. Pari modo artifices  
cæteri, quos cultus domesti-  
cus desiderat, apprimè bo-  
ni; neque tamen horum  
quenquam, nisi domi na-  
tum, domique factum, ha-  
buit; quod est signum non  
solum continentiæ, sed eti-  
am diligentiae: nam et non  
intemperanter concupisce-  
re, quod à plurimis videas,  
continentis debet duci; et  
[potius] diligentiam, quàm  
pretio, parare, non medio-  
cris est industriæ. Elegans,  
non magnificus; splendi-  
dus, non sumptuosus: omni  
diligentiâ munditiem non

in the <sup>2</sup> Quirinal hill, an estate  
left him by his uncle; the plea-  
santness of which did not consist  
in the building itself, but in a  
wood: for the house itself being  
old built, had more of neatness  
than expence about it; in which  
he changed nothing, unless he  
was forced by the oldness of it.  
He had a family of servants,  
if we are to judge by conveni-  
ence, very good; if by outward  
appearance, not quite so good as  
the ordinary kind: for in it were  
very learned boys, very good read-  
ers, and many transcribers of  
books; that there was not indeed  
any footman, that could not do  
both these very well. In like  
manner, other artists, which do-  
mestic use requires, were ex-  
tremely good; neither yet had he  
any of those, but what was born  
in his house, and instructed in  
his house; which is a sign not  
only of moderation, but diligence  
too: for not extravagantly to de-  
sire, what you see to be so desir-  
ed by many, ought to be account-  
ed the part of a moderate man;  
and to procure things by dili-  
gence [rather] than purchase, is  
a matter of no small industry.  
He was elegant, not magnificent;  
splendid, not prodigal: he affect-  
ed, with all possible care, a  
neatness that was not extrava-

<sup>8</sup> [The Quirinal hill, now *Monte Cavallè*, is one of the celebrated hills on which old Rome stood. It was called *Quirinalis*, as some say, from the temple of *Quirinus*, another name of *Romulus*. The popes have built a palace there.]

<sup>h</sup> *Familia* is often, as here, put for the servants of a family only; and good reason why, since the word seems plainly derived from *famulus*, the latter from the former.

affluentem

affluentem affectabat : suppellex modica, non inulta, ut in neutram partem conspicui posset. Nec hoc præteribo, quanquam nonnullis leve visum iri putem : cum in primis lautus esset eques Rom. et non parum liberaliter domum suam omnium ordinum homines invitaret ; scimus non amplius, quam terna millia <sup>k</sup> æris, peræquè in singulos menses, ex ephemeride eum expensum fuitui ferre solitum : atque hoc non auditum, sed cognitum prædicamus : sæpe enim, propter familiaritatem, domesticis rebus interfuimus.

CAP. XIV. Nemo in convivio ejus aliud *ἀκροάμα* (*acroama*) audivit, quàm anagnosten ; quod nos quidem jucundissimum arbitramur : neque unquam sine aliqua lectione apud eum cœnatum est ; ut non

gant : his furniture was moderate, not much ; so as to be remarkable neither way. Nor shall I pass this by, although I suppose it may seem a slight matter to some ; tho' he was a genteel Roman knight of the first rank, and invited, not a little generously, men of all ranks to his house ; we know that he did not use to reckon from his i day book expended more than three thousand <sup>l</sup> asses a month, one with another : and this we affirm, not as a thing heard, but a certainty : because we were often, by reason of our intimacy, actually present in the management of his domestic affairs.

CHAP. XIV. No body ever heard any other <sup>m</sup> entertainment for the ears at his meals, than a reader ; which we truly think very pleasant : nor was there ever a supper at his house, without some reading ; that his guests might be entertained in their

i It was usual with the Romans to keep an exact account of their daily disbursements, and receipts too, as appears from many passages in the Roman writers. The book in which these accounts were kept was called *ephemeris*, in Latin *diarium*, a journal, or day-book.

<sup>k</sup> [It is taken for *as*, according to Varro, i. e. *terna millia assium*. But some think it should be *tricena*, thirty, instead of *terna* ; if so, it makes Atticus's monthly charges to have been about 130*l*. Gronov. & Lipsf.]

<sup>l</sup> The *as* was near upon a penny of our money, and so the whole sum near eleven pounds. Things must have been very cheap in Rome, in comparison to what they have been now-a-days with us, otherwise Atticus could not have frequently entertained, and that handsomely and genteelly, persons of the best quality, at his table, at so small an expence monthly.

<sup>m</sup> It was usual, at the tables of persons of quality in Rome, to entertain the guests with music, farces, &c.

minùs

minùs animo, quàm ventre, convivæ delectarentur; namque eos vocabat, quorum mores à suis non abhorrerent. Cùm tanta pecuniæ facta esset accessio, nihil de quotidiano cultu mutavit; nihil de vitæ consuetudine: tantâque usus est moderatione, ut neque in festerio vicies, quod à patre acceperat, parum se splendide gesserit; neque in festerio centies, affluentius vixerit, quàm instituerat; parique fastigio steterit in utraque fortuna. Nullos habuit hortos, nullam suburbanam aut maritimam sumtuosam villam; neque in Italia, præter Ardeatinum, et Nomentanum, rusticum prædium: omnisque ejus pecuniæ redditus constabat in Epiroticis, et urbanis possessionibus; ex quo cognosci potest, eum, usum pecuniæ, non magnitudine, sed ratione metiri solitum.

CAP. XV. Mendacium neque dicebat, neque pati poterat; itaque ejus <sup>P</sup> comitas non sine severitate erat; neque gravitas sine facilitate; ut difficile es-

*minds, as well as their stomachs; for he invited those, whose manners were not different from his own. And after so great an addition was made to his estate, he changed nothing of his daily way of life; nothing of his usual method of living: and used so much moderation, that neither in an estate of twenty times a hundred thousand sesterces, which he had received from his father, did he behave himself ungenteelly; nor in an estate of an hundred times a hundred thousand sesterces, did he live more plentifully than he had been used to do; and stood upon an equal height in both fortunes. He had no gardens, no magnificent seat nigh the city, or upon the sea; nor any land-estate in Italy, besides that at <sup>n</sup> Ardea and at <sup>o</sup> Nomentum: and his whole income of money consisted in his possessions in Epirus, and the city Rome; from whence it may be understood, that it was his way to measure the use of money, not by its quantity, but by the manner of using it.*

CHAP. XV. He neither told a lie himself, nor could he endure it: wherefore his complaisance was not without a strict regard to truth, nor his gravity without a good degree of compliance;

<sup>n</sup> Ardea, now in ruins, was a city of Latium, nigh the sea, about twenty miles from Rome.

<sup>o</sup> Nomentum, a town in the country of the Sabines. It is now called *Lamentana*, about fifteen miles from Rome.

<sup>P</sup> *Comitas* signifies complaisance or civility, in the expression of which it has always been but too customary to have small regard to truth.

fet intellectu, utrùm eum amici magis vererentur, an amarent. Quidquid rogabatur, religiosè promittebat; quòd non liberalis, sed levis, arbitrabatur, polliceri, quod præstare non posset. Idem in nitendo quod semel annuisset, tantà erat curâ, ut non mandatam, sed suam rem videretur agere. Nunquam suscepti negotii eum pertæsum est; suam enim estimationem in ea re agi putabat, quâ nihil habebat carius; quo fiebat, ut omnia Marci et Quinti Ciceronum, Marii, Catonis, Q. Hortensii, A. Torquati, multorum præterea equitum Romanorum negotia procuraret: ex quo judicari poterat, non inertia, sed judicio fugisse reipub. procuracionem.

CAP. XVI. Humanitatis verò nullum asserre majus testimonium possum, quam quòd adolescens, idem seni Sullæ fuerit jucundissimus; senex, adolescenti M. Bruto; cum æqualibus autem suis Q. Hortensio, et M. Cicerone, sic vixerit, ut judicari difficile sit, cui ætati fuerit aptissimus; quanquam e-

*that it was hard to be understood, whether his friends revered or loved him more. Whatsoever he was asked, he promised<sup>a</sup> scrupulously; because he thought it the part not of a generous, but an inconsiderate man, to promise what he could not perform. The same man was a person of so much application, in endeavouring to effect what he had once promised, that he did not seem to manage an affair recommended to him by another, but his own. He was never weary of a business he had undertaken; for he thought his credit concerned in that matter, than which he accounted nothing more valuable; from whence it was, that he managed all the affairs of the Cicerones, Marcus and Quintus, of<sup>r</sup> Marius, of Cato, of Q. Hortensius, A. Torquatus, and many Roman knights besides: from which it might be judged, that he declined the business of government, not out of laziness, but judgement.*

CHAP. XVI. *But I can produce no greater proof of his politeness, than that the same man, when young, was very agreeable to Sylla an old man; and when old, was the same to M. Brutus a young man; but he so lived with his friends of the same age with himself, Q. Hortensius, and M. Cicerone, that it is hard to be judged, to what age he was most suited;*

<sup>a</sup> He was not very forward in his promises, lest the performance should not be in his power.

<sup>r</sup> [That Marius, the son of old Marius, was intimate with Atticus, appears from the first chapter of his life.]



um præcipuè dilexit Cicero, ut ne frater quidem ei Quintus carior fuerit, aut familiarior. Ei rei sunt indicio, præter eos libros, in quibus de eo facit mentionem, qui in vulgus [jam] sunt editi; sexdecim volumina epistolarum, ab consulatu ejus usque ad extremum tempus ad Atticum missarum; quæ qui legat, non multum desideret historiam contextam illorum temporum: sic enim omnia de studiis principum, vitiis ducum, ac mutationibus reip. perscripta sunt, ut nihil in iis non appareat; et faciliè existimari possit, prudentiam quodammodo esse divinationem; non enim Cicero ea solum, quæ, vivo se, acciderunt, futura prædixit; sed etiam, quæ nunc usu veniunt, cecinit ut vates.

CAP. XVII. De pietate autem Attici quid plura commemorem? cum hoc ipsum verè gloriautem audierim, in funere matris suæ, quam extulit annorum nonaginta, cum esset septem et sexaginta; se nunquam cum matre in gratiam rediisse; nunquam cum sorore fuisse in simultate, quam prope æqualem habebat; quod est signum,

*tho' Cicero loved him in a particular manner, so that his brother Quintus was not more dear to him, or more familiar with him. And sixteen volumes of epistles sent to Atticus, from the time of his consularship, to the latter end of his life, are a proof of that thing; besides those books, wherein he makes mention of him, which are [now] published to the world; which he that reads, won't much want a continued history of those times: for so all particulars are put down, relating to the designs of the leading men, the faults of the commanders, and the revolutions of the government, that every thing appears in them; and it may be easily thought, that prudence is in some measure a divine foresight: for Cicero did not only foretel those things would be, which happened whilst he was alive; but likewise predicted, as a prophet, what now comes to pass.*

CHAP. XVII. *And then as to Atticus's affection for his relations, why should I say much? having heard him boast of this, and truly too, at the funeral of his mother, whom he buried at ninety years of age, when he was sixty seven; that he<sup>f</sup> never returned to a good understanding with his mother; never was at any difference with his sister, which he had nearly of the same age; which is a sign, either that no com-*

<sup>f</sup> [The author's meaning is, that Atticus never fell out with his mother. *In gratiam redire*, to fall out. *Meton. anteced. pro conf.*]

aut nullam unquam inter eos querimoniam intercessisse, aut hunc eâ fuisse in suos indulgentiâ, ut quos amare deberet, irasci eis nefas duceret. Neque id fecit naturâ solùm, quam omnes ei paremus, sed etiam doctrinâ: nam et principum philosophorum ita percepta habuit præcepta, ut iis ad vitam agendam, non ad ostentationem, uteretur.

CAP. XVIII. Moris etiam majorum summus imitator fuit, antiquitatisque amator; quam adeò diligenter habuit cognitam, ut eam totam in eo volumine exposuerit, quo magistratus ornavit. Nulla enim lex, neque pax, neque bellum, neque res illustris est populi Rom. quæ non, in eo, suo tempore sit notata: et, quod difficillimum fuit, sic familiarum originem subtexit, ut ex eo clarorum virorum propagines possimus cognoscere. Fecit hoc idem separatim in aliis libris: ut, M. Bruti rogatu, Juniam familiam à stirpe ad hanc ætatem ordine enumeravit, notans, qui à quo ortus, quos honores, quibusque temporibus ce-

plaint had passed betwixt them, or that he was a man of so much indulgence for his relations, that he reckoned it a crime to be angry with those, whom he ought to love. Nor did he do this from nature only, although we all obey her, but likewise out of principle; for he had so learned the precepts of the greatest philosophers, that he made use of them for the conduct of his life, and not for ostentation.

CHAP. XVIII. He was likewise a great imitator of the custom of our ancestors, and a lover of antiquity; which he had so diligently inquired into, that he gave an account of it thoroughly in that volume, in which he has put down in order of time, the several magistrates of Rome. For there is no law, nor peace, nor war, nor illustrious affair of the Roman people, which is not set down in it, in its proper time: and, what was very difficult, he has so interwoven the original of families, that we may learn from thence the descents of famous men. He did this same thing apart in other books; as, at the request of M. Brutus, he reckoned up in order the Junian family from their original to this age, noticing, from whom every one was descended, what offices he had bore, and at

<sup>c</sup> I am of the opinion of those who think, that for *ornavit* we ought to read *ordinavit*. *Ornare magistratus* is indeed a Latin expression, but bears a sense quite foreign to any purpose of our author here, as all know that know much of the Latin tongue.

pisset : pari modo, Marcelli Claudii, <sup>u</sup> de Marcellorum ; Scipionis Corneli, et Fabii Maximi, de Corneliorum, et Fabiorum, et Æmiliorum : quibus libris nihil potest esse dulcius iis, qui aliquam cupiditatem habent notitiæ clarorum virorum. Attigit quoque poëticen, credimus, ne ejus expers esset suavitatis. Namque versibus, qui honore, rerumque gestarum amplitudine cæteros Romani populi præstiterunt, exposuit ; ita ut, sub singulorum imaginibus, facta magistratusque eorum non ampliùs quaternis quinive versibus describerit ; quod vix credendum sit, tantas res tam breviter potuisse declarari. Est etiam liber Græcè confectus, de consulatu Ciceronis. Hactenus, Attico vivo, edita hæc à nobis sunt.

CAP. XIX. Nunc, quoniam fortuna nos superstites ei esse voluit, reliqua persequemur : et, quantum poterimus, rerum exemplis lectores docebimus, sicut suprà significavimus, *Suos cuique mores plerumque conciliare fortunam.* Namque hic contentus ordine equestri, quo erat ortus, in affinitatem pervenit

*what times.* In like manner, at the request of Marcellus Claudius, he enumerated that of the Marcelli ; at the request of Scipio Cornelius and Fabius Maximus, that of the Cornelii, and the Fabii, and the Æmiliu : than which books nothing can be more pleasant to those, who have any fancy for the knowledge of famous men. He likewise had a touch at poetry ; we imagine, that he might not be unacquainted with the pleasure of it. For he has related in verses, the lives of those, who excelled the rest of the Roman people in honour, and the greatness of their exploits ; so that he has described, under each of their images, their actions and offices, in no more than four or five verses : which is scarce to be believed, that such great things could be so briefly delivered. There is likewise a book of his writ in Greek, concerning the consulship of Cicero. Thus far was published by us, whilst Atticus was living.

CHAP. XIX. Now, since fortune had a mind that we should be the survivors of him, we will go through the remainder of his life : and, as far as we can, will inform our readers by instances of fact, as we have signified above, That every man's manners for the most part make his fortune. For he being content with the equestrian order, from whence he was descended,

<sup>u</sup> The preposition *de* should certainly be out, and accordingly some manuscripts have it not.

Imperatoris, Divi Julii filii, cum jam antè familiaritatem ejus esset consecutus nullà alià rē, quàm elegantia vitæ, quàm cæteros ceperat principes civitatis, dignitate pari, fortunà humiliorē. Tanta enim prosperitas Cæsarem eum est consecuta, ut nihil ei non tribuerit fortuna, quod cuiquam antè detulerit; et conciliārit, quod nemo adhuc civis Romanus quivit consequi. Nata autem est Attico neptis ex Agrippa, cui virginem filiam collocarat: hanc Cæsar, vix anniculam, Tiberio, Claudio Neroni, Drusillā nato, privigno suo, despondit; quæ conjunctio necessitudinem eorum sanxit, familiaritatem reddidit frequentiorē.

CAP. XX. Quamvis ante hæc <sup>a</sup> sponsalia, non solum cum ab urbe abesset, nun-

came into the alliance of the <sup>x</sup> Emperor Julius's son, after he had before gained a familiarity with him, by nothing else but the elegance of his life, by which <sup>y</sup> he had charmed the <sup>z</sup> other great men of the city, of equal quality, but a lower fortune than Cæsar. For so much prosperity attended this Cæsar, that fortune gave him every thing, that she had bestowed upon any one before; and procured him what no Roman citizen could hitherto accomplish. Now Atticus had a grand-daughter born of Agrippa, to whom he had disposed of his daughter when a virgin: Cæsar contracted her, when scarce a year old, to T. Claudius Nero, born of Drusilla, his stepson; which match established a strict friendship between them, and rendered their familiar converse more frequent.

CHAP. XX. Altho' before this match, not only when he was absent from town, he never sent

<sup>x</sup> I have not thought it worth while to translate *divus*; it would sound very oddly in our language, to give the style of a god to such an ambitious wicked mortal as Julius Cæsar was. It was a profane stupid practice amongst the Romans, not to be outdone by any thing amongst the most barbarous nations, to rank their emperors, (unless they were devils indeed), after their decease, amongst the gods. Which continued even some time after the Emperors became Christians, if Eutropius may be trusted.

<sup>y</sup> Here I have the misfortune again to differ very widely from Major Pack; which of us is mistaken, must be referred to the judgment of the intelligent reader, that shall think it worth while to compare our translations with the original.

<sup>z</sup> [Such as Pompey the Great, Julius Cæsar, M. Anthony, Cicero, Vipsianus Agrippa, &c.]

<sup>a</sup> [*Sponsalia*, *esponsals*, the contract, or betrothing of a man or woman before marriage.]



quam ad suorum quēquam literas misit, quin Attico mitteret, quid ageret; imprimis, quid legeret, quibusque in locis, et quamdiu esset moraturus; sed etiam cum esset in urbe, et propter suas infinitas occupationes, minùs sæpe quam vellet Attico frueretur, nullus dies tamen temere intercessit, quo non ad eum scriberet, quo non aliquid de antiquitate ab eo requireret; modò aliquam questionem poëticam ei proponeret; interdum jocans ejus verbosiores eliceret epistolas: ex quo accidit, cum ædes Jovis Feretrii in Capitolio, ab Romulo constituta, vetustate atque incuriâ detecta prolaberetur, ut Attici admonitu, Cæsar eam reficiendam curaret. Neque verò ab M. Antonio minùs, absens, literis colebatur; adeò ut accuratè ille, ex ultimis terris, quid ageret, quid curæ sibi haberet, certiore faceret Atticum.

a letter to any of his friends; but sent one to Atticus, to acquaint him what he was doing; especially what he was reading, and in what places, and how long he would stay; but also, when he was in town, and because of his infinite business, enjoyed Atticus not so oft as he had a mind, yet no day scarce passed, in which he did not write to him, in which he did not make some inquiry of him relating to antiquity; sometimes would propose some poetical question to him; sometimes jesting, would draw from him a long letter; from whence it happened, when the temple of <sup>a</sup> Jupiter <sup>b</sup> Feretrius, built in the <sup>c</sup> Capitol by Romulus, being uncovered through age and neglect, was coming down, that upon the admonition of Atticus, Cæsar took care that it was repaired. Nor was he less civilly applied to in letters by M. Anthony, when absent. So that he made Atticus acquainted particularly, from the remotest parts of the earth, what he was doing, what care he had upon him. Now con-

<sup>a</sup> [Jupiter, the son of Saturn and Ops, was the supreme god of the Heathens, called *optimus*, because of his benefits, and *maximus*, for his power: but it is wonderful how they could give him such appellations, when guilty of so many weaknesses, as *Arnob.* l. 4. & 5. justly charges him withal; or that of *immortalis*, when they confess he was both born and died. He was called

<sup>b</sup> *Feretrius*, quòd hostes feriat, because he smites his enemies; or *ferenda pace*, because he brings or gives peace; or lastly, from *fertrum*, the wooden instrument, on which, after they had overcome their enemies, they carried the grand spoils in triumph to his temple.]

<sup>c</sup> [The *Capitol* was a hill in the city of Rome, on which a strong-castle of very difficult access was built, called likewise the Capitol, from a man's head being found there at laying the foundation of it.]

Hoc quale sit, facilius existimabit is, qui judicare poterit, quantæ sit sapientie eorum retinere usum benevolentiamque inter quos maximarum rerum non solum æmulatio, sed obtréctatio tanta intèrcebat, quantam fuit incidere necesse inter Cæsarem atque Antonium; cum se uterque principem non solum urbis Romanæ, sed orbis terrarum esse cuperet.

CAP. XXI. Tali modo, cum septem et septuaginta annos complisset, atque ad extremam senectutem non minus dignitate, quam gratiâ, fortunâque crevisset; (multas enim hæreditates nullâ aliâ re, quàm bonitate, est consecutus), tantâque prosperitate usus esset valetudinis, ut annos triginta medicinâ non indiguisset; nactus est morbum, quem initio et ipse et medici contemserunt: nam putârunt esse *τενσμός*, (*tensmon*); cui remedia celeria faciliaque proponebantur: in hoc cum tres menses sine ullis doloribus, præterquam quos ex curatione capiebat, consumsisset; subito tanta vis morbi in unum intestinum prorupit, ut extremo tempore, per lumbos

considerable this is, he will more easily imagine, who can judge how great a point of wisdom it is to keep the friendship and favour of those, betwixt whom there passed not only so great an emulation upon account of matters of the utmost importance, but a mutual struggle to lessen one another, as was necessary to happen betwixt Caesar and Antony, whilst each of them desired to be the prince, not only of the city of Rome, but of the world.

CHAP. XXI. After he had completed, in this manner, seventy-seven years, and had advanced no less in dignity, than in favour and fortune, to an extreme old age, (for he had got several inheritances by no other thing than his goodness), and had such a happy state of health, that he stood not in need of any physic for thirty years together; he contracted a distemper, which at first both he and his physicians despised; for they thought it to be a *tensmos*; for which speedy and easy remedies were proposed: after he had passed three months in this distemper without any pains, besides what he received from the method taken for his cure; on a sudden so great a violence of the distemper broke out upon one of his intestines, that at length, a putrid fistula broke thro' his loins: and before this happened to him,

<sup>d</sup> A *tensmos* (to use Major Pack's words) is a violent motion without a power of going to stool; or (Mr Ainsworth's in his dictionary) a disease of the arse-gut, a desire of going to stool without effect.

fistula putris eruperit. Atque hoc priusquam ei accideret, postquam indies dolores accrescere, febremque accessisse sensit; Agrippam generum ad se arcessiri iussit, et cum eo L. Cornelium Balbum, Sextumque Peducæum. Hos ut venisse vidit, in cubitum innixus, *Quantam, inquit, curam diligentiamque in valetudine mea tuenda hoc tempore adhibuerim, cum vos testes habeam, nihil necesse est pluribus verbis commemorare: quibus quoniam, ut spero, satisfeci, me nihil reliqui fecisse, quod ad sanandum me pertineret, reliquum est, ut egomet mihi consulam. Id vos ignorare nolui; nam mihi stat, alere morbum definire: namque his diebus quicquid cibi sumsi, ita produxi vitam, ut arxerim dolores, sine spe salutis. Quare à vobis peto, primum, ut consilium probetis meum; deinde, ne frustra dehortando coarctemini.*

CAP. XXII. Hæc oratione habitâ, tantâ constantiâ vocis, atque vultûs, ut non ex vita, sed ex domo in domum videretur migrare; cum quidem Agrippa tum flens, atque osculans, oraret atque obsecraret, ne id, quod natura cogere, ipse quoque sibi acceraret; et quoniam tum

*after he found that his pains grew upon him every day, and that a fever was superadded to them; he ordered his son-in-law Agrippa to be called to him, and with him L. Cornelius Balbus, and Sextus Peducaus. When he saw they were come, leaning upon his elbow, he said, How much care and diligence I have employed to restore my health, since I have you for my witnesses, there is no need to recount in many words. Whom since I have satisfied, as I hope, that I have left nothing undone, that was proper in the judgment of the doctors to cure me, it remains that I provide for myself. I had no mind you should be ignorant of it; for my resolution is fixed, to give over feeding the distemper: for whatsoever meat I have taken for some days, I have so prolonged my life, that I increased my pains, without any hopes of recovery. Wherefore I beg of you, in the first place, that you would approve my resolution; if not, that then you would not labour in vain by dissuading me.*

CHAP. XXII. Having made this speech, with such a steadiness of voice and countenance, that he seemed not to be removing out of life, but out of one house into another house; when Agrippa weeping and kissing, begged and intreated him, That he would not hasten that, which nature would oblige him to; and since he might yet live for some time longer, that

quoque.



quoque posset.<sup>c</sup> temporibus superesse, se sibi suisque reservaret: preces ejus taciturnâ suâ obstinatione decessit. Sic, cum biduum cibo se abstinuisset, subito febris decessit, leviorque morbus esse cœpit: tamen propositum nihilo feciùs peregit. Itaque die quinto, postquam id consilium iniêrat, pridie Kal. April. Cn. Domitio, C. Sosio Coss. decessit. Elatus est in lecticula, ut ipse præscriperat, sine ulla pompa funeris, comitantibus omnibus bonis, maximâ vulgi frequentiâ. Sepultus est juxta viam Appi-

he would save himself for himself and his friends; he put a stop to his intreaties by his obstinate silence. Thus, after he had abstained from all food for two days, on a sudden his fever went off, and the distemper began to be more easy; yet notwithstanding he executed his purpose. Wherefore upon the fifth day after he had entered upon that resolution, <sup>f</sup> the day before the Calends of April, when Cn. Domitius and C. Sosius were Consuls, he died. He was carried to his funeral upon a little couch, as he himself had ordered, without any <sup>g</sup> pomp of funeral, all good people attending him, with a great crowd of the populace. He was buried near the <sup>h</sup> Appian am,

<sup>c</sup> I have translated the words *temporibus superesse*, by *live some time longer*, because it seems pretty plain by the context, the author intended to say some such thing; but I look upon the reading to be faulty, for the words will not bear that sense, nor, in my opinion, any sense at all.

<sup>f</sup> The last of *March*, for the first day of every month was called the Calends.

<sup>g</sup> [The Romans used to celebrate the funerals of some of their great and rich men, with extraordinary splendor and magnificence, the people being presented on such occasions with public shows, and other uncommon divertisements: but the grave and wise Atticus, it seems, disliking this extravagant custom, had forbid it to be used at his funeral.]

<sup>h</sup> [This was the most noble of all the public ways or causeys about Rome, and took its name from Appius Claudius, who, according to Eutropius, was censor of Rome when he begun it, and very probably was consul before he had done with it. Lipsius computes it at 350 miles in length, reaching from Rome to Brindisi or Brundisium in the kingdom of Naples, by the Adriatic sea. An account of as much of this way as lies between Rome and the city of Naples, (about 105 miles), the Reverend Dr *Burnet* hath obliged us with in his letters, (letter 4). He tells us, "It is twelve feet broad, all made of huge stones, most of them blue, and they are generally a foot and a half large of all sides." And presently after, admiring the extraordinary strength of the work, he saith, "That though it hath lasted above 1800 years, yet in most places it is for several miles together as entire



am, ad quintum lapidem,  
in monumento Q. Cæcili  
avunculi sui.

way, i at the fifth mile-stone, in  
the monument of Q. Cæcilius his  
uncle.

"entire as when it was first made." Here many of the great men of Rome had their burying places in fields or gardens belonging to their families; and, if it was possible, they always buried in that part of the field or garden which lay nearest to the common road, both to put passengers in mind of mortality, and to save the best part of their land. And here, as Nepos, tells us, was Atticus buried, and not within the city, because of an express law in their twelve tables, by which none were allowed the honour of a burying place in it except the Vestal virgins, according to Servius; as also according to Plutarch and Cicero, to Valerius Poplicola and Fabricius. See Kennett's Roman antiquities, part 2. chap. 10.]

i There was, in all the great roads from Rome, set up at every mile's end a stone.

VER-

# VERBA CORNELIÆ GRACCHORUM MATRIS,

*Ex CORNELII NEPOTIS libro excerpta.*

**D**ICIS, Pulchrum esse inimicos ulcisci : Id neque majus, neque pulchrius cuiquam atque mihi esse videtur ; sed si liceat rep. salvâ eos persequi : sed quatenus id fieri non potest, multo tempore, multisque partibus, inimici nostri non peribunt, atque uti nunc sunt, erunt, potius quàm resp. profligetur atque pereat.

Verbis conceptis dejerare ausim, præterquam qui Tiberium Gracchum necarunt, neminem inimicum tantum molestiæ, tantumque laboris, quantum te ob has res mihi tradidisse : quem oportebat omnium eorum quos antehac habui liberos, partes eorum tolerare, atque curare, ut quam minimum sollicitudinis in senectâ haberein, utique quæcumque ageres, ea velles maxime mihi placere ; atque uti nefas haberes rerum majorum adversum meam sententiam quicquam facere ; præsertim mihi, cui parva pars vitæ super est. Ne id quidem tam breve spatium potest opitulari, quin et mihi adverteris, et temp. profliges. Denique quæ pausa erit, et quando desinet familia nostra insauire ? et quando modus ei rei haberi poterit ? et quando desinemus et habentes, et præbentes, molestiis desistere ? et quando perpudescet miscenda atque perturbanda rep. Sed si omnino id fieri non potest, ubi ego mortua ero, petito tribunatum, facito quod lubebit, eùm ego non sentiam : ubi mortua ero, parentabis mihi, et invocabis deum parentem in eo tempore. Nec pudet te eorum deum preces expetere, quos vivos atque præsentis, relictos atque desertos habueris ? Ne ille finat Jupiter, te eâ perseverare, nec tibi tantam dementiam venire in animo ; et, si perseveras, vereor ne in omnem vitam tantum laboris culpâ tuâ recipias, uti in nullo tempore tute tibi placere possis.

*Ex I. chronicorum libro.*

Homerus et Hesiodus vixerunt ante Romam conditam ann. circiter centum et quinquaginta. *Gellius, lib. 17. cap. 21.*

*Ex I. librorum de vita Ciceronis.*

M. Tullius Cicero tres et viginti annos natus, primum campum judicii publici egit, Sextumque Roscium parricidii reum defendit. *Gellius, lib. 23. cap. 28.*

*Ex*

*Ex II. libro de viris illustribus.*

*Carisus, l. 2. citat vocem subinde ; et ex 15. idem, lib. 1. citat illum modum dicendi, harum partum ; et ex 16. illa verba, a fratre patruele rem necessitudinis, sed personam ostendat.*

*Ex incerto libro de viris illustribus.*

Iustè venustèque admodum reprehendisse dicitur A. Albinum M. Cato. Albinus, qui cum L. Lucullo consul fuit, res Romanas oratione Græcâ scriptitavit : in ejus historiæ principio scriptum est ad hanc sententiam : neminem succensere sibi convenire, si quid in his libris parum compositè, aut minùs eleganter scriptum foret. Nam sum, inquit, homo Romanus, natus in Latio : Græca oratio à nobis alienissima est. Ideoque veniam, gratiamque malæ existimationis, si quid esset erratum, postulavit. Ea cum legisset M. Cato, Ne tu, inquit, Aule, nimium nugator es, cum maluisti culpam deprecari, quam culpâ vacare. Nam petere veniam solemus, aut cum imprudentes erravimus, aut cum compulsi peccavimus. Tibi, inquit, oro te, quis perpulit, ut id committeres, quod priusquam faceres, peteres ut ignosceretur ? *Gellius, lib. 11. cap. 8.*

*Archilochus, Tullo Hostilio Romæ regnante, jam tunc fuit pœmatis clarus, et nobilis. Idem. lib. 17. cap. 21.*

*Ex libris exemplorum.*

A virgine vestale. *Hoc citat Carisus, lib. 1. ex 2. exemplorum libro.*

Multis in senatu placuit, ut ii, qui redire nollent, datis custodiis ad Annibalem deducerentur ; sed ea sententia numero plurium, quibus id non videbatur, superata est ; ii tamen, qui ad Annibalem non redierunt, usque adeo intestabiles, invisique fuerunt, ut tædium vitæ ceperint, necemque sibi conseverint. *Gellius, lib. 7. cap. 18. ex 5. exemplorum libro.*

*Ex incerto libro.*

Ædes Martis est in circo Flaminio architectata ab Hermodoto Salaminio. *Priscianus, lib. 8.*

Eudex quidam, meâ ætate, cum Lathyrem Regem fugeret, Arabico sinu egressus, Gades usque pervectus est. *Plinius, lib. 11. cap. 67.*

Latitudinis ubi minimum, septem millia passuum ; ubi verò plurimum, decem millia. *Plinius, in proœmio, lib. 3.*

Melpum, opulentia præcipuum, ab Insubribus, et Boiis, et Senonibus deletum est eo die quo Camillus Veios cepit. *Idem Plinius, libri ejusdem cap. 17.*

Istro in Adriam effluenti è Danubio amne ex adverso Pa-  
di fauces, contrario corum percussu, mari interjecto, dulce-  
scente. *Plinius, libri ejusd. cap. 18.*

Alpes in latitudinem C. M. *Idem, lib. ejusd. cap. 19.*

Cerne insula abest ex adverso maximè Carthaginis a con-  
tinente passus mille, non amplior circuitu duobus millibus.  
*Idem, l. 6. c. 31.*

Post accipenserem, præcipua auctoritas fuit lupo, et asel-  
lis. *Idem, l. 9. c. 18.*

Me juvene, violacea purpura vigeat, cujus libra denariis  
C. veniebat, nec multò post rubra Tarentina. Huic successit  
dibapha Tyria, quæ in libras denariis mille non poterat emi.  
Hac P. Lentulus Spinther, ædilis curialis, primus in pretex-  
ta usus, improbatur. Qua purpurâ quis non jam triclinaria  
facit? *Idem, l. 19. c. 19.*

Turdi paulò ante Augusti principatum cœpti saginari.  
Ciconiæ magis placent, quàm grues. *Idem, l. 10. c. 23.*

Magnitudo loti arboris brevis. *Idem, l. 23. c. 17.*

Vinum exprimitur illi simile mulso, quod ultra denos dies  
non durat, baccæque contusæ cum alica ad cibos doliis con-  
duntur. *Idem Plinius, ibidem.*

Scandulâ contestata fuit Roma ad Pyrrhi usque bellum, an-  
nis quadringentis septuaginta. *Idem, l. 16. c. 10.*

Ante Syllæ victoriam duo tantum triclinia Romæ fuerunt  
argentea. *Idem, l. 33. c. 11.*

Cleophantus Corinthius secutus est in Italiam Demaratum  
Tarquinii Prisci Romani Regis patrem, fugientem à Corin-  
tho injurias Cypsellii tyranni. *Idem, l. 35. c. 3.*

Primus Romæ parietes crustâ marmoris operuit totius do-  
mûs suæ in Cœlio monte mamurra, Formiis natus, eques  
Romanus, præfectus fabrorum C. Cæsaris in Gallia. *Idem,*  
*l. 36. c. 6.*

Mamurra primus totis ædibus nullam nisi è marmore co-  
lumnâ habuit, omnes solidas è Carystio, aut Lunensi. *I-*  
*dem Plinius, ibidem.*

Fuit magno miraculo, cum P. Lentulus Spinther ampho-  
ras ex onyche Chiorum magnitudine cadorum ostendisset:  
post quinquennium deinde triginta duorum pedum longitudi-  
ne vidi. *Idem, libri ejusdem cap. 7*













